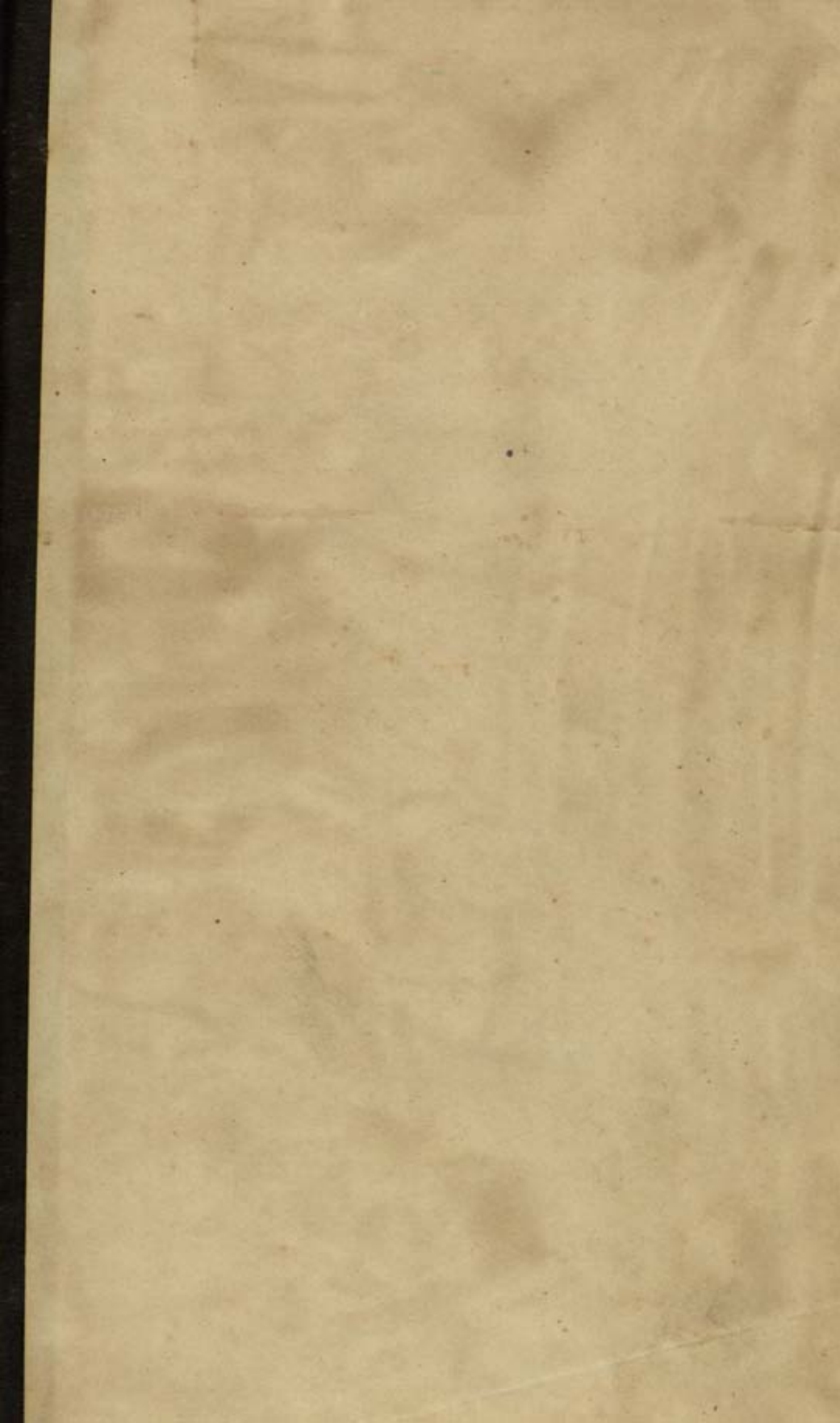


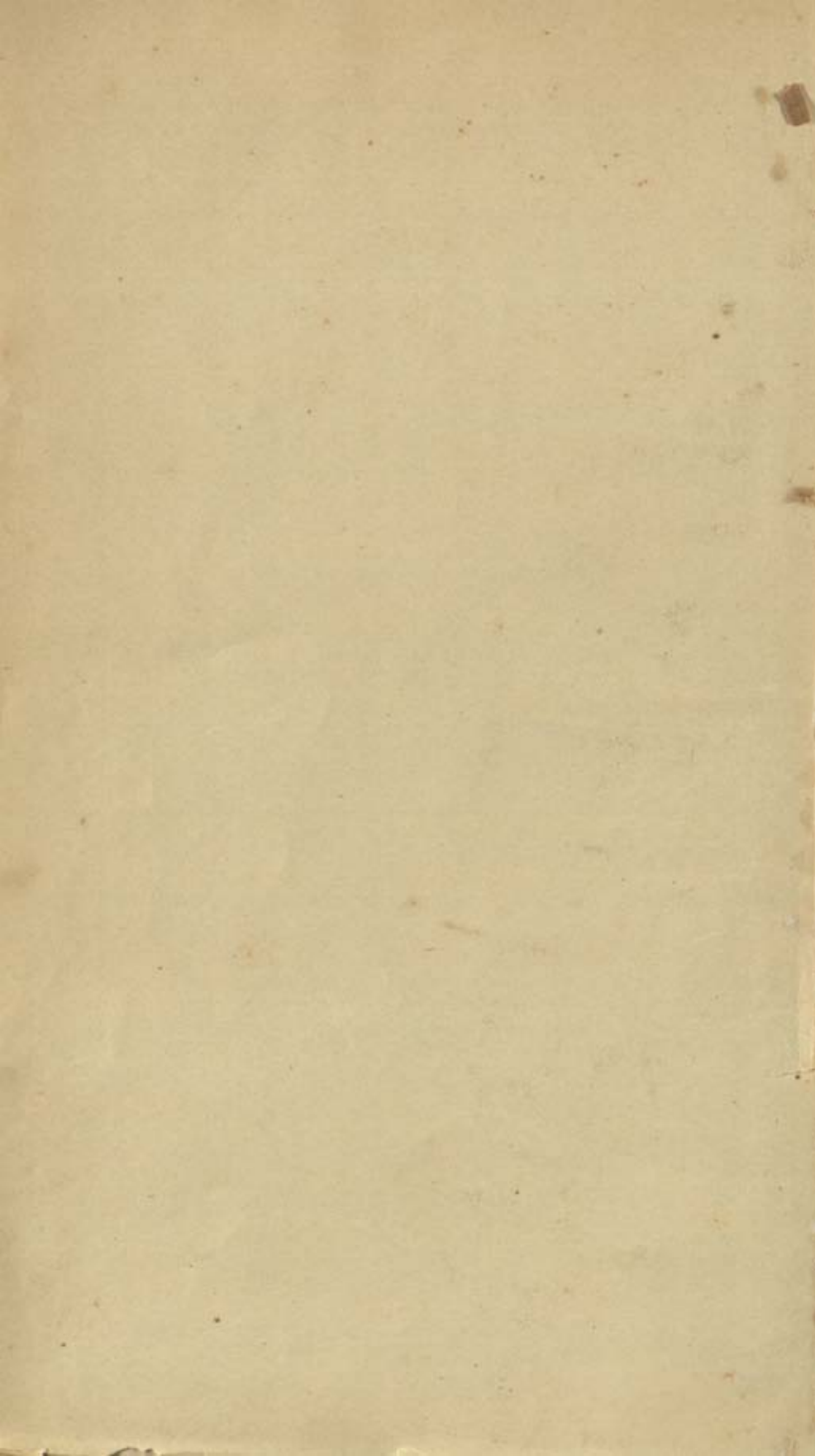
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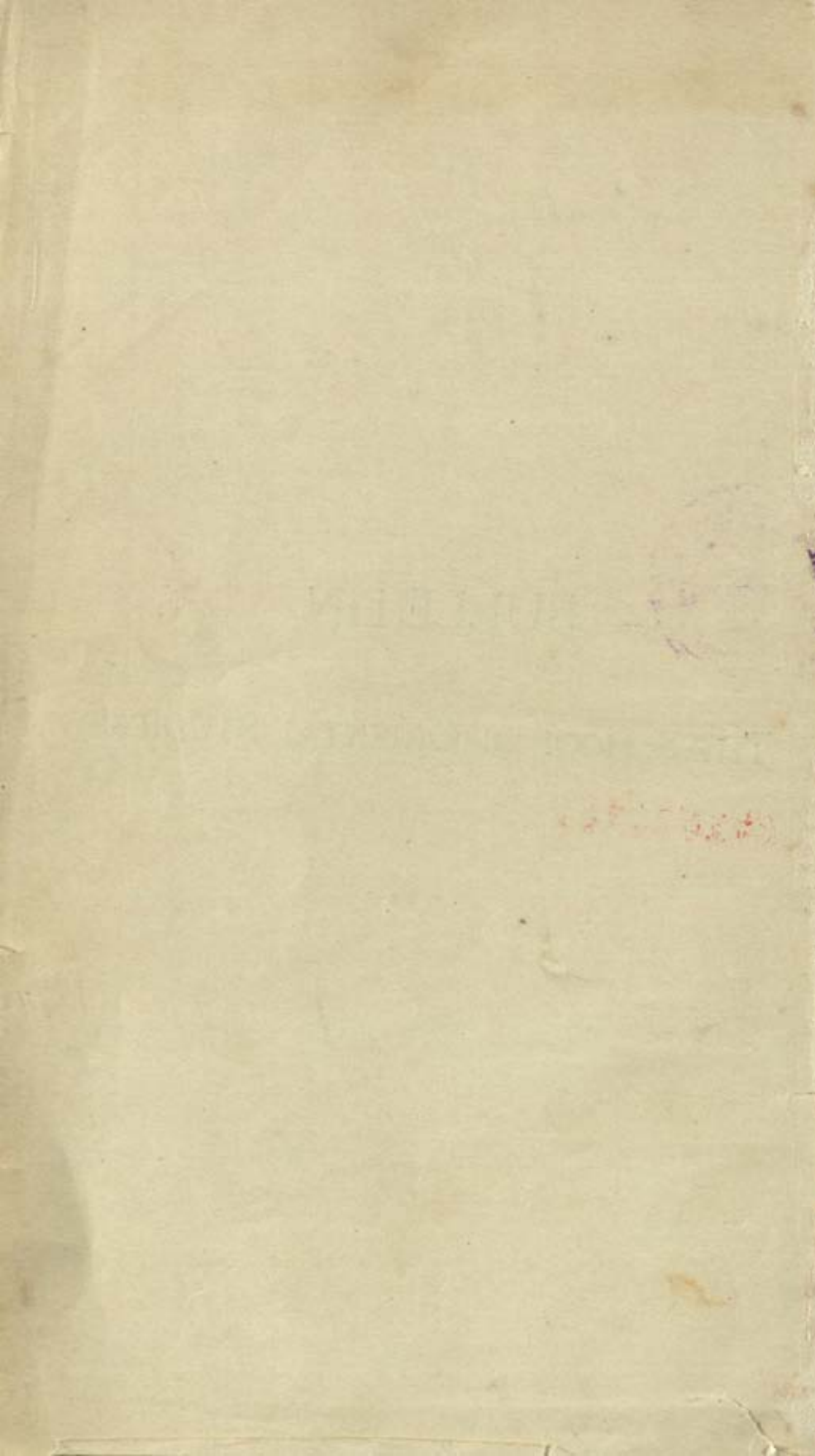
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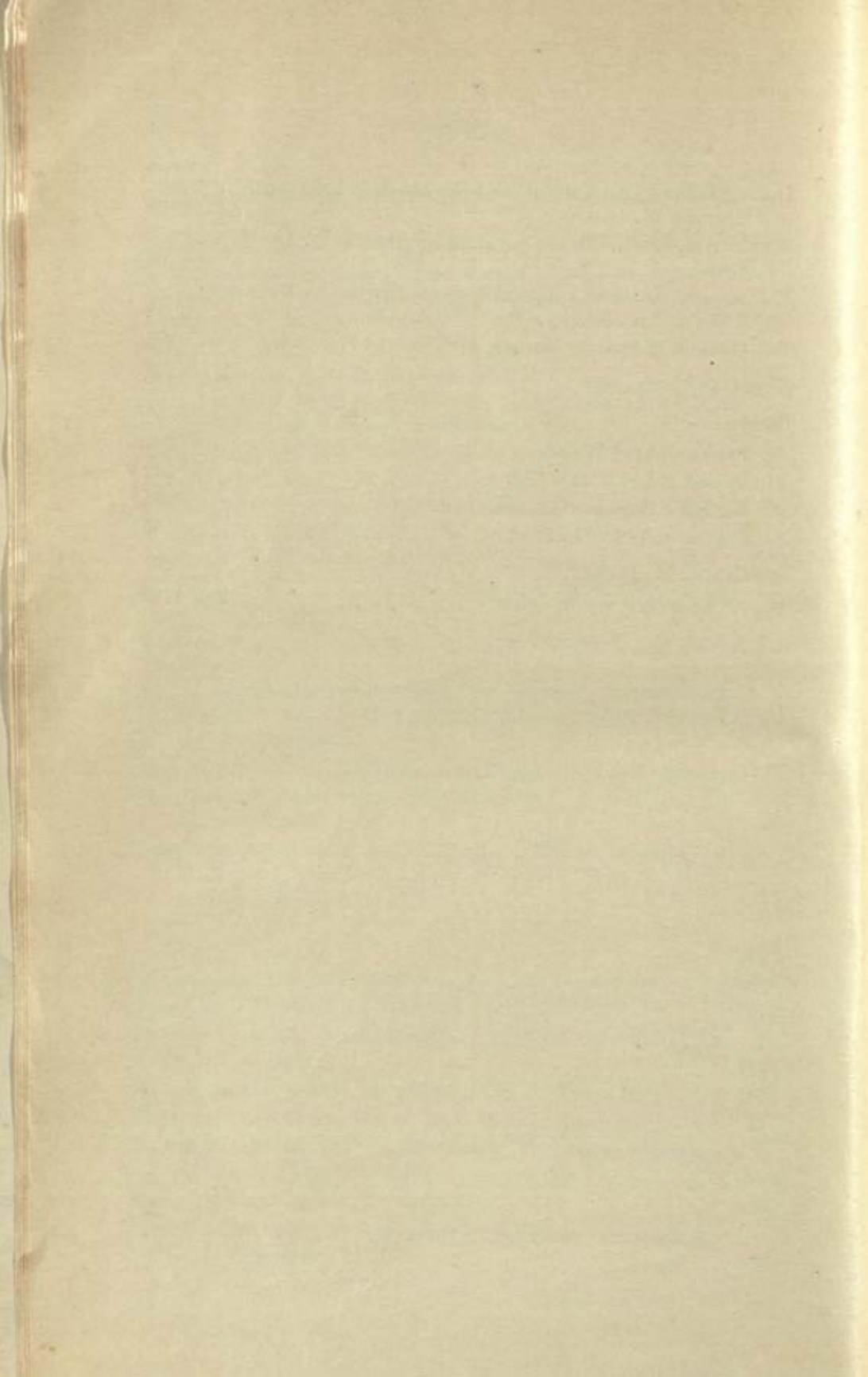
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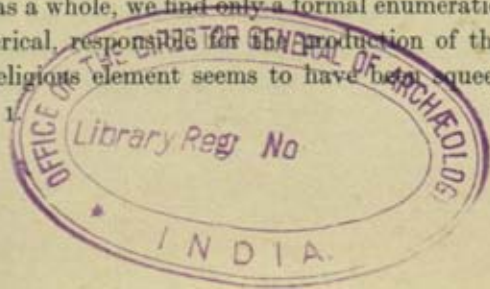
By LIONEL GILES

(PLATE I)

II. SEVENTH CENTURY A.D.

SOON after the rise of the T'ang dynasty, the Parinirvāṇa Sūtra seems to have lost its popularity, and in the second half of the seventh century its place is definitely taken by the Lotus Sūtra. Out of a total of fifty-six dated texts, no fewer than twenty-nine are sections of this work. The appearance of Taoism in the shape of three hitherto unknown "sūtras" (to borrow a convenient Buddhist term) is interesting but not surprising under a dynasty which extended special favour to that ancient and much-corrupted cult. It is hardly possible to dignify with the name of religion such a strange medley of magic, legend, and gross superstition; and one cannot believe that its scriptures were regarded very seriously by any large section of the community.

Altogether, the old atmosphere of simple faith and piety which was so noticeable in the earlier centuries is now becoming more attenuated. The introduction of the tabulated colophon (see year 671 and following) is symptomatic of this decline in true religious spirit. Here, in place of the prayer on behalf of a deceased relative or a living sufferer, or an unselfish offering made in the interests of sentient existence as a whole, we find only a formal enumeration of the persons, lay or clerical, responsible for the production of the manuscript roll. The religious element seems to have been squeezed out.



This process continues in the ensuing centuries; for, though the number of dated documents shows a large increase, the old type of colophon becomes steadily rarer.

A.D. 601 (SUI).

S. 2048. 攝論章卷第一 **Shê lun chang*, ch. 1. The title appears in the middle of the colophon, and is written in the same hand. There are three different translations of the Mahāyāna-saṃgraha-śāstra (N. 1183, 1184, 1247) and two commentaries on them (N. 1171). Though the present work is styled a commentary (疏) in the colophon, it appears to be rather an outline or résumé of the śāstra.

Colophon: 仁壽元年八月廿八日瓜州崇教寺沙彌善藏在京辯才寺寫攝論疏流通末伐 [for 代] 比字校竟 "On the 28th day of the 8th moon of the 1st year of Jên-shou [30th September, 601] the novice Shan-tsang of the Ch'ung-chiao Monastery at Kua-chou copied the *Shê lun su* in the Pien-ts'ai Monastery at the capital [Ch'ang-an] in order that it might be circulated to the end of time. Word-for-word revision completed."

Kua-chou is the modern An-hsi, east of Tunhuang. Neither of these monasteries is mentioned again in the Stein MSS. 末代 "the end of the dynasty" is understood to be synonymous with the end of time. Alas for human anticipations! The Sui dynasty was destined to last only 17 years longer. The roll, made of thin golden-yellow paper, is about 34 ft. long, 28 cm. wide. The handwriting is a fine specimen of cursive or semi-cursive.

602 (SUI).

S. 3548. 中阿含經 **Chung a han ching* (Madhyamāgama-sūtra), ch. 8, p'in 4, nos. 2 (end only) - 4. This corresponds to N. 542 (33-35), K. xii. 9. The number of characters in the sections differs slightly from the figures given in the modern recension.

Colophon: 仁壽二年十二月廿日經生張才寫用紙廿五張大興善寺沙門僧蓋校大集寺沙門法剛覆 "Copied by the scribe Chang Ts'ai on the 20th day of the 12th moon of the 2nd year of Jên-shou [6th February, 602]. 25 sheets of paper used. [Only 10 complete sheets remain.] Revised by Sêng-kai, priest (śramaṇa) of the Ta-hsing-shan Monastery. Again revised by Fa-kang, priest of the Ta-chi Monastery."

The life of Sêng-kai will be found in *Hsü kao sêng chuan*, ch. 26; K. xxx. 2, f. 177 r°. The Ta-hsing-shan Monastery is mentioned in the colophons of several other Stein MSS. 復 is used here for 覆 or 復 (校).

This is one of the finest MSS. in the Collection, the handwriting being as nearly perfect as one can imagine. The roll is composed of thin, crisp, golden-yellow paper of excellent quality, and measures about 16 ft. by 26 cm.

603 (Sui).

S. 4553. 大通方廣經卷上 **Ta t'ung fang kuang ching*, ch. 1 (out of 2 or 3). This is really a Buddhāma sūtra, though the title does not seem to suggest it, and probably apocryphal. Contrary to the usual practice, the invocations are not numbered.

Colophon: 大隋仁壽三年二月十四日清信女令狐妃仁發心減割衣資之分敬寫大乘方廣經一部願令七世父母及所生父母見在家眷所生之處值佛聞法與善知識共相值遇命過已後託生西方無量壽國及法界衆生同沾斯願。清信女任是是亦勸化助寫供養。妃仁息男呂勝遵持心供養息女阿謨存心供養並願同上願。 "On the 14th day of the 2nd moon of the 3rd year of Jên-shou in the Great Sui dynasty [31st March, 603] the female devotee Ling-hu Fei-jên, having with pious intent cut off a portion of her expenditure on clothes and other goods, has reverently caused a section of the *Ta shêng fang kuang ching* to be copied, praying that as a consequence her parents of seven previous incarnations, the parents who begot her in this life, and her family now living, wheresoever they are reborn, may meet Buddha and hear his Law, falling in with good friends and associates; and that after their span of earthly re-incarnation is completed they may be reborn in the Kingdom of limitless longevity in the Western Regions; and that all living beings of the universe may be included in this prayer. Also offered by the female devotee Jên-shih-shih, who gave help towards the copying as a means of conversion to the faith. Offered with steadfast heart by Fei-jên's son Lū Shêng-tsun. Offered with constant heart by her daughter A-man, who also prays in the same sense as the above prayer."

It appears that Ling-hu was the donor's maiden name, while that of her husband was Lū.

This is a very good MS. on thin yellow paper, rather discoloured. The roll is over 18½ feet long, 25 cm. wide.

604 (SUI).

S. 4162. 優婆塞戒經 *Yu p'o sai chieh ching* (N. 1088), ch. 2, p'in 10-12. There is no general title at the beginning.

Colophon: 仁壽四年四月八日檀維珍爲亡父寫優婆塞經一部灌頂一部善惡因果一部太子成道一部五百問事一部造觀世〈音〉像一軀造冊九尺幡 [for 幡] 爲法界衆生一時成佛 "On the 8th day of the 4th moon of the 4th year of Jên-shou [11th May, 604] Ying (?) Wei-chên, on behalf of his deceased father, caused sections to be copied of the *Yu p'o sai ching*, the *Kuan ting*, the *Shan o yin kuo*, the *T'ai tzu ch'êng tao*, and the *Wu po wên shih*; he has also had made an image of Avalokiteśvara, and a 49 ft. banner, to the end that all living beings of the universe may eventually achieve Buddhahood."

檀 is not a recognized surname, and it is almost certainly a mistake for 楊: see the next entry. *Kuan ting* is doubtless N. 167. *Shan o yin kuo ching* is an apocryphal sūtra of which a dozen copies are preserved in the Stein Collection: see Kyōto Supplement, A. i. 4 (e). *T'ai tzu ch'êng tao* ("The Crown Prince attaining enlightenment") is a life of Śākyamuni Buddha. *Wu po wên shih* means "Five hundred subjects of inquiry" and is evidently a doctrinal work.

Another very good MS. on golden-yellow paper. The roll is 19 feet long, 26 cm. wide.

604 (SUI).

S. 4570. 優婆塞戒 **Yu p'o sai chieh*, ch. 6. This is p'in 24 (1) of N. 1088. It has a colophon very similar to the preceding, and of exactly the same date: 仁壽四年四月八日楊維珍爲亡父〈寫〉灌頂一部五百問事一部千五百佛名造觀世音像一軀造冊九尺幡一口爲法界衆生一時成佛 "On the 8th day of the 4th moon of the 4th year of Jên-shou Yang Wei-chên, on behalf of his deceased father, caused a section of the *Kuan ting* to be copied, a section of the *Wu po wên shih*, and the Fifteen hundred names of Buddha; he has also had made an image of Avalokiteśvara, and a 49 ft. banner, to the end that all living beings of the universe may eventually achieve Buddhahood."

Comparing this with S. 4162, we observe that the list of works copied is shorter, but includes one new text; and that the surname of the donor is given as 楊 Yang. It is difficult to account for these discrepancies, seeing that the two rolls were actually copied on the same day. The handwriting of the colophons is the same, and probably

that of the texts as well, though it is somewhat smaller in the present roll, which is only $4\frac{2}{3}$ feet long and 24.5 cm. wide.

606 (SUI).

S. 2598. 大般涅槃經 **Ta pan nieh p'an ching*, ch. 16. This corresponds to N. 113, K. viii. 5, from about the middle of ch. 16 to a point near the beginning of ch. 17. There is a touching colophon, which is not very easy to translate: 維大隋大業二年歲次丙寅比丘釋善藏奉爲亡妣張夫人敬造此經流通供養伏惟霜露之感悽愴莫追蓼莪之慕終天無已敢藉大悲用申罔極唯願二字之善仰福幽靈半偈之功奉資神路法聲不朽魚嶺恒傳劫火雖燎龍宮斯在六道四生普同勝業 "In the *ping-yin* year, the 2nd of Ta-yeh in the Great Sui dynasty [A.D. 606], the bhikshu Shih Shan-tsang, on behalf of his deceased mother the Lady Chang, has reverently caused a copy of this sūtra to be made for circulation, as an act of worship. Overcome with feelings of desolation and bitter grief that cannot be assuaged, full of painful yearnings that can never cease, he ventures to seek help from the great compassion of Buddha, that the latter may put forth his limitless power. He prays that the virtue of these few written characters may bring expectation of happiness to his mother among the shades, and that the merit acquired by half a gāthā may help her along the road of spirituality. May the sound of the Law never fade away, may the Yü-ling (?) be constantly handed down. Though the fire in the kalpa [of destruction] be fierce, may the Dragon Palace still abide. May the beings produced through the four kinds of birth in the six paths of existence all alike exhibit surpassing karma."

We have already met with Shan-tsang in the colophon to S. 2048 (A.D. 601); he was then a novice, now he is a full-fledged bhikshu. 二字 and 半偈 are instances of meiosis; he is evidently referring to the section of the sūtra that has just been copied, though it happens, curiously enough, that there is no gāthā at all in ch. 16. 魚嶺 "Fish Ridge" contains some allusion that I have not succeeded in tracking down. 壞劫 "the kalpa of destruction" is the third of the four periods of universal evolution and decay. The three major calamities which then appear are fire, flood, and wind. The Dragon Palace is the abode of the Dragon King at the bottom of the great ocean; it was once visited by Buddha, who preached the Law there. 四生 is a pleasing variation of the usual 衆生; the four kinds of birth are from womb, egg, damp, and metamorphosis.

This is a fine regular MS. on golden-yellow paper, about 19 feet long.

608 (Sui).

S. 2419. 妙法蓮華經 **Miao fa lien hua ching* (Saddharma-puṇḍarika-sūtra), ch. 3, p'in 5, 6.

Colophon: 大業四年四月十五日敦煌郡旅師 [? for 帥] 王師奉爲己妣敬造涅槃法華方廣各一部以茲勝善奉福尊靈願超越三途登七淨六道含識皆當願海 "On the 15th of the 4th moon of the 4th year of Ta-yeh [3rd June, 608] Wang Shih, *Lü-shuai* of Tun-huang Chün, reverently had copies made of single sections from the Nieh p'an, Fa hua, and Fang kuang on behalf of his deceased mother, in order to confer happiness on her honoured soul through this act of surpassing merit, and praying that she may avoid the three lower paths of sentient existence and rise to the seven states of purity; and that all beings endowed with perception in the six paths of transmigration may be steeped in the ocean of pious vows (prañidhāna)."

At first sight, 旅師 王師 would seem to be two names (Master Lū and Master Wang); but I think it is more likely that the first 師 has been mistakenly written for 帥, 旅帥 being the title, created under the Sui dynasty, of a high military officer known until then as 帥都督: see *Tz'ü yüan*, 卯 193c. The 七淨 (or 七華) are the seven characteristics of bodhi: discrimination of true and false, zeal, joyfulness, discarding of all grossness of body or mind, power of remembrance, power to keep the mind in a given realm undiverted, indifference to all disturbances of the sub-conscious mind.

This is a good MS. on light yellow paper, over 13½ feet long.

612 (Sui).

S. 2295. *Recto*: 老子變化經 **Lao tzü pien hua ching*. This "sūtra on the Incarnations of Lao Tzū" is our first dated Taoist text. It is not included in the existing Taoist Canon.

Colophon: 大業八年八月十四日經生王儋寫〇用紙四張〇玄都玄壇道士覆校〇裝潢人〇秘書省寫 "Copied by the scribe Wang Ch'ou on the 14th day of the 8th moon of the 8th year of Ta-yeh [14th September, 612]. Four sheets of paper used [showing that only a few columns are wanting to our roll]. Again revised by a Taoist priest of the Mystic Temple in the Mystic Capital. Paper-dyer, []. Copied in the Secret Books Department."

For 靄, cf. S. 3548 (A.D. 602). The use of 玄 (dark, mysterious, profound) is affected by Taoists for anything appertaining to their religion. Here no more seems to be meant than a Taoist temple at the capital, Ch'ang-an. For 裝潢, cf. *T'ang shu*, ch. 47, f. 3 v°: 熟紙裝潢匠八人 "eight makers and dyers of paper." According to the *Tz'ü yüan*, the term is now applied to the mounting of scrolls and pictures. The name of the dyer has been omitted here.

Verso (in an inferior hand): Extracts from other Taoist, or semi-Buddhist, texts.

This is a fine MS. on yellow paper, 6½ feet long.

616 (SUI).

S. 2605. 佛說金剛般若經 **Fo shuo chin kang pan jo ching*. This is the end portion only of Kumārajīva's translation of the Diamond Sūtra (N. 10). The usual form of the title is 金剛般若波羅密經.

Colophon: 大隋大業十二年七月廿三日清信優婆夷劉圓淨敬寫此經以茲微善願爲一切衆生轉讀聞者敬信皆悟苦空見者受持俱勝 [?] for 昇] 常樂又願劉身早離邊荒速還京輦罪鄣消除福慶臻集 "On the 23rd day of the 7th moon of the 12th year of Ta-yeh in the Great Sui dynasty [9th September, 616] the female lay devotee [upāsikā] Liu Yüan-ching reverently caused a copy to be made of this sūtra, praying that by this slight act of merit, when it is read aloud on behalf of all living beings, all those who hear it may reverently believe, and awaken to the unreality of suffering, and that those who read it may hold fast to its precepts and all rise to enduring felicity. She also prays that she herself may soon quit this desert frontier region and speedily return to the Imperial capital; that the barriers of her sin may be broken down, and that manifold blessings may descend upon her."

This fragment, of thin light yellow paper, is not more than 2½ feet long. The text and colophon are in the same hand. It is our first dated example of the Diamond Sūtra, which in Kumārajīva's translation was to be by far the most popular of all the short sūtras preserved at Tunhuang. Yet out of several hundred manuscripts only 21 are complete.

626 (T'ANG).

S. 4635. 四分律刪繁補闕行事鈔上卷之下 **Ssü fên lü shan fan pu ch'ieh hsing shih ch'ao*, ch. 1 (2). 沙門釋迦道宣撰 "Compiled by the śramaṇa Śākya Tao-hsüan." This

is a Vinaya commentary, chapters 8–12, which will be found (together with further commentary by 元照 Yüan-chao of the Sung) in K. Suppt. A. lxix. 2 and 3. Of the 30 chapters, nos. 8–12 occur again in S. 726, and others in S. 2328, 2525 (these have the preface and table of contents), 4533, and 5404. It seems doubtful whether the author can be the famous Tao-hsüan who, though living at this time, belonged to the 西明 Hsi-ming Monastery and died as late as 667 in his 72nd year: see *Sung kao seng chuan*, ch. 14, no. 1.

Colophon: 唐武德九年夏中於西京崇義寺中脩訖 "Preparation completed in the Ch'ung-i Temple at the Western Capital [Ch'ang-an] during the summer of the 9th year of Wu-tê of the T'ang" [626]. This is followed by another column of characters which do not seem to yield any connected sense. Both title and colophon are written in red ink.

The roll is about 59 feet long, and composed for the most part of a very thin fibrous paper, unstained. The last five sheets are coarser and thicker than the rest. The gap of ten years between this roll and the last seems to reflect the disturbances which accompanied the change of dynasty and which lasted until Li Shih-min was firmly in the saddle; even then, the output of sūtras continues to be noticeably smaller than before.

627 (T'ANG).

S. 2231. **Ta pan nieh p'an ching*, ch. 39 (corresponding to K. viii. 6, ch. 39 and beginning of ch. 40).

This is a fine MS. on thin yellow paper of the sixth century. The following colophon, added perhaps a century later, is carelessly written in another hand: 令狐光和持故破涅槃脩持竿得一部讀誦爲一切衆生耳聞聲者永不落三途八難願見阿彌陀佛 貞觀元年二月八日脩成 乞 [for 訖] "Ling-hu Kuang-ho, having in his possession an old tattered copy of the Nirvāṇa sūtra, has had one section of it repaired, so that it may be read and recited on behalf of all living beings, and that those who hear the sound of it may never fall into the three unhappy states of existence or the eight calamities; and he prays that they may behold Amida Buddha. Repairs completed on the 8th day of the 2nd moon of the 1st year of Chêng-kuan" [28th February, 627].

Ling-hu Kuang-ho is also recorded as the possessor of S. 539, containing a section of the *Chin kuang ming ching*. For the eight calamities, cf. S. 3935 (A.D. 583). The roll is over 28 feet long.

628 (T'ANG).

S. 1218. **Ta pan nieh p'an ching*, ch. 12 (N. 113, K. viii. 5, but ending somewhat sooner than the modern text).

There is a note at the end in cursive script: 貞觀二年二月廿二日索河法記 "Note made by So Ho-fa on the 22nd day of the 2nd moon of the 2nd year of Chêng-kuan" [1st April, 628]. This, like the preceding colophon, must have been written many years after the sūtra had been copied, for the latter is in markedly archaic handwriting which can only be assigned to the first half of the sixth century. It is a fine bold MS. on thin dark yellow paper, making a roll over 11½ feet long.

637 (T'ANG).

S. 2838. 維摩詰經 *Wei mo ch'i ching*, ch. 3, p'in 10-14. (N. 146.) This is our earliest dated specimen of the Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa-sūtra, which is one of the half-dozen most popular sūtras found in Tunhuang. It is a very fine MS. on thin light brown paper, smooth and compact, but rather brittle. The first sheet, made of coarse yellow paper, contains the beginning of the chüan in an inferior hand of much later date. The roll is nearly 32 feet long, discoloured in parts, and patched here and there at the back.

It appears from the colophon, which is composed in a more elaborate style than usual, that this copy was made to the order of a daughter of a secondary concubine of 趙文泰 Ch'ü Wên-t'ai, who was at that time King of Kao-ch'ang. The country was conquered by the Chinese three years later, when the dynasty came to an end. See 高昌 *Kao ch'ang*, by 黃文弼 Huang Wên-pi, ff. 16, 17.

Colophon: 經生令狐善願寫○曹法師法慧校○
法華齋主大僧平事沙門法煥定○延壽十四年
歲次丁酉五月三日清信女稽首歸命常住三
寶蓋聞剝皮析骨記大士之半言喪體捐軀求般
若之妙旨是知金文玉牒聖教真風難見難聞
既尊且貴弟子託生宗胤長自深宮賴王父之
仁慈蒙妃母之訓誨重霑法潤爲寫斯經冀以
日近歸依朝夕誦念以斯微福持奉父王願聖
體休和所求如意先亡久遠同氣連枝見佛聞
法往生淨土增太妃之餘竿益王妃之光華世
子諸公惟延惟壽寇賊退散疫厲消亡百姓被
煦育之慈蒼生蒙榮潤之樂含靈抱識有氣之
倫等出苦源同昇妙果 "Copied by the scribe Ling-hu
Shan-ku. Revised by the Master of the Law Ts'ao Fa-hui.

Sanctioned by the Director of monastic diet in the Lotus School, the fully ordained monk and śramaṇa in charge of affairs, Fa-huan. On the 3rd day of the 5th moon of *ting-yu*, the 14th year of Yen-shou [1st June, 637], a female devotee (*upāsikā*) makes obeisance and surrenders her life, to abide forever in the Tri-ratna. Having heard of the flayed skin and the split bone, and bearing in mind the dictum of the Mahāsattva about losing the body and sacrificing the self, she seeks the mystic significance of Prajñā. Now, she knows that the true inspiration of the Holy Teaching, as set forth in the Golden Compositions and the Jade Records [i.e. the precious Buddhist scriptures], is hard to be grasped by eye or by ear; yet, since it is worthy of honour and veneration, this disciple, who has come to birth as the descendant of a princely house and has grown up in the recesses of the palace, depending on the love and indulgence of the King her father, and receiving instruction and admonition from her mother, his consort, so as to be deeply imbued with the rich influence of the Law, has on that account caused a copy to be made of this sūtra, with the intention of turning to it for guidance day by day, reciting it morning and evening. And this small stock of merit she begs respectfully to offer to her royal father, praying that his sacred person may enjoy peace and happiness, and that all his wishes may be fulfilled. She prays, too, that her deceased ancestors who have lived in the remote past, and all those connected with her by blood and kinship, may see the face of Buddha and hear his Law, and be reborn in the Pure Land; that the remaining years of the Dowager Consort [i.e. the King's mother] may be lengthened, and the glory of the Royal Consort be augmented; that the Heir-Apparent and the other princes may enjoy protracted longevity; that thieves and robbers may be driven away and dispersed, that disease and pestilence may be abolished, that the people may feel the mercy of kindly protection, and all men experience the joys of prosperity; and that all classes of beings possessing the breath of life and endowed with consciousness and perception may alike be freed from the sources of suffering, and together rise to attain the wonderful fruit [of bodhi and nirvāṇa]."

Fa-huan appears again as directing or authorizing the transcription of S. 409 (N. 130), in exactly the same formula. 延壽 is the last regnal period of the 趙 Ch'ü dynasty at Kao-ch'ang (A.D. 624-640). 剝皮析骨: the story goes that in one of Śākya-muni's previous incarnations a Brahman said to him: "I have here

a gāthā containing the Holy Law. If you truly love the Law I will give it to you." He replied: "I truly love the Law." The Brahman said: "If you truly love the Law, you must use a piece of your skin as paper, and write the gāthā with your blood instead of ink. Then I will give it to you." Śākyamuni immediately did what he was told—breaking a bone, flaying his skin, and writing with his blood. See 大智度論 *Ta chih tu lun*, ch. 16, p'in 27.

639 (T'ANG).

S. 3888. *Recto*: 大方等如來藏經 **Ta fang têng ju lai tsang ching* (N. 384).

Colophon: 延壽十六年七月十日○經生叢達子○用紙十二張○法師曇顯校 "Dated the 10th day of the 7th moon of the 16th year of Yen-shou [14th August, 639]. Copyist, Kung Ta-tzū. 12 sheets of paper used. [Only three remain.] Revised by T'an-hsien, Master of the Law."

This is another Kao-ch'ang roll, on similar paper. It is only 3 feet long. *Verso*: Extracts from *Wei mo ch'i ching* (N. 146), p'in 7, in an indifferent, sprawling hand.

641 (T'ANG).

S. 4284. 大方便佛報恩經 **Ta fang pien fo pao ên ching* (N. 431), ch. 7.

Colophon: 今貞觀十五年七月八日菩薩戒弟子辛聞香弟子爲失鄉破落離別父母生死各不相知奉爲慈父亡妣敬造報恩經一部後願弟子父母生生之處殖 [for 值] 佛聞法常生尊貴莫還三塗八難願弟子將來世中父母眷屬莫相捨離善願從心俱登正覺 "Now, on the 8th day of the 7th moon of the 15th year of Chêng-kuan [19th August, 641], the disciple of Bodhisattva-pratimokṣa Hsin Wên-hsiang, who lost his home and became a waif, separated from his parents, and neither party knowing whether the other were alive or dead, has reverently caused a section of the *Pao ên ching* to be copied on behalf of his gracious father and his deceased mother, following it with a prayer that wheresoever his parents may be reborn they may meet Buddha and hear the preaching of his Law, and that they may always be born in an honourable station of life, without passing through the three unhappy states of existence or the eight calamities. He also prays that his own future parents and kinsfolk in this world may never be parted from him, that virtuous prayers may be granted, and that all may come to a condition of perfect enlightenment."

菩薩戒 are the rules found in the sūtra of that name (N. 1096), taken from the 梵網經 *Fan wang ching*. For the eight calamities, see *Bull.* SOS. VII, p. 831.

This is a good bold MS. on crisp golden-yellow paper, somewhat different in texture from that of the Sui. The roll is over 15½ feet long. 652 (T'ANG).

S. 3394. **Wei mo ch'i ching*, ch. 2, p'in 7-9. There is no colophon beyond the following note: 永徽三年五月十五日佛弟子鄧元受持 "Acquired by the Buddhist disciple Têng Yüan on the 15th day of the 5th moon of the 3rd year of Yung-hui" [26th June, 652].

This is a very good, well-spaced MS. on rather soft yellow paper of excellent quality. The roll is about 19¼ feet long. 659 (T'ANG).

S. 5181. 佛性海藏經 **Fo hsing hai tsang ching*, ch. 1. This is an apocryphal sūtra on "the accumulation of knowledge and wisdom", the full title 佛性海藏智慧解脫破心相經 being given in S. 2169, where the whole of chüan 1 is preserved. There are also two copies of chüan 2, contained in S. 4000, S. 4103.

Note at the end: 顯慶四年八月廿五日清信佛弟子索懷道 "The 25th day of the 8th moon of the 4th year of Hsien-ch'ing [16th September, 659]. The Buddhist disciple of pure faith [upāsaka] So Huai-tao." This person may be the owner or copyist or both.

The roll is over 23 feet long, and made of paper of very good quality, stained a rich yellow. The handwriting is less elegant than in the preceding roll, but large and clear.

663 (T'ANG).

S. 4656. 遺教經 **I chiao ching*. This is N. 122, a sūtra spoken by Buddha just before entering Parinirvāṇa, with abbreviated title.

The colophon is written in the same hand as the text of the sūtra: 夫法身凝不滅不生變現多端慈流曠劫討尋諸法一句價宜娑婆百億捐軀猶少執文曉冀之侶然今正信士劉敬安合家眷屬等乃能言斷生滅之業五衣易盡玉體難逢一念金口之談勝捨恒沙之命是以同心舉意寫此經一部庶望先靈及見存眷屬等千灾不忤其性万禍不入家門同陟菩提皆成佛道。龍朔二年十二月廿三日成。

Here it is recorded that the sūtra was copied to the order of the true believer Liu Ching-an and his family, and completed on the 23rd of the 12th moon of the 2nd year of Lung-shuo [6th February, 663]. As several passages, including an elaborate exordium on the subject of the Dharmakāya, are decidedly obscure, I shall leave the translation to those more deeply versed in Buddhist terminology. One striking piece of hyperbole, however, may be noticed: a single recitation, it is said, of the speech that issued from the Buddha's "golden mouth" surpasses in value the sacrifice of as many lives as there are grains of sand in the River Ganges!

The roll, made of thin buff-coloured paper, is nearly 6 feet long. The handwriting is only moderately good.

668 (T'ANG).

S. 4496. **Miao fa lien hua ching*, ch. 3, p'in 5-7.

Colophon: 總章元年十一月廿三日佛弟子陰智柱爲見在父母先亡父母敬造法華經一部流通供養 "On the 23rd day of the 11th moon of the 1st year of Tsung-chang [31st December, 668] the Buddhist disciple Yin Chih-chu, on behalf of his parents now living and his parents of previous incarnations, reverently caused a section of the Fa hua ching to be copied for circulation, as an act of worship."

A good MS. on a rich golden-yellow paper of the best quality. Length of roll, 30½ feet; width, 25.5 cm.

670 (T'ANG).

S. 3655. **Miao fa lien hua ching*, ch. 7. This is only a fragment, 26 by 24 cm., from the end of p'in 24.

Colophon: 咸亨元年閏九〈月〉崔安居爲鍾氏亡姊敬造 "Reverently made to the order of Ts'ui An-chū on behalf of his deceased elder sister, Madame Chung, in the intercalary 9th [moon] of the 1st year of Hsien-hêng [20th Oct.-17th Nov., 670]."

671 (T'ANG).

S. 2215. **Miao fa lien hua ching*, ch. 2, p'in 3, 4.

Colophon: 咸亨元年十二月弟子汜懷信敬爲亡妻趙亡姪阿奴寫 "Copy reverently made to the order of the disciple Fan Huai-hsin on behalf of his deceased wife Chao and his deceased nephew [brother's son] A-nu, in the 12th moon of the 1st year of Hsien-hêng [17th Jan.-14th Feb., 671]."

At the end of this colophon a note has been scrawled in very faint ink: 董弘机受 "Received by Tung Hung-chi." This is a neat, well-spaced MS. on yellow paper.

671 (T'ANG).

S. 5319, 84, 3079. **Miao fa lien hua ching*, ch. 3, p'in 5-7; ch. 5, p'in 15-17; ch. 4, p'in 8-13. These three rolls form part of a series in which the colophon is cast into tabular form. That of S. 5319 runs as follows:—

咸	亨	二	年	五	月	廿	二	日	書	手	程	君	度	寫
用	麻	紙	十	九	張				裝	潢	經	手	王	恭
詳	閱	大	德	靈	辯				詳	閱	大	德	嘉	尚
詳	閱	大	德	玄	則				詳	閱	大	德	持	世
詳	閱	大	德	薄	塵				詳	閱	大	德	德	慈
太	原	寺	主	慧	立	監			太	原	寺	上	座	道
經	生	程	度	初	校				大	搃	持	寺	僧	大
大	搃	持	寺	僧	智	安	三	校						
判	官	少	府	監	掌	治	署	令	向	義	威			
使	太	中	大	夫	行	少	府	少	監	兼	檢	校	將	作
永	興	縣	開	國	公	虞	昶	監						匠

"Copied by the scribe Ch'êng Tu on the 22nd of the 5th moon of the 2nd year of Hsien-hêng [3rd July, 671]. 19 sheets of hemp paper used. [18 remain.] Dyer of sūtras, Wang Kung. Carefully perused by the bhadantas Ling-pien, Chia-shang, Hsüan-tsê, Ch'ih-shih, Po-ch'ên, and Tê-hsün. Superintended by Hui-li, the active director, and Tao-ch'êng, the spiritual director (mahāsthavira) of the T'ai-yüan Monastery. First revision by the copyist Ch'êng Tu; second revision by Ta-tao, and third revision by Chih-an, both priests of the Ta-tsung-ch'ih Monastery. Hsiang I-kan, p'an kuan, etc. Under the general superintendence of Yü Ch'ang [a high official at Yung-hsing Hsien, i.e. Ch'ang-an], etc." Contrary to what one might expect, the actual copying of sūtras seems to have been done more often by a layman than by a monk. Here Ch'êng Tu is entitled 書手 "scribe" as well as 經生 "sūtra copyist", and also dignified by the unusual addition of 君 to his name. For 裝潢, see under the date 612, above. Hui-li is the well-known priest who compiled the life of Hsüan-tsang (N. 1494) six years before the date of this MS. His name appears in many other colophons of this Collection. In *Sung kao seng chuan*, ch. 17, no. 3, it is given as 惠立, but as it is also stated that he became active director of the T'ai-yüan Monastery, there can be no doubt as to his identity. Accounts of Chia-shang and Tao-ch'êng will be found in the same work, ch. 4, no. 9, and ch. 14, no. 2, respectively. Two strokes are omitted in the character 世 for reasons of taboo, 世民 being the personal name of the second T'ang emperor. S. 84 and S. 3079 are dated the 16th and

18th November, 671, respectively. In both, the copyist and first reviser is 郭德 Kuo Tê, the dyer is 解善集 Hsieh Shan-chi, the second reviser is 法顯 Fa-hsien, and the bhadranta 神符 Shên-fu is one of the readers. In S. 84, 普定 P'u-ting appears as third reviser, in S. 3079 思侶 (for 佩) Ssü-k'an. All the rest are the same as in S. 5319.

These are all finely written MSS. on thin, crisp, dark yellow paper, exceedingly hard and smooth, but with a tendency to brittleness.

672 (T'ANG).

S. 4209, 4551. **Miao fa lien hua ching*, ch. 3, p'in 5-7; ch. 4, p'in 8-13. These two rolls continue the series with tabulated colophons. The former is dated the 17th May, 672, the copyist and first reviser being 趙文審 Chao Wên-shên, the second reviser 智藏 Chih-tsang, and the third reviser 智興 Chih-hsing. The latter is dated the 25th September, 672, the copyist and first reviser being 劉大慈 Liu Ta-tz'ü, the second reviser 行禮 Hsing-li, the third reviser 惠冲 Hui-ch'ung. The other names are as found in S. 84. S. 4209 is said to be composed of 19 sheets of 小麻紙 "little hemp paper"; but the material appears to be exactly the same as that of S. 5319 and the rest of the series.

672 (T'ANG).

S. 36. 金剛般若波羅蜜經 **Chin kang pan jo po lo mi ching* (N. 10). Another roll with tabulated colophon similar to the preceding. The date is the 19th June, 672, and the copyist, 吳元禮 Wu Yüan-li, is called 左春坊楷書 "writer in the clerkly style attached to the left division of the Crown Prince's staff". The three revisions were all done by 蕭祿 Hsiao I. The roll is 13½ feet long.

673 (T'ANG).

S. 2573, 312. **Miao fa lien hua ching*, ch. 2, p'in 3-4; ch. 4, p'in 11-13. A continuation of the series of the Lotus Sūtra. The two colophons are exactly the same, except that the former is dated 1st November and the latter 5th November, and that in S. 2573, through an oversight, the name of Hui-li is omitted, while that of Tac-ch'êng is repeated. 封安昌 Fêng An-ch'ang is the copyist, the name of the dyer is given as 解集 Hsieh Chi (cf. S. 84 and S. 3079), the first revision was done by 懷福 Huai-fu of the 大莊嚴 Ta-chuang-yen Monastery, the second and third by 玄真 Hsüan-chên of the 西明 Hsi-ming Monastery, and the p'an-kuan is now 李德 Li Tê. Mr. Clapperton describes the paper of S. 312 as follows: "A dark buff paper of very even texture. Thickness .004 inch. This sheet

looks like a wove paper, as there is no sign of laid lines when looking through the sheet. The laid lines can be seen indistinctly by reflected light. Very smooth surface, without hairs. A short-fibred hard paper, the fibres being shorter than in any other paper examined up to this date, and the look-through of the paper is also very much closer. Very evenly felted, and might easily pass for a close-wove paper. Composition: Paper mulberry."

674 (T'ANG).

S. 456, 3348. **Miao fa lien hua ching*, ch. 3, p'in 7; ch. 6, p'in 22, 23. Two companion rolls, both somewhat mutilated, dated the 2nd of the 8th moon of the 5th year of Hsien-hêng [7th Sept.] and the 25th of the 9th moon of the 1st year of Shang-yüan [29th Oct.], respectively. The seeming discrepancy is explained by the fact that the *nien-hao* was changed to Shang-yüan in the 8th moon. In S. 3348, half the colophon is missing. 蕭敬 Hsiao Ching is the copyist, 智彥 Chih-yen of the 福林 Fu-lin Monastery the first reviser, 行軌 Hsing-kuei and 懷瓊 Huai-tsan, of the Hsi-ming Monastery, the second and third. The *p'an kuan* 李善德 Li Shan-tê is evidently the same person as Li Tê in the preceding rolls. Compare the case of Hsieh Chi, above, who also figures as Hsieh Shan-chi.

675 (T'ANG).

S. 1515. 无量壽觀經 **Wu liang shou kuan ching*. This is the *Fo shuo wu liang shou fo ching* of N. 198, K. x. 4. i. The roll in its present state begins at the end of the 7th of the 16 觀 meditations.

Colophon: 大唐上元二年四月廿八日佛弟子清信女張氏發心敬造无量壽觀經一部及觀音經一部願以此功德上資天皇天后聖化无窮下及七代父母并及法界倉生並超煩惱之門俱登淨妙國土 "On the 28th day of the 4th moon of the 2nd year of Shang-yüan in the Great T'ang dynasty [28th May, 675] the Buddhist disciple and upāsikā the Lady Chang, with pious intent, has reverently caused copies to be made of the *Wu liang shou kuan ching* and the *Kuan yin ching*, praying that this act of merit may, firstly, benefit our Divine Emperor and Empress, to the indefinite prolongation of their sovereign influence, and secondly, affect her parents of seven previous incarnations and all the living creatures of the universe, so that they may escape from the gates of affliction and one and all ascend to the wondrous realms of purity."

The roll is 14½ feet long. Apart from other considerations, the heavily oiled yellow paper and fine handwriting would make it fairly

certain that the Shang-yüan period here mentioned is not the later one of 760-1. The *Kuan yin ching* is ch. 25 of the Lotus Sūtra, often regarded as a separate work. The emperor in question is Kao Tsung, and the empress is the notorious 武則天 Wu Tsê-t'ien, who subsequently usurped the throne for over 20 years.

676 (T'ANG).

S. 114. **Miao fa lien hua ching*, ch. 7, p'in 24-28.

Colophon: 上元三年清信士張君徹爲亡妹敬寫 "Reverently copied to the order of the upāsaka Chang Chün-ch'ê on behalf of his deceased younger sister in the 3rd year of Shang-yüan."

君 may simply be a title of respect, as in the case of Ch'êng Tu: see S. 5319 (A.D. 671). The name of the upāsaka would then be Chang Ch'ê. For all we know, the "deceased younger sister" may be no other than "the Lady Chang" who was herself causing sūtras to be copied in the previous year.

This is a fine MS., rather exuberant in style, on yellow paper of excellent quality.

676 (T'ANG).

S. 2181, 1456, 3361, 2637, 4168, 1048. **Miao fa lien hua ching*, ch. 2, p'in 3, 4; ch. 5, p'in 14-17; ch. 1, p'in 1, 2; ch. 3, p'in 7; ch. 3, p'in 5-7; ch. 5, p'in 14-17.

I have arranged this series of rolls according to date. All are imperfect or badly mutilated at the beginning. The scribes are laymen and all different, but the paper-dyer is the same in each case, namely Hsieh [Shan-] chi: see years 671 (S. 84) and 673. Li Tê is still the p'an-kuan, but the general superintendent is now 闍玄道 Yen Hsüan-tao. S. 2181 is a fine MS. dated the 1st June, but the greater portion of p'in 3 has been added in a different hand. S. 1456 is dated the 29th June; the monk who is responsible for the three revisions of the text bears the curious name of 法界 Fa-chieh (Dharmadātu, the universe, things in general, or their underlying cause) and hails from the 化度 Hua-tu Monastery: this was a temple of the Three Stages sect founded by 信行 Hsin-hsing. S. 3361 is dated the 11th September, and S. 2637 the 13th September. The copyist of the latter text, 任道 Jên Tao, might be taken for a monk, but that he was a member of the 弘文館 Hung-wên Kuan, an official College of Literature. 任, however, is a fairly common surname. The first reviser, 無及 Wu-chi, belonged to the 慈門寺 Tz'ü-mên Ssü, which was also a temple of the Three Stages sect. S. 4168 is dated

the 20th October. For S. 1048, dated the 15th December, 21 sheets of "little hemp" were used. It is a thin, crisp, brownish-yellow paper of even better quality than usual at this period.

676 (T'ANG).

S. 513. **Chin kang pan jo po lo mi ching*. This, though four years later in date (29th April, 676), may be regarded as a companion roll to S. 36. The copyist is 歐陽玄哲 Ou-yang Hsüan-chê.

677 (T'ANG).

S. 4353, 2956, 3094. **Miao fa lien hua ching*, ch. 1, p'in 1, 2; ch. 7, p'in 27, 28; ch. 2, p'in 3, 4.

These are three fine MSS. on the familiar brownish-yellow paper. S. 4353 was copied on the 2nd January, and S. 2956 on the 29th of the same month, both by 王智苑 Wang Chih-wan of the Hung-wên Kuan. The revisers and readers, too, were the same in each case. S. 3094 was copied on the 26th June by 劉意師 Liu I-shih, and revised three times by 劉儼 Liu Yen.

678 (T'ANG).

S. 3135. 太玄真一本際經 **T'ai hsüan chên i pên chi ching*, ch. 2. There are four other rolls in the Stein Collection containing parts of this Taoist sūtra, which does not appear to be included in the present Canon. Taoism was in the ascendant during the T'ang dynasty, the rulers of which claimed to be descended from Lao Tzū, though it suffered a little set-back under the more Buddhistically inclined Empress Wu. The colophon is an amusing example of the slavishness with which the devotees of this bogus religion aped the ideas and phraseology of their rivals, the Buddhists: 儀鳳三年三月廿二日三洞女官郭金基奉爲亡師敬寫本際經一部以此勝福資益亡師惟願道契九仙神遊八境 "On the 22nd of the 3rd moon of the 3rd year of I-fêng [18th April, 678] the female official of the Three Profundities, Kuo Chin-chi, reverently caused a section of the *Pên chi ching* to be copied on behalf of her deceased Preceptor, in order that he might be helped and benefited by the resultant stock of surpassing happiness, praying that his path might coincide with that of the Nine Hsien ('Immortals'), and that his spirit might travel to the Eight Blessed Regions."

The works constituting the Taoist Canon fall into three main divisions which are called 洞 "Grottoes" or "Profundities", corresponding to the three Piṭaka of the Buddhists. They are: (1) 洞真部 the section of Profound Purity; (2) 洞玄部 the section of Profound Mystery; (3) 洞神部 the section of Profound Spirituality.

The first is supposed to embody the teaching of 元始天尊 the Primordial Heaven-honoured One, the other two that of 太上老君 the Most Exalted Lao Chün (Lao Tzŭ).

It is interesting to find a group of Nine Immortals mentioned instead of the familiar Eight. The cult of the Nine appears to have been widespread, for we find the following passage in the 登州府志 *Têng chou fu chih*, ch. 18, f. 20: "*Sung dynasty: the Nine Immortals with one eye between them.* One of the Nine had the sight of one eye, the other eight were blind. They got the one-eyed man to lead them, and they begged in the streets as they went. At night they halted under the 賓橋 Guests' Bridge in the north-west of the city [of Têng-chou, Shantung]. No one knew who they were. After a time, the prefect of the city met them at the bridge and issued a proclamation concerning them. But suddenly the Nine underwent transformation and vanished. Wherefore the name of the bridge was changed to 迎仙 Ying-hsien (i.e. 'Welcoming the Hsien')." There is also a long account in 神仙通鑑 *Shên hsien t'ung chien*, vii, sec. 7-8, of magical feats which they performed in the presence of the first Han emperor. In this work they are said to have been brothers, belonging to the 何 Ho family. A mountain near the city of Foochow is still called 九仙山. The 八境 form a counterpart to the Buddhist Pure Land. The number is doubtless suggested by 八方 the eight points of the compass. After the colophon, there is a note in red ink: 口記 "[] recorded." This is a fine MS. on rich yellow paper. The roll is about 14 feet long.

684 (T'ANG: usurpation of the Empress Wu).

S. 2863. [**Miao fa lien hua ching*, p'in 25.] The beginning is mutilated, but only slightly imperfect. There is no title at the end.

Colophon: 文明元年六月五日弟子索仁節寫記願七世父母所產父母託生西方阿彌陀佛國并及兄弟妹等恒發善願 "Copied and recorded by the disciple So Jên-chieh on the 5th of the 6th moon of the 1st year of Wên-ming [22nd July, 684]. He prays that his parents of seven previous incarnations, as well as the father and mother who begot him [in the present life] may be reborn in the realm of Amitâbha Buddha in the Western Regions, and that [the merit acquired] may also be shared by his brothers and sisters. Such is the virtuous prayer he would constantly utter."

文明 lasted from the 2nd to the 9th moon of this year. It was the first *nien-hao* taken by the usurping empress, and as such is ignored by official historians, who continue to use Chung Tsung's year-title

嗣聖 until his restoration in A.D. 705. The colophon is written in the same uncultivated hand as the text of the sūtra, which does not suggest a professional copyist. The paper is coarse and undyed, but fairly tough. The roll is about $8\frac{3}{4}$ feet long, and 27.5 cm. wide.

688 (T'ANG: usurpation of the Empress Wu).

S. 194. **Miao fa lien hua ching*, ch. 1, p'in 1, 2.

Colophon: 垂拱四年六月日信女楊阿僧與人受持 "On a day in the 6th moon of the 4th year of Ch'ui-kung [3rd July–1st August, 688] the female believer Yang A-sêng gave [this roll] as a lasting possession to her fellows."

A good bold MS. on yellow paper, 12 feet long.

688 (T'ANG: usurpation of the Empress Wu).

S. 791. **Miao fa lien hua ching*, ch. 3, p'in 5–7.

Colophon: 垂拱四年十一月清信佛弟子王琳妻比爲身染纏病敬寫法華經一部以此功德資益一切含靈俱登佛果 "In the 11th moon of the 4th year of Ch'ui-kung [29th Nov.–27th Dec., 688] the wife of Wang Lin, a Buddhist disciple of pure faith, being afflicted with a chronic disease, has reverently caused a section of the Fa hua ching to be copied, in order that this act of merit may benefit all beings endowed with consciousness, and that all may attain the fruits of Buddhahood."

A good MS. on rather soft yellow paper, about $28\frac{1}{2}$ feet long.

689 (T'ANG: usurpation of the Empress Wu).

S. 592. **Miao fa lien hua ching*, ch. 2, p'in 3 (slightly imperfect), 4.

Colophon: 垂拱四年十二月清信佛〈弟〉子王琳妻竝氏奉爲亡女敬寫法華一部願亡者及遍法界衆生共成佛道 "In the 12th moon of the 4th year of Ch'ui-kung [28th Dec.–26th Jan., 689] Madame Ch'i, the wife of Wang Lin and a Buddhist disciple of pure faith, has on behalf of her deceased daughter reverently caused a section of the Fa hua to be copied, praying that the deceased, as well as all living beings in the whole universe, may together achieve Buddhahood."

This roll was made a month later than the one preceding, and also to the order of Madame Wang, whose maiden name we now learn to have been 齊, of which 竝 is a vulgar form. The roll is $32\frac{1}{2}$ feet long, and made of excellent paper dyed a bright yellow.

691 (CHOU: usurpation of the Empress Wu).

S. 2157. **Miao fa lien hua ching*, ch. 4 (end only).

Colophon (see Plate I): 靈脩寺比丘尼善信知身非有淺識苦空遂減三衣之餘敬爲亡妣寫法華經

一部以此功德願亡妣乘斯福業上品上生見在安樂普及含靈俱同妙果○天授二年三月廿九日寫
 “The bhikṣuṇī Shan-hsin of the Ling-hsiu Nunnery, aware of the unreality of the body, the shallowness of perception, and the illusory nature of suffering, has therefore, on behalf of her deceased mother, cut down her personal effects over and above the [necessary] three garments, and reverently caused a section of the Fa hua ching to be copied, praying that through the merit of this virtuous act her mother may avail herself of the resultant stock of happiness and be reborn in the Pure Land, in the highest grade of the highest class, and may at the present moment enjoy peace and comfort; also, that all sentient beings may participate therein, and together taste the wonderful fruit [of bodhi and nirvāṇa]. Copied on the 29th day of the 3rd moon of the 2nd year of T'ien-shou [2nd May, 691].”

The Ling-hsiu Nunnery is mentioned several times in the Stein MSS. From a list of monasteries and nunneries given in S. 2614 v°, which may date from the tenth century, we learn that it then contained a total of 142 inmates, comprising 99 大戒尼 nuns who had taken the full vows, 29 式叉尼 probationers (śikṣamāṇā), and 14 沙彌尼 novices (śrāmaṇerikā), of whom two were senior and twelve junior. 三衣 are the three regulation garments (袈裟 kāṣāya) worn by monks and nuns, consisting of a vest or shirt, an upper garment, and a “patch-robe”, reaching from the shoulders to the knees and fastened round the waist.—There are three classes of sentient existence in the Pure Land, upper, middle, and lower, each similarly divided into three grades, making nine in all.—This is the earliest dated MS. in which we find the new characters adopted in 689 by the Empress Wu on the recommendation of a minister called 宗秦客 Tsung Ch'in-k'o. As will be seen by reference to Plate I, the characters in the above colophon which appear in their altered form are 天, 授, 年, 月, and 日. Of these, 授 does not occur in the list of 12 characters given in *T'ang shu*, lxxvi, 10 v°, and repeated with a little variation in *Tzū chih t'ung chien*, cciv, 19 v°, and *Kang mu*, xli, 106-7. On the other hand, it does occur in the list of nineteen new characters given by 宣和書譜 *Hsüan ho shu p'u* (reproduced in *T'u shu chi ch'êng*, xxiv, 1, f. 9 r°), and also in the list of sixteen given by Chêng Ch'iao in his *T'ung chih*, ch. 35, f. 13 r°. The latter points out, however, that the altered form is not really new, but derived from the archaic script. This MS. is a small fragment only about 1 foot long. The handwriting is very clear and good.

692 (CHOU: usurpation of the Empress Wu).

S. 238. 金真玉光八景飛經 **Chin chên yü kuang pa ching fei ching*. This is another Taoist sūtra which is no longer to be found in the Taoist Canon. It is devoted principally to the description of various deities, and blank spaces have been left in the text for their portraits.

Colophon: 如意元年閏五月十三日經生鄧忠寫清都觀直歲輔思節諸用忌錢造用紙一十八張 "Copied by the scribe Wu Chung on the 13th of the 5th intercalary moon of the 1st year of Ju-i [2nd July, 692] to the order of Chih-sui of the Ch'ing-tu Monastery, with his colleagues Ssü-chieh, Chu-yung, and Chi-ch'ien. 18 sheets of paper used." [10 of these remain.]

This colophon well shows the distinction in meaning between 寫 and 造. The names of the Taoist monks are rather strange, e.g. Chi-ch'ien means "Shun-money". Ju-i lasted from the 4th to the 8th moon of this year, inclusive. The Empress Wu characters in the colophon are 年, 月, and 日. In the text of the sūtra, the ordinary forms of all three occur several times.

A fine MS. on bright yellow paper of particularly good quality. The roll is 16½ feet long.

694 (CHOU: usurpation of the Empress Wu).

S. 3542. 佛說阿彌陀經 **Fo shuo a mi t'o ching*. This is the first dated example of the so-called "smaller Sukhāvati-vyūha" in Kumārajīva's translation (N. 200), which always remained far more popular than the later and fuller translation by Hsüan-tsang (N. 199); of the latter there is but a single copy in the Stein Collection as opposed to several dozen of the other.

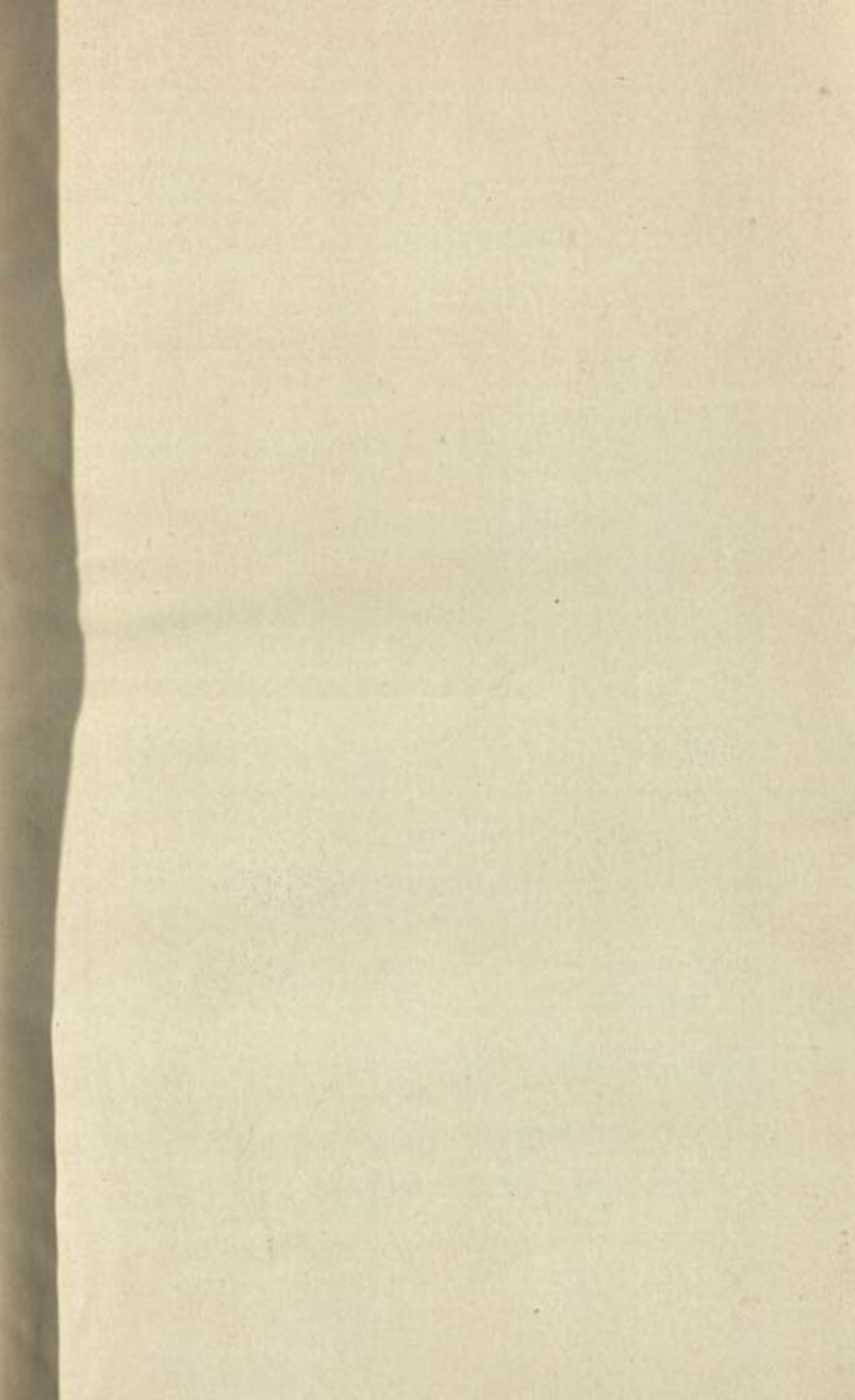
Colophon: 長壽三年六月一日佛弟子翟氏敬造阿彌陀經一部 "On the 1st day of the 6th moon of the 3rd year of Ch'ang-shou [28th June, 694] the Buddhist disciple Master Ti reverently caused a copy to be made of the Amita Sūtra."

Three of the Empress Wu characters occur here: 年, 月, and 日. A good MS. on soft yellow paper. Roll about 5½ feet long.

694 (CHOU: usurpation of the Empress Wu).

S. 5176. **Miao fa lien hua ching*, ch. 3, p'in 5-7.

Colophon: 大周長壽三年四月七日大雲寺僧懷珍爲亡母敬寫法華經一部 "On the 7th day of the 4th moon of the 3rd year of Ch'ang-shou in the Great Chou dynasty [6th May, 694] Sêng Huai-chên of the Ta-yün [Great Cloud]



靈脩寺比丘尼善信知身非有識苦空緣藏三衣之
餘敬為三批寫法華經一部以此功德願三姓業斯
福業上品上生見在安樂普賢及含藏俱同妙果
而撰二事三因廿九日寫

葵壁元季歲次癸未四月寅朔八
乙酉知功德僧道利持撰寫
同知僧法琳具投

孤舟萬歲二事十志四支日清信佛弟
子陸嗣為見存父母七世父母并
及己身及法界眾生寫觀世音經
一卷

唐肅宗五年正月廿九日奉敕令使持節蒲州刺史公陰仁協寫經為
金輪聖母及七世父母合家永得六度發願區別許寫卷得品
西界寫經兩卷及為存夫敬聖後衣願金輪聖母普為一切轉讀

FOUR COLOPHONS SHOWING "EMPERESS WU CHARACTERS", DATED A.D. 691 (S. 2157), 695 (S. 2278), 696 (S. 217), 700 (S. 87). From right to left.

Monastery reverently caused a section of the Fa hua ching to be copied on behalf of his deceased mother."

The name of the dynasty had been changed from T'ang to Chou by order of the Empress in 690. The same three new characters occur again in the colophon.

A very good, well-spaced MS. on rich yellow paper. Roll about 30½ feet long.

695 (CHOU: usurpation of the Empress Wu).

S. 2278. 佛說寶雨經 **Fo shuo pao yü ching* (Ratna-varṣa-sūtra), ch. 9. This is the only copy of N. 151 in the Collection. It contains the longest and most elaborate of the tabulated colophons, beginning thus: 大周長壽二年歲次癸巳九月丁亥朔三日己丑佛授記寺譯 "Translated at the Fo-shou-chi Monastery on the 3rd day, *chi-ch'ou*, of the 9th moon, the first day of which was *ting-hai*, of the 2nd year, *kuei-ssü*, of Ch'ang-shou in the Great Chou dynasty [7th October, 693]."

The characters 年, 月, 日, and 授 are written in the new style. The Fo-shou-chi (Buddha-given Record) Monastery stood inside the 建春 Chien-ch'un Gate at the capital. Its original name 敬愛 Ching-ai was changed by Huai-i after the buildings had been extended.

The colophon continues: 大白馬寺大德沙門懷義監譯 "The bhaddanta and śramaṇa Huai-i of the Ta-pai-ma (Great White Horse) Monastery supervised the translation."

Huai-i was a favourite of the Empress Wu, and a notorious scoundrel. He was a native of 鄂縣 Hu Hsien near Ch'ang-an, and his original name was 馮小寶 Fêng Hsiao-pao. Noted for his size and physical strength, he was taken by the Princess Ch'ien-chin (千金公主) into the Palace, where he soon became the secret lover of the Empress. In order to divert suspicion from his comings and goings, she had him ordained as a Buddhist priest and made him Director of the White Horse Temple. She also forced 薛紹 Hsieh Shao, son-in-law of the Princess T'ai-p'ing (太平公主), to adopt him into his clan, and he was thenceforth popularly known as 薛師 the Preceptor Hsieh. Huai-i now gave himself up to all kinds of lawlessness and debauchery, and a brave censor who ventured to impeach him was waylaid and beaten almost to death. He was appointed to superintend the reconstruction of the 明堂 Ming T'ang, and his services were rewarded by the titles of 左威衛大將軍 Commander-in-chief of the Left division of the Imperial Guard, and 梁國公 Duke of Liang. After a military expedition against the

T'u-chüeh had added to his honours, he was employed with a number of other monks in forging a so-called 大雲經 Great Cloud Sūtra, in which the Empress was extolled as an incarnation of Maitreya. But seeing his influence begin to wane with the rise of a new favourite, in a fit of jealous anger he set fire to the Ming T'ang and the Temple of Heaven, also newly erected, and both were burnt to the ground. Though his share in this crime was hushed up, his ever-increasing arrogance alienated the Empress, and the discovery of a treasonable plot finally led to his being seized and strangled. This happened at the end of 694, only six months before the date of this MS. The above account is taken from *Chiu t'ang shu*, clxxxiii, 15-16.

Colophon (continued): 南印度沙門達摩流支宣釋梵本 o 中印度王使沙門梵摩兼宣梵本 "Sanskrit text published and explained by the śramaṇa Dharmaruchi of Southern India; Sanskrit text conjointly published by Fan-mo, royal envoy and śramaṇa of Central India."

By order of the Empress, Dharmaruchi's name was afterwards changed to 菩提流志 Bodhiruchi, and it is under this name that he appears in *Sung kao seng chuan*, ch. 3, no. 4.

Next come four monks who played an active part in the translation, one as interpreter (譯語), one as check-interpreter (證譯語), and two as verifiers of the Sanskrit (證梵文). Here we find 天 written in the new style.

Two monks appear to have taken down the words in actual dictation (筆受), two 綴文 "sewed together" or linked up the composition, and no fewer than nine 證義 verified the meaning. A Brahman priest verified the translation, and a Brahman minister with a Chinese name, 李無諂 Li Wu-ch'an, acted as interpreter. Here 臣 is written in the new style. Three Brahmans and a native of 慶山縣 Ch'ing-shan Hsien in 鴻州 Hung-chou (Shensi) copied the Sanskrit text. The minister 李審恭 Li Shên-kung, *shang-fang* in charge of the craftsmen (尙方監匠), prepared the materials (裝), i.e. paper, ink, and dye. *Shang-fang* was the name of an officer concerned with articles destined for imperial use. The list concludes with the names of two specialists on manuscripts and composition, and two special commissioners.

Then follows what may be regarded as the real colophon, written in a much larger hand (see Plate I): 證聖元年歲次癸未四月戊寅朔八日乙酉知功德僧道利檢校寫同知僧法淋勸校 "Collated and copied by the monk Tao-li,

cognizant of merit, on the 8th day, *i-yu*, of the 4th moon, the 1st day of which was *mou-yin*, of the 1st year, *kuei-wei*, of Chêng-shêng [26th May, 695]. Examined and revised by his friend the monk Fa-lin."

Chêng-shêng fell in 乙未 *i-wei*, not *kuei-wei*, and did not last the full year. It is strange to find such a mistake in this elaborate colophon. The Empress Wu characters are 證, 聖, 年, 月, and 日. At the very end of the roll, which is about 22 feet long, are the characters 十六 "16", probably referring to the number of sheets, of which only fourteen, however, remain. Paper and handwriting are both very good.

695 (CHOU: usurpation of the Empress Wu).

S. 5005. 藥師經 **Yao shih ching*. This is N. 171, K. ix. 9. f, with an abbreviated title.

Colophon: 大周證聖元年四月十八日清信佛弟子郎行信敬寫 "Reverently copied by the Buddhist disciple of pure faith Lang Hsing-hsin on the 18th day of the 4th moon of the 1st year of Chêng-shêng in the Great Chou dynasty [5th June, 695]."

The Empress Wu characters are the same as in the preceding roll. A good MS. on good yellow paper. Roll 15 feet long.

696 (CHOU: usurpation of the Empress Wu).

S. 217. 觀世音經 **Kuan shih yin ching*. This is another name for *Miao fa lien hua ching*, p'in 25.

Colophon (see Plate I): 天册萬歲二年正月十五日清信佛弟子陰嗣爲見存父母七世父母并及己身及以法界倉生寫觀世音經一卷 "On the 15th day of the 1st moon of the 2nd year of T'ien-ts'ê-wan-sui [23rd February, 696], the Buddhist disciple of pure faith Yin Ssü copied out the Kuan shih yin ching in one roll on behalf of his parents now living and his parents of seven previous incarnations, as well as on his own behalf and that of the multitude of living beings in the universe." The Empress Wu characters are 天, 年, 正, 月, and 日.

A good MS. on dull buff paper partly dyed yellow. Roll about 4½ feet long.

700 (CHOU: usurpation of the Empress Wu).

S. 87. **Chin kang pan jo po lo mi ching* (N. 10).

The colophon (see Plate I) has a more worldly flavour about it than usual: 聖曆三年五月廿三日大升拔谷副使上柱國南陽縣開國公陰仁協寫經爲金輪聖

神皇帝及七世父母合家大小得六品發願月別
 許寫一卷得五品月別寫經兩卷久爲征行未辦
 紙墨不從本願今辦寫得普爲一切轉讀
 "On the 23rd day of the 5th moon of the 3rd year of Shêng-li
 [14th June, 700] Yin Jên-hsieh, Assistant Commissioner at Ta-shêng-
 pa-ku, *shang-chu-kuo*, and *k'ai-kuo-kung* of Nan-yang Hsien, caused
 this sūtra to be copied on behalf of the Holy and Divine Sovereign
 Lord of the Golden Wheel, his parents of seven previous incarnations,
 and all the members of his family, great and small. He made a vow
 that if he was promoted to the sixth official grade he would have one
 roll copied every month, and that if he was promoted to the fifth grade
 he would have two rolls of a sūtra copied every month. But for a
 long time, owing to warlike operations, paper and ink have not been
 procurable, so that he did not fulfil his vow. Now at last, materials
 having been procured, he has been able to have this copy made, to
 be unrolled and read on behalf of all without exception."

Nan-yang Hsien is in Honan, but the name Ta-shêng-pa-ku suggests
 a place outside the borders of China proper. The cakra, wheel or
 disc, is an emblem of sovereignty, and the 金輪王 or Golden Wheel
 King is the highest of the cakravartin, a conqueror of the universe.
 The Empress Wu, on whose behalf the sūtra was copied, had assumed
 the even higher title in the text. Her special characters in this colophon
 are 聖, 年, 月, 日, and 國. Note the different form of 月, which
 also occurs in other MSS.

This is a very good MS. on bright yellow paper, but the first sheet
 has been added in a different hand. The roll is about 15 feet long.

(To be continued.)

The Japanese Particles *Wa*, *Ga*, and *Mo*

By S. YOSHITAKE

SINCE Motoori Norinaga invented the term *kakari*, lit. "nexus", more than 150 years ago Japanese scholars have been labouring to find out the precise signification of the word he had left unexplained beyond vaguely applying it to several grammatical devices which included the uses of the particles *wa*, *mo*, *zo*, and *koso*. Among those who made a special investigation of this perplexing term is Yamada, who has written a number of valuable books on the language and literature of Japan. After many years' study he came to the conclusion that by the word *kakari* Motoori must have meant that the word or group of words immediately preceding any one of the aforesaid particles calls for a certain statement which he named *musubi*, lit. "conclusion" (YY., p. 52).

Based on this interpretation Yamada gives a long discourse, of which the following is an outline. When anyone says *Tori wa tobu toki* we feel that something is lacking, whilst no such feeling creeps into our mind when we hear *Tori ga tobu toki*. This is because *ga* connects *tori* "birds" with *tobu* "fly", and there the matter ends; the particle has no influence upon the element which is to follow *toki* "when". In other words *ga* indicates a subject and so long as it is joined to *tobu*, the companion of *tori*, its duty is performed. But *Tori wa tobu toki* requires some explanation as to what birds do or what happens to them when they fly. Thus in the expression *Tori wa tobu toki (ni) hane wo konna fū ni suru* "Birds, when they fly, move their wings like this" it is clear that *tori wa* has no direct relation to *tobu* but introduces the explanation *hane wo konna fū ni suru* "move their wings like this". In this example *tori* is the subject, but, in the sentence *Tori wa tobu toki no shisei wo mitamae*, *tori wa* is not the subject but has the meaning *tori wo ba* (YY., pp. 50-1).

If, as Yamada suggests, *Tori wa tobu toki* which means "Birds, when they fly (or when flying) . . ." is incomplete, so is *Tori ga tobu toki* which signifies "When a bird flies . . ." In the first instance the predicative element is lacking, while the latter is part of a compound sentence of which the second co-ordinate clause is not filled up. When therefore *Tori wa tobu toki* is supplied with a predicative element like *hane wo konna fū ni suru*, the resultant *Tori wa tobu toki (ni) hane wo*

konna fū ni suru is a complete statement conveying the meaning "Birds, when flying, move their wings like this" or "When birds fly, they move their wings like this". We can likewise make *Tori ga tobu toki* complete by filling up the defective element with, e.g. *kūki ga ugoku* "the air is stirred", thus *Tori ga tobu toki (ni) kūki ga ugoku* "When a bird flies, the air is stirred". Further, the sentence *Tori wa tobu toki no shisei wo mitamae* represents *Tori (no baai ni) wa (sore ga) tobu toki no shisei wo mitamae* "In the case of birds, watch their posture when they fly!" and presupposes a previous statement like *Uo ya tori no kōdō wo kansatsu suru no wa hijō ni kyōmi ga fukai. Mazu wo ga donna ni oyogu ka wo mitamae* "It is most interesting to observe the movements of such creatures as fish and birds. First, watch how fish swim." Consequently *tori wa* "in the case of birds" is not the object of *mitamae* "watch!", as Yamada believes, but stands for a suppositional clause; the direct object of the verb is undoubtedly *shisei* "posture". If, however, we change *wa* in the above example into *ga* and say *Tori ga tobu toki no shisei wo mitamae* "You watch the posture of birds when they fly!" in such a connection as "Look how gracefully that aeroplane is going along! Yes, but you just watch how birds fly! They glide just as gracefully", *tori ga* will become a part of the direct object of *mitamae* "you watch!"

In an attempt to press his point that *wa* does not necessarily indicate the subject of a sentence Yamada quotes three examples of the construction: *Hito no kokoro koso utate aru mono wa are* "How strange a thing is the heart of man!" (GM., p. 250; WT., p. 292). Explaining this example, he states that whereas *hito no kokoro* "the heart of man" is here the subject, *wa* is used after the predicative *utate aru mono* "strange a thing" with the signification of the modern *de* (YY., pp. 55-6). He is certainly right in treating *utate aru mono* as a predicative (or a complement), but surely *wa* can never acquire such a meaning; we much here supply *nite* after *mono*, and it is this *nite* that carries the force of *de*.

Yamada proceeds to dwell on a particular use of *koso* in which the verb put in the perfect form (*Izenkei*) does not refer to the element to which *koso* is affixed. Citing four examples like *Chichi mikado no kurai ni tsukasetamaite itsuka to iu hi ni umaretamaeriken koso ika ni ori sae hanayaka ni medetakariken to obochabere* "I cannot help thinking how bright and joyous an occasion it must have been, seeing that he was born on the fifth day subsequent to the accession of the Emperor, his father" (OK., p. 115), he points out that it is the verb *obochabere*

that is expressed in the perfect form, and not *medetakariken* which refers to the group of words preceding *koso*. He ascribes this construction, which is in his opinion an abnormal structure in spite of the fact that it was extensively used during the Man-yō period as well as in the Heian epoch, to a transilient influence of the particle which has a great power of governing the predicative element that follows it (YY., pp. 56-7).

From this simple exposition we learn nothing, for he does not tell us why the perfect form of a verb is used in conjunction with *koso* and what force it has when so employed. When, however, we compare the above sentence with a somewhat similar instance like *Zukyō nado wo koso wa su nare* "Certain scriptures should be read" (GM., p. 98; WT., p. 117), where the verb *su* is put in the conclusive form (Shūshikei) and *nare* in the perfect form, we can perceive that the particle *koso* in these cases has to do with the final verb and not with the one that goes before it. It is plain that in this latter example *nare* together with *koso* governs the remaining part of the sentence with the meaning "It is proper that . . .". Thus Waley's translation is a more readable way of putting "It is proper that we do such things as reading scriptures", which is the literal signification of the sentence. Accordingly, in the example quoted by Yamada, the final verb together with the particle *koso* modifies the rest of the sentence with the meaning "It is but natural to think that . . .".

The above review, brief though it is, exhausts the salient points in Yamada's argument on *kakari* and *musubi*. If, as he maintains, *wa* requires a certain statement, so does *ga*, which is distinguished by him as one of the "case auxiliary words" from the class of particles he calls "*kakari* auxiliary words". What is really meant by the users of the words *kakari* and *musubi* seems to be that *wa*, *mo*, *koso*, and certain other particles imply that the element which follows any one of them is bound up by the element which immediately precedes it. Translate, if you like, *kakari* "binding" and *musubi* "bound up", but since these terms apply to nearly all particles nothing is gained by introducing them into the already complicated study of Japanese.

What, then, are the functions of the particles under consideration? Yamada states that *wa* has the signification of exclusiveness and is used to designate a thing clearly and to prevent its being confused with other things, while *ga* serves to modify a noun or noun-equivalent or to indicate the subject of a sentence (YB., pp. 253, 207). This view, which is shared by Kiyeda (KK., pp. 551, 464), is quite inappropriate

because in sentences like *Kore wa watakushi-no desu* "This is mine" and *Kore ga watakushi-no desu* "This is mine"¹ both *wa* and *ga* indicate the subject and are alike used to designate a thing clearly and to prevent its being confused with other things.

Equally unsuitable is Sansom's interpretation. According to him, *wa* serves to "relate subject and predicate of a logical proposition". "It is separative or emphatic to this extent," he continues, "that the mental process by which any logical proposition is formed consists of two stages, first an analysis and then a synthesis. When we say 'fire is hot' we have first selected from all the concepts in our minds the particular concept 'fire', and then we predicate of it some selected property. *Wa* in Japanese denotes the concept selected. It might thus be called selective, separative, or distinguishing" (SH., p. 258). But when anyone says "I say, *John* was here this morning", where "*John*" would be followed by *ga* in the Japanese equivalent, we must consider that the speaker has first selected the particular concept "*John*" and then has predicated of the person by adding "was here this morning". All that Sansom here says of *wa*, therefore, is applicable also to *ga*, which, following him, indicates the subject of a sentence (SH., p. 233).

When we turn to Chamberlain we find that he, too, throws no light on this point. He tells us that "*ga* is used as a sign of the nominative case (CH., p. 66), while *wa* "is now used as a separative or isolating particle, corresponding in some measure to the French 'quant à', and serves to lift the preceding element out of the regular current of the sentence and set it in a place apart, as in the use of the French word "*lui*" in a construction like "*Lui, qu'est ce qu'il en dit?*" (CH., pp. 85-6). Further, speaking of the difference between *wa* and *ga*, he asserts that "when a speaker has in his mind a predicate and gives it a subject, he uses *ga*, but when the subject is uppermost in his mind and he gives it a predicate he uses *wa*" (CH., p. 89). This interpretation, which is supported by Rose-Innes (RC., pp. 82-3) and Matsushita (cf. KK., pp. 553-4), is in a way correct if we were to accept the definitions usually given of "subject" and "predicate" in grammars. But when we read Chamberlain's final remark that "*wa* is emphatic and separative" (CH., p. 91), in spite of his assertion that "the use of *ga* necessitates emphasis on the subject in the English translation, whereas the use of *wa* necessitates emphasis on the

¹ In this article words that are stressed in the English sentences are printed in italics.

predicate" (CH., p. 90), we are driven to close the book and sigh in despair.

Relief is brought by Noss, who explains that "*ga* simply marks out the subject, excluding other things, while *wa* indicates that an important predicate is to follow" (NT., p. 3). Still more lucid definitions are given of these two particles by McGovern, according to whom "*wa* serves to emphasize the predicate, and *ga* the subject" (MC., p. 15). That neither of these two explanations is perfect will be seen when we try to apply their definitions of *wa* to a construction like *Kore wa watakushi-no de wa arimasen* "This is not mine", for their interpretation does not account for the use of the second *wa* which is found within the predicate.

In a sentence like *Watakushi wa tabako ga dai-suki desu* "I am very fond of smoking" Chamberlain believes that *ga* preserves its older meaning "of" (CH., p. 65). It is true that the words *suki* "fondness", *hoshii* "be desirous", *iru* "be in want", etc., usually require *ga* before them, when the particle corresponds very closely to "of". However, such instances as *Wa ga mi ga hoshi kuni wa* "The country I fain would see" (K., p. 210; CK., p. 334), where *mi ga hoshi* means "desirous of seeing", are rare in eighth-century literature. Instead we usually find the words, which would now be followed by *ga* in similar constructions, standing alone without any particle. For example: *Kamitsuse wa se hayashi* "The water in the upper reaches is (too) rapid" (K., p. 26; CK., p. 48) would be *Jōryū wa nagare ga hayai* in modern colloquial, and *Sore kao yoshi* "She is good-looking" (K., p. 185) answers to modern *Sono onna wa kiryō ga ii*. Even in the language of the thirteenth century *ga* was not used in such a position, e.g. *Onna wa chikara yowashi* "Women have little strength" (U., p. 270), in expressing which the modern Japanese would use *ga* and say *Onna wa chikara ga yowai*. On historical grounds, therefore, Chamberlain's explanation is imperfect, even if it is not inaccurate. Moreover, it is only applicable to certain cases.

Quoting an example *Kitsune wa o ga nagai* "The fox has a long tail" Noss declares that the subject with *wa* is here "grammatically disconnected from the sentence, while the predicate *nagai* (long) takes the subordinate subject *o* (tail) with *ga*" (NT., p. 6). He goes on to say that in a sentence like *Nihon wa yama ga ōi* "Japan is mountainous" (lit. "In regards to Japan, mountains are many", according to him) "grammatically *yama ga ōi* is a complete sentence, but the expression simply fills the place of an adjective" (NT., p. 6).

On this particular use of *ga* Yoshizawa has written an article (YT., pp. 1-10), in which he states that in expressions like *Ji ga kakenu* "I cannot write", *Hon ga iru* "I am in want of a book", *Kashi ga suki da* "I am fond of sweets", *Mizu ga nomitai* "I want to drink water", *Kane ga hoshii* "I want money", and *Hebi ga kowai* "I am frightened of serpents", *ga* is generally regarded as indicating the grammatical object. Refuting this prevalent opinion he contends that the idea *Hebi ga kowai* cannot be expressed in the form *Hebi wo kowai* by using *wo* (which is a sign of the accusative case) any more than is it possible to represent *Hebi wo kowaku omou* "I am frightened of serpents" by *Hebi ga kowaku omou*. Further, we cannot simply remove the *-tai* element from *Mizu ga nomitai* and say *Mizu ga nomu*, whereas if we retain the same element we cannot say *Mizu wo nomitai* by replacing *ga* by *wo*. That this form is occasionally found in novels is due to the writers' wrong analogy on *Mizu wo nomu*, etc. It follows from this that whilst *wo* connects *mizu* "water" and *nomu* "drink" *ga* binds *mizu* and *-tai* "wish", aided by another element *nomi* "drinking". For these reasons Yoshizawa, in agreement with Mitsuya, considers the words designated by *ga* in the above examples as the subjects of the respective sentences.

It must not be hastily concluded, however, that by using the word "subject" Yoshizawa means that the word to which *ga* is affixed in the cases under consideration is the subject of the whole sentence, for he intimates that in the above examples the "principal (or general) subject" (Sōshu) such as e.g. *watakushi wa* "I" is omitted. In order to explain the difference between these two kinds of subjects he cites two more examples: *Tōkyō wa jinkō ga ōi* "Tōkyō is populous" and *Chōjūchūgyo mina sei ari* "Birds, beasts, insects and fish are all sexual". "In these sentences," he says, "everyone will treat *jinkō* 'population' and *sei* 'sex' as the subjects of the respective sentences, as it is only right to do so." "Just as," he continues, "*Hebi ga kowai* is used in the sense of *Hebi wo kowaku omou*, so the sentence *Tōkyō wa jinkō ga ōi* has the meaning *Tōkyō wa jinkō wo ōku motte iru* 'Tōkyō has a large population'." In the same way, *sei ari* in the above example means, in his opinion, *sei wo motte iru* "have sex", not *sei to iu mono ga sonzai shite iru* "what is called 'sex' exists". Thus he concludes that in these sentences *Tōkyō* and *chōjūchūgyo* are the "principal (or general)" subjects of the respective sentences, and *jinkō* and *sei* the "auxiliary" subjects.

This dissertation by Yoshizawa is unfortunately devoid of value,

for at least two distinct constructions are mixed up in his treatment. If, in the sentence *Ji ga kakenu* "I cannot write", the "principal" subject such as *watakushi wa* "I" is omitted, as Yoshizawa suggests, then in the expressions *Katō wa Eigo no hon ga yomeru* "Katō can read English books" and *Katō ni wa konna hon wa yomenai* "Katō can't read a book like this" the word *Katō* must likewise be the main subject. But in the last example *Katō* is followed by *ni* which can never be used with any subject, "principal" or "subordinate", in the grammatical sense of the word "subject".¹ This means that *Katō* in these sentences is not the proper subject and that the particle *ni*, which is affixed to *Katō* in the negative expression, is left out in the former construction. On the other hand, we cannot say *Boku ni wa mizu ga nomitaku nai* for *Boku wa mizu ga nomitaku nai*. Accordingly, the *-tai* construction, together with such cases as *Kane ga hoshii*, *Kashi ga suki da*, and *Hebi ga kowai* have to be explained differently. Then again, the idea *Chōjūchūgyo mina sei ari* may be expressed in the form *Chōjūchūgyo ni wa mina sei ga aru*, where *ni* is used after the word *chōjūchūgyo* which Yoshizawa regards as the main subject. Since in this last sentence the particle *ni* has a locative function, the word *chōjūchūgyo* cannot be a subject of any kind. As a matter of fact, Yoshizawa has not missed this point, for he adds that in the sentence *Koppu ga bon ni nosete arimashita* "A tumbler was placed on the tray", which may stand for *Bon wa koppu ga nosete arimashita* "The tray had a tumbler (placed) on it", the word *bon* "tray" is expressed in a different capacity and cannot therefore be repeated as representing the "principal" subject of the sentence. It is obvious that Yoshizawa was then at the end of his resources. He would have been saved from offering this unsatisfying explanation if he had realized that in the last sentence the particle *ni*, which might have been affixed to *bon*, had been dropped. But since this use of *ni* differs from that of the same particle in *Katō ni wa konna hon wa yomenai*, the construction *Chōjūchūgyo mina sei ari* requires separate consideration.

The problem has also been dealt with by Yamada. According to him, when a sentence contains two subjects, one of them indicating a part of that which is denoted by the other, the subject which designates the whole is the "principal" subject, and the subject which represents a part is the "subordinate" subject (YB., p. 454). Thus, in

¹ In this article I have been compelled to use several terms like "subject", etc., which are both ambiguous and unsatisfactory.

the sentence *Zō wa karada ga ōkii* "The elephant has a large body" the word *zō* "elephant" is in his opinion the principal subject and *karada* "body" the subordinate subject. But in another example given by him, namely *Suzu wa iro ga gin ni nite iru* "Tin resembles silver in colour", can we consider *iro* "colour" as a part of *suzu* "tin"? This may be accepted on the ground that colour is one of the attributes of the metal, but it would certainly be impossible to say that, in the example quoted by Chamberlain, *tabako* "tobacco (or smoking)" is a part of *watakushi* "I", although such a figurative locution as "Music is a part of me" is quite common in English.

To make the matter more complicated Yamada distinguishes his "subordinate subject" from what he calls *chinjutsuku* "predicative phrase". His contention is that in the above examples *Zō wa karada ga ōkii* and *Suzu wa iro ga gin ni nite iru*, the words *karada ga* and *iro ga* merely serve to add explicitness, and therefore the sentences would be intelligible without them, but that in expressions like *Tōkyō wa sakura ga ōi* "There are many cherry-trees in Tōkyō" and *Ano hito wa kōsai ga umai* "He is sociable", if the words *sakura ga* "cherry-trees" and *kōsai ga* "social intercourse" were omitted, the meaning of the sentences would be either altered or lost entirely (YK., pp. 387-9).

However, before acknowledging such an interpretation we must pause to think how we actually speak. Suppose a Japanese says *Boku iku*. Is it a complete statement? As an answer to the question *Kimi iku n' kai* "Are you going?" it has a complete meaning "I am". But it is undoubtedly incomplete as a chance statement, for it does not tell whither, how, when, or why the speaker is going. And this in spite of the fact that it consists of a subject *boku* "I" and a predicate *iku* "go" that requires no direct object. In point of fact, our utterance is almost always incomplete, and this incompleteness is the beauty of language, for it appeals to the listener's intelligence and arouses his imagination. How unbearably monotonous and irksome language would become if we expressed more than we are accustomed to! Who would be patient enough to listen to a conversation of this kind: "Have you been to see the show you said you were going to the last time we met? Yes, I have been to see the show I said I was going to the last time we met"? To us who converse by word of mouth the Japanese saying "Better defect than excess" is indeed a merciful advice.

Thus *Tōkyō wa ōi* (without *sakura ga*) and *Ano hito wa umai* (without *kōsai ga*) perfectly express the meanings "There are many cherry-trees in Tōkyō" and "He is sociable" when they are uttered

subsequently to, e.g., *Kōbe wa sakura ga sukunai* "There are not many cherry-trees in Kōbe" and *Boku wa kōsai ga heta da* "I'm not sociable". If *Tōkyō wa ōi* when uttered of a sudden does not convey any definite meaning, so would *Zō wa ōkii* be ambiguous to a person who has never seen an elephant. It is because we know something of the elephant that this expression immediately suggests to us that the speaker is referring to the elephant's body and not to its eyes or its ears. If, therefore, anyone speaks abruptly of a Mr. Katō whom we have not met and says *Katō-san wa ōkii* we shall fail to understand whether he is speaking of Katō's physique, his head, his eyes, or something else, because this expression may stand not only for *Katō-san wa karada ga ōkii* "Mr. Katō is big-bodied" but also for *Katō-san wa atama ga ōkii* "Mr. Katō has a large head", *Katō-san wa me ga ōkii* "Mr. Katō has large eyes", and so forth, according to the contexts of situation.

There is, in fact, no need to make such a fuss about so simple a matter as the one in question. When we compare *Kore wa hinshitsu ga warui* "This is inferior in quality" or *Kore wa gaiken ga warui* "This is bad in appearance" with *Kore wa ichibun warui* "This is partly bad" or *Kore wa dono ten ni oite mo warui* "This is bad in every respect", we can at once recognize that the element which immediately precedes *warui* "is bad" in each of these sentences modifies the meaning of the adjective. It is therefore an adverb equivalent. Thus the particle *ga* affixed to *kashi* "sweets", *mizu* "water", *kane* "money", *hebi* "serpents", and *jinkō* "population" in the examples quoted by Yoshizawa, and to the words *karada* "body", *iro* "colour", *sakura* "cherry-trees", and *kōsai* "social intercourse" in the sentences cited by Yamada, serves to restrict the application of the word or group of words which follows it to the one that immediately precedes it. Its function is in no way different from that which is found in certain set-phrases in modern Japanese, e.g. *wa-ga-mama* "waywardness", *sore ga tame (ni)* "on account (or in consequence) of that". It is with this force that *ga* came to be used with the so-called "subject" of a sentence, as in *Kore ga watakushi-no desu* "This is mine", *Kyō ga tōka desu* "To-day is the tenth", *Kore ga ii* "This is good (better, or the best)", and *Watakushi ga ikimasu* "I am" (in answer to the question "Is anyone going?").

Historically speaking, the use of *ga* in the context under consideration seems to have been confined to a noun-phrase or noun-clause in the eighth century, as may be seen from the Kojiki passage

Wa ga mi ga hoshi kuni wa cited on p. 31 above. Precisely when this use was extended to other cases I am not in a position to assert beyond stating that the modern uses can be traced back to the fifteenth century (for examples cf. YM., p. 259). It is well to note that in about A.D. 1400 the particle *wo* was used in the *-tai* construction, e.g. *Kuwashiki mune wo kikitaku wa* "If you want to know the details" (G., p. 449), which corresponds to the modern *Kuwashii koto ga kikitakereba*. Some Japanese still prefer this use of *wo*, though disapproved by others like Yoshizawa. Even those who use *ga* in *Mizu ga nomitai* would not hesitate to employ *wo* in *Mizu wo nomitai to omou* "I feel like having a drink of water". Besides, the form *-tagaru* takes *wo*, not *ga*. The point is this: no matter whether it is accompanied by *ga* or *wo*, the word *mizu* "water", when used in conjunction with *nomitai* "want to drink" and preceded by *boku wa*, is a part of the predicate.

With regard to the "emphatic particle" *wa* in contrast with *zo* and *koso* Sansom states as follows: "Emphatic particles are freely used in Japanese, for two very good reasons. In the first place spoken Japanese has an even accentuation, and it is therefore not easy to emphasize words by oral stresses. In the second place English, for instance, has other ways of showing emphasis, which are not available in Japanese. Thus we can say 'I did go' instead of 'I went', or we can say 'John it was' instead of 'It was John'; but Japanese does not allow of such modifications or changes in significant word-order. These considerations go a long way towards explaining the use of emphatic particles where emphasis is required, but they do not sufficiently account for all uses of *wa*. For one thing, if *wa* is emphatic, so are *zo* and *koso*, and there is not much difference, except in degree of emphasis, between *hi wa atsushi*, *hi zo atsuki*, and *hi koso atsukere*. Seeing that all these particles existed in a relatively primitive stage of the language, it is surely unlikely that the language would have developed such a refinement as these grades of emphasis unless forced to it by a deficiency in some other direction" (SH., pp. 257-8).

How inadequate Sansom's observations are can easily be seen when we compare the following four expressions¹ :—

- (1) *Anata (wa) ikimashita ka?* = "Did you go?"
- (2) *Anata (wa) itta n' desu ka?* = "Did you go?"
- (3) *Anata wa ikimashita ka?* = "Did you go?"
- (4) *Anata ga itta n' desu ka?* = "Is it you who went?"

¹ In this article words that are stressed in the Japanese sentences are printed in Roman letters.

The plain fact is that Japanese does make use of oral stress, and *Watakushi (wa) itta n' desu* "I did go" is distinguished from *Watakushi (wa) ikimashita* "I went". Further, "John it was who said that"¹ would be *Jon da sô itta no wa* as a contrast to *Sô itta no wa Jon da* "It was John who said that". Inversions of this kind have always existed since the earliest period of the Japanese language of which we have knowledge.

The functions of *zo* and *koso* are entirely different from that of *wa*. In ancient Japanese the subject of a sentence was not marked by any particle when it was thought that the question of emphasis could be gathered from the context. But when it was felt necessary to show that the subject was emphasized, *zo* was affixed to it, whilst the especial emphasis on a predicative word was indicated by using *wa* before it. Thus *Hi atsushi* may have meant "Fire is hot" or "Fire is hot" according to circumstances, while *Hi wa atsushi* "Fire is hot" and *Hi zo atsuki* "Fire is hot (hotter, or the hottest)" had more definite meanings. Towards the end of the tenth century the nominal construction *Hi ga atsuki (koto)* "Fire's hotness" was about to be supplanted by the *Hi ga atsushi* "Fire is hot", and since that time the latter form gradually took the place of the other nominal construction *Hi zo atsuki* which appears to have once meant "fire itself hotness". The following examples will suffice to show the sequence of development.

(1) *Irose zo hashiki* "Mine elder brother is dearer" (K., p. 138; CK., p. 226).

(2) *Wa ga katachi wo kakimamitamaishi ga ito hazukashiki koto* "Thy having peeped at my (real) shape (makes me) very shame-faced" (K., p. 94; CK., pp. 152-3).

(3) *Kaku warai imasuru ga hazukashi* "Your ridicule . . . makes me feel embarrassed" (MS., p. 668).²

(4) *Mizu no soko ye kashira wo irete mireba hontai ga nai* "When he ducked his head into the water he found that what he wanted was not there" (SA., p. 91).

The particle *koso* seems to have a very interesting history behind it. One of its earliest uses was to designate wish, when the particle followed

¹ Such a form as "John it was" never stands alone in English; it is invariably followed by a noun-clause.

² In each of the examples (2) and (3) it is hard to decide whether the element preceding *ga* is the subject of the sentence or a part of the predicate. All that we can safely state is that the group of words to which *ga* is affixed restricts the application of the adjective that follows it.

the adverbial form (Renyōkei) of a verb and stood at the end of a clause. This particular use appears to have already been obsolete, or at least obsolescent, in the spoken Japanese of the eighth century, being preserved only in the language of poetry in that period (for examples see OM., pp. 243, 263-4). According to the current reading, the language of the Kojiki contained various uses of *koso*, the commonest of which may be illustrated by the following examples:—

(1) *Are tsune wa umitsuji wo tōshite kayowan to koso omoishi wo* "I had wished always to come and go across the sea-path. But . . ." (K., p. 94; CK., p. 152).

(2) *A ga mou tsuma ari to iwaba koso ni ie ni mo yukame kuni wo mo shinubame* "If they said that the spouse whom I love were (there), I would go home, I would long for my country" (poem, K., p. 237; CK., p. 366).

(3) *Sono toki ni koso are kanarazu ai-iwame* "At that time I will surely meet and speak with thee" (K., p. 226; CK., p. 350).

(4) *Ubeshi koso toitamae* "It is indeed natural that thou shouldest deign to ask" (poem, K., p. 220; CK., p. 344).

(5) *Na koso wa yo no nagabito* "Thou indeed art a long-lived person" (poem, K., p. 220; CK., p. 343).

(6) *Kare kono tachi wa tatematsuru ni koso* "So I just present this cross-sword to thee" (K., p. 101; CK., p. 164).

(7) *Kono shiroki i ni nareru mono wa sono kami no tsukaimono ni koso arame* "This creature that is transformed into a white boar must be a messenger from the Deity" (K., p. 161; CK., p. 262).

(8) *Are mono iwazu tada uta wo koso utaitsure* "I said nothing; I was only singing a song" (K., p. 132; CK., p. 217).

Yamada's simple explanation that *koso* "points out something pre-eminently" (YB., p. 258) is no explanation, for his definition of *wa* cited on p. 29 above amounts to the same thing. Chamberlain treats *koso* as an emphatic particle pure and simple, rendering its meaning by "surely", "indeed", etc. But when we observe its frequent association with verbs ending in *-me*, the perfect form (Izenkei) of the probable mood, we cannot help suspecting that there must be something deeper after all in the function of *koso*. Although Chamberlain's translation of example (1) is almost correct, we may, for the purpose of bringing out the force of the particle more distinctly, translate it more literally thus "I had always wished that I would (be able to) come and go by the sea-path, and now . . .". We shall then

be able to see very clearly that *koso* here serves to indicate an unrealized wish, for the expression of which the subjunctive mood is used in English. In example (2) the same particle introduces two subjunctive clauses. Example (3) really means "If you do so, then I would certainly talk with you", and therefore *koso* here again introduces a subjunctive clause. So does it also in (4), as plainly shown by Chamberlain's rendering. The same scholar's translation of (5) gives us the impression that the particle served merely to emphasize the statement. But when we compare this example with a modern expression like *Kare koso shin no aikokusha da* "If ever there has been a true patriot, he is one" we are led to conclude that the Kojiki passage must have the meaning "If ever there has been a long-lived person, you are one". It is true that both English and French, for instance, use the indicative in "if ever" clauses, but since the position of the word "ever" here intensifies the doubt, we may consider that *koso* introduces the subjunctive, "you would be one," also in the present construction. The force of *koso* in (6) is intensifying in all appearances, but if we translate the sentence into "So I will (or wish to) present this cross-sword to you", which is equally suitable for the context as Chamberlain's interpretation, we shall find that here once more the particle is used in a subjunctive connection, because the subjunctive is the mood of "will". The translation "must be" for *koso arame* in example (7) clearly shows that the particle here serves to indicate the speaker's judgment upon the state of a third person. The use of *koso* in (8) can only be regarded as emphasizing the statement. So we can see that already at the beginning of the eighth century the particle *koso* had a variety of uses. But how did all this come about?

In the history of the majority of the European languages the optative has been very closely related to the subjunctive, the former being the mood of "wish" and the latter the mood of "will", so much so that nearly all subjunctives in the Germanic languages may be traced back to optatives (cf. SS., pp. 63-6, 85-109). The subjunctive itself has been encroached upon by the indicative in some languages, as, e.g., in French "*si j'étais là*", while both English and German still keep the subjunctive "were" and "wäre" in like circumstances.

Such being the case with many languages, it would not be unreasonable to conjecture the existence of similar phenomena also in Japanese. It is not unlikely that from the verb *kosu* "wish" there evolved the particle *koso*, which first served to denote wish (cf.

TK., p. 157; YA., p. 666).¹ Thence its use was extended to the contexts which require subjunctives in some other languages. If the subjunctive is the mood of "will", the principal duty of *koso* used in such a context must be to express volition, i.e. the speaker's determination to doing or not doing something. From this the use of *koso* could be further extended to an expression of determination concerning the action or state of someone else, i.e. judgment or conclusion, and the transition from decisiveness implied by conclusion to emphasis is not difficult to imagine. This assumption seems to explain all the principal uses of *koso* in the Japanese language of the eighth century. Incidentally it also accounts for the close relationship between *koso* and *namo* (> *nan*), which latter was used for designating volition (hence intention) and desire (cf. MG., pp. 258-262).

Such a series of developments in the function of *koso* could not possibly have been realized in a short space of time. In other words the particle in question, hence also the perfect form (Izenkei) of verbs which was associated with it, must have had a comparatively long history already 1,200 years ago. In face of this likelihood Sansom asserts that "the perfect form came into use in Japanese just before the Nara period" on the dubious ground that if it "had existed in the language from which both archaic Japanese and Luchuan are descended it would have left some traces in Luchuan" (SH., p. 143). The fallacy of this inference is shown by Ifa's observation that Luchuan had at one time a word or particle, pronounced *su* (*shu*, *sho*, or *jo*), which corresponded to Japanese *koso* and which required the perfect form of verbs as did *koso* (IK., pp. 406-413). In my opinion the so-called "honorific" suffix *-su* in ancient Japanese originally served to denote volition (cf. YA., p. 654), and it is probably to this Japanese suffix that the old Luchuan *su* is related. If this hypothesis be granted, then we can state that in Luchuan *su* survived in the forms *su*, *shu*, *sho*, and *jo* until about the seventeenth century, but that in Japanese it had already been absorbed by the ninth century in the old optative *koso*, which has been handed down to us with a complexity of uses.

A systematic study of the exact relationship between the various duties of *koso* and the positions which the particle occupies in sentences under different circumstances would enable us to establish the true sequence of development, but a detailed discussion of such a matter lies outside the scope of the present article. We must content ourselves

¹ In this use *koso* may have retained its verbal nature, as it was regularly preceded by the adverbial form of a verb.

with but one particular instance, in which *koso* is employed for an expression of request with the meaning "I pray" and is affixed to the name of a person. This use of the particle seems to have come into being some time during the tenth century, undoubtedly as an extension of its older function of designating wish. For example: *Ue koso. Kono tera ni owaseshi Genji-no-Kimi koso owashitan nare. Nado mitamawanu* "Pray, Grandmother! Prince Genji who came to see us in the mountains is here, paying a visit. Why do you not let him come and talk to you?" (GM., p. 140). Waley translates *Ue koso* "Grandmother, Grandmother!" (WT., p. 163) and *Ukon-no-Kimi koso* "Ukon Ukon" (WT., p. 102), but it is manifest that *koso* here means "I pray". Matsuoka, too, is inaccurate in stating that in the above example a word like *mitamae* "look!" is omitted after *Ue koso* (MG., pp. 224-5).

Not a single writer on Japanese grammar has attempted to explain the use of *wa* with the direct object of a verb. The direct object is indicated by *wo* only under two conditions: (1) When the speaker presumes that the object is not in the hearer's mind; and (2) when the speaker wishes to draw the especial attention of the hearer to it. When, however, the speaker thinks that the object is more or less apparent to the listener he would use *wa* in place of *wo*. To take an example, in answer to the question *Anata (wa) kono hon wo mimashita ka* "Have you seen this book?" the Japanese would always replace *wo* by *wa* and say *Hai, sono hon wa (mō) mimashita* "Yes, I've seen that book" (or *Ie, sono hon wa mada mimasen* "No, I haven't seen that book") if the word *hon* "book" is to be repeated. It is quite evident that the informative element of the answer is *mimashita* "I've seen" (or *mada mimasen* "I haven't seen"), hence the less informative element *sono hon* "that book" is followed by *wa* when it is expressed. If a Japanese asks you *Kono hon wa mimashita ka* "Have you seen this book?" by using *wa* in place of *wo* it is not because he thinks that *kono hon* "this book" should be "isolated" as he has omitted *anata wa* "you", but because he is showing you the book, and so he presumes that it should be obvious to you that he is speaking of it.

Here it may be noted that Sansom did try to explain this particular use of *wa*, but quite unintentionally. He states: "Probably one of the best illustrations of the true function of *wa* is provided by the Japanese idiom which is commonly used when in English we should employ a passive construction. In English a sentence like 'This house was built by my father' is of a normal type, but the Japanese idiom does

not favour a passive construction applied to the name of an inanimate thing, because an inanimate thing like a house cannot get an action performed, cannot, for instance, get itself built. Consequently in Japanese the correct rendering of the above sentence is *Kono uchi wa chichi ga tatemashita*, where the subject of the logical proposition *kono uchi* 'this house' is designated by *wa*, and the predicate is the complete sentence *chichi ga tatemashita* 'my father built' (SH., pp. 258-9).

That this interpretation is wide of the mark can easily be seen when we change the order of the words and say *Chichi ga kono uchi wo tatemashita*, which has much the same meaning as the sentence quoted by Sansom. It is clear as crystal that *kono uchi* in both these constructions is the direct object of *tatemashita* "built". The sentence with *wa* really means "You see this house here? My father built it" or "This house you are in now—well, my father built it", while the construction with *wo* is generally used in an adverb-clause, e.g. *Chichi ga kono uchi wo tateta toshi ni watakushi wa Eikoku ye ikimashita* "I went to England in the same year as my father built this house".

A structure like "This house was built by my father" has no exact counterpart in normal Japanese, but since this form of expression is used in such circumstances as pointed out above, the Japanese convey the same concept in the form quoted by Sansom. If we were to follow his instructions we should find ourselves in a hopeless situation directly we venture to translate "A clock was stolen by a thief", because *Tokei wa dorobō ga nusumimashita* has a different meaning: "The clock (my clock, etc.) was stolen by a thief". When, however, we reflect upon the possible reason why the English sentence has to be rendered by *Dorobō ga tokei wo nusumimashita*, where *tokei* "clock" is accompanied not by *wa* but by *wo*, we are bound to realize that it is not the sheer aversion to the application of a passive construction to the name of an inanimate thing that calls for the use of *wa* with the direct object of a verb. It must be the intrinsic function of *wa* as designating the relatively better known element of a sentence that has prompted the use of *wa* in such a position. Naturally words like "a clock", "clocks", that have indefinite meanings can never be accompanied by *wa*, no matter whether they are used as the subject of a sentence or as the direct object, unless they have been mentioned in a previous statement or are used in the generalized sense "the machine called 'a clock'".

There remains to be considered the particle *mo*. According to Sansom, "*mo* may best be regarded as complementary to *wa*, for where

wa excludes one thing from other things, *mo* includes one thing with other things" (SH., p. 263), while Yamada defines *mo* as "contrasting and inclusive, indicating a certain thing and hinting at the existence of similar things" (YB., p. 255). Sansom's explanation is not faultless. Examine the following three sentences:—

(1) *Kore ga watakushi-no desu* "This is mine" (Information: *kore* "this"), in answer to "Which is yours?"

(2) *Kore wa watakushi-no desu* "This is mine" (Information: *watakushi-no* "mine"), in answer to "Whose is this?"

(3) *Sore mo watakushi-no desu* "That's mine, too" (Information: *sore mo* "that . . . too"), in answer to "What else is yours?"

Anyone upon comparing these three sentences might argue that *mo*, when used with the subject of a sentence, is complementary as much to *ga* as it is to *wa*. The definition offered by Yamada elucidates the reason why *mo* is affixed to the subject of a sentence whose predicate has not been mentioned previously when the speaker implies something else for which the same predicate holds good. Thus, in a sentence like *Nihon mo kore kara wa dandan atsuku narimasu yo* "From now on Japan will gradually get hotter and hotter, you know" the speaker has in mind other countries of similar climate, whereas if he replaces *mo* by *wa* the statement would concern Japan alone, irrespective of other countries.

This is very clear and perfectly explains the use of *mo*, but I am not quite sure whether all Japanese entertain the same thought when they utter the sentence in question. Speaking personally, when I express such an idea in Japanese, other countries do not enter into my mind, no matter whether I use *wa* or *mo*; my intention is to refer to Japan alone without hinting at other countries. None the less, I do seem to make a distinction between the use of these two particles also in this particular case. When I use *mo* I am speaking of Japan exclusively but in a general and somewhat non-committal way, whereas the use of *wa* would make me feel that I am confining my statement too strictly to Japan alone. It is probably my knowledge of other countries that induces me to employ *mo* in preference to *wa* in order to evade such a likely answer as "Well, Japan is not the only country". Be that as it may, the force of *mo* in the sentence under consideration seems much weaker than that in example (3) quoted above.

Both *wa* and *mo* may be found immediately after the *-te* (*-de*) form of inflective words. The *-te wa* (*-de wa*) form has either a suppositional

meaning "if" or a conditional signification "when, as", while the form *-te mo* (*-de mo*) conveys a concessive idea "even if, although". Yamada appears to believe that the forms *-te wa* and *-te mo* contain the conjunctive form (Renyōkei) *-te* of *-tsu* (YB., pp. 162, 239). Sansom, who shares Yamada's opinion, calls the *-te* form sometimes a participle (SH., pp. 175, 177) and sometimes a gerund (SH., pp. 243, 347), whereas Chamberlain (CH., p. 165), McGovern (MC., p. 31), and Rose-Innes (RC., pp. 14-16) all give it the name "gerund". But since the form in question, while doing some of the duties of the English gerund and participle, does not agree with either of these, it would be best to call it simply the *-te* (*-de*) form. If a participle in English can convey the meanings "if" and "as", e.g. in "Strictly speaking (= If we speak strictly)" and "Having (= As I have) so much to do at home, I scarcely ever go out", there should be nothing strange in the use of the *-te* form in a suppositional or conditional context. What may seem curious, however, is the use of *wa* after the *-te* form in such a connection. Neither Yamada nor Sansom speaks a word of this particular use of *wa*, but they both consider that the form *-te ba*, as in *Kaku kikoshimeshite ba* "If they thus hear (the ritual words)" (ON., p. 414; FR., p. 62), contains the imperfect form (Mizenkei) *-te* of *-tsu* (YB., p. 239; SH., p. 174). Explaining this very example, Motoori states that the particle should here be read *ba*, not *wa*, and that the form *-te ba* had the meaning *-te araba*, differing from that of *-te wa* with which it later became confused (ON., p. 414).

There are at least two reasons that support the accuracy of Motoori's opinion. In a sentence like *Ware wo ba ika ni seyo tote sutete wa noboritamau zo* "What do you want me to do by going up (to heaven) leaving me behind (as you are apparently thinking of doing)?" (T., p. 32) we can omit *wa* used after *sutete* or replace *sutete wa* by *kaku wa sutete* "leaving me behind in such a manner" without seriously altering the meaning of the sentence. But in a passage like *Akekure minaretaru Kaguya-Hime wo yarite wa ikaga omoubeki* "How sad he would be if I were to let them take away Kaguya-Hime whom he has been accustomed to see always around him!" (T., pp. 29-30) no such elision or modification is possible. Further, in the same Taketori Monogatari, from which the above examples have been taken, we find the following passage: *Kono tama tori-ede wa ie ni kaeri ku na to notamawasekeri. Onoono ōse uketamawarite makari idenu. Tatsu no kubi no tama tori-ezu ba kaeri ku na to notamaeba* "'Don't come home if you can't get this jewel' the Lord said. Each of the servants,

receiving orders, went off. As the Lord had told them 'Don't come home if you can't get the jewel on the neck of a dragon' (T., p. 16). It will be noticed that *tori-edē* (< *tori-ezute*) *wa* is here used with precisely the same signification as *tori-ezu ba* "if you can't get". If, as Yamada and others maintain, the form *ezu ba* contains the imperfect form *-zu* (YB., p. 239),¹ why should *-te* in *ezute wa*, from which *edē wa* was evolved, be the conjunctive form and not the imperfect form? If the form *-te wa* used in the present context goes back to *-te ba*, and if this *ba* was invariably used not with the conjunctive forms but with the imperfect forms of verbs and adjectives (cf. YA., p. 662), as well as with the imperfect forms of the suffixes *-nu* (thus *-na ba*, cf. SH., p. 182), *-ki* (thus *-ke ba*, cf. SH., pp. 183-4), and *-zu* (thus *-zu ba*, cf. OM., pp. 95-6), there is no reason why *wa*, if this is a variant of *ba*, should be construed with the conjunctive form only in the case of *-tsu*.

The problem is: Did this *-te wa* in ancient Japanese really contain the imperfect form *-te* of *-tsu*, and, if it did, when and how it became confused with *-te wa* that was built on the conjunctive form *-te*? We know the imperfect form *-ke* of the adjective suffix *-ki* was already obsolescent in the eighth century, being supplanted by *-ku* that was homophonous, or possibly even identical, with the conjunctive form *-ku*. To this change must have contributed, among other causes, the above-mentioned remarkable tendency which a participle may develop, because the conjunctive form of adjectives includes the idea "being". It is no wonder then that in the ninth century the form *-te ba* should have begun to be confounded with *-te wa* that contained the conjunctive form *-te*, which was, and still is, a sort of a participle. But since the suffix *-ten*, which served to denote willingness, intention, inclination, etc., and which was the only other structure built on the imperfect form *-te*, was in current use in the spoken language for some centuries to follow, had there been a linguist, say, in the eleventh century, the form *-te wa* derived from *-te ba* would have been distinguishable to him from *-te wa* that contained the conjunctive form *-te*, just as the gerund and the present participle are identical in form in modern English yet can be differentiated in their functions. It is even possible that the form *-te wa* which included the imperfect form *-te* was actually pronounced *-te ba* in the earlier part of the Heian epoch but was written

¹ Sansom (cf. SH., p. 191) does not seem to recognize the imperfect form *-zu*. He must therefore be of the opinion that *yukazu ba* "if he does not go" (SH., p. 194) contains the conjunctive form *-zu*.

with two Kana signs which now stand for *te* and *ha*, there being no diacritical marks used at the time for distinguishing the syllable with a voiced consonant from the one that had a voiceless consonant.¹ The form *-ten*, as far as I can trace, survived until towards the end of the fourteenth century, as e.g. *Tadaima sayō no ryōri tsukamatsuriten ya* "Would you now prepare a fish-dish like that?" (MK., 623). But with the disappearance of this suffix in the fifteenth century the confusion between the two *-te wa* forms would naturally have been completed. Thus the form *-te wa* occurring in the passage *Saredo mo kokoro-yowakute wa kanaubeki ni arazareba*² "But still, as it was no use being faint-hearted . . ." taken from the *Gikeiki* would probably be one of the forerunners of the modern use of the conjunctive form *-te* in combination with *wa* in a suppositional or conditional context.

With regard to the form *-te mo* Yamada writes as follows: "*Mo* is chiefly used in the spoken language and, joined to the *Renyōkei* (i.e. the conjunctive or adverbial form) *-te* of *-tsu* or the case auxiliary word *de*, indicates a supposition that leads to a contrary result. This use of *mo* appears to have developed from that of *mo* in *to mo* (*do mo*) which is used in the written language. Originally *mo* had no signification of opposition, but as its use in combination with *to* (*do*) continued over a long period of time, the particle began to be considered as having such a meaning, and thus came to serve for designating contrariness" (YB., p. 245). It is true that no instances of the *-kute* form of adjectives followed by *mo* seem to be found in early Japanese texts. But a passage like *Ie wo idete mo matsurigoto wo okonau ni ani sawarubeki mono ni wa arazu* "If one were to enter priesthood, that should not interfere with one's conducting the affairs of the state" (S., p. 162), taken from the Imperial edict of A.D. 764, would be sufficient to deny his hypothesis. As in the case of *-te wa*, it is quite likely that the form *-te mo* in the context under consideration contained the imperfect form *-te* until towards the end of the fourteenth century. In later times it must certainly have shared the fate of *-te wa*, and therefore in its modern use we must apprehend it as containing the conjunctive form *-te*.

The frequent omission of *wa* and *mo* in modern colloquial, as in

¹ According to Yoshizawa the two dots now used for indicating syllables with voiced consonants are not more than 500 years old (cf. YG., p. 88).

² This is in accordance with the Nihon Koten Zenshū version (p. 15). According to the Kōchū Nihon Bungaku Taikei edition (vol. xiii, p. 442), *yowakute* stands alone without being followed by *wa*. This supports my conjecture that the adjective contained the conjunctive form *-te*, not the imperfect form.

Itte ikenai (instead of *Itte wa ikenai*) "You mustn't go" and *Itte ii* (instead of *Itte mo ii*) "You may go", gives us a hint that the suppositional meaning "if" is inherent in the *-te* form quite independent of the function of *wa* and *mo*. Both *wa* and *ba* used in a suppositional (or conditional) context serves to draw the attention of the supposition (or condition) which the speaker has just offered and on which his main statement depends. In other words, a suppositional or conditional construction in Japanese conveys the idea "Suppose (or Let it be granted) that . . . And now listen to what I'm going to tell you!" It is this latter half of the concept that is expressed by *wa* or *ba*. Similarly *mo* is here used with its fundamental function of extending the application of the concept denoted by the word or group of words which immediately follows it to the concept designated by the preceding element. Thus *Takakute mo kaimasu* means "I'll buy it if it is cheap, as you may expect. And if it is expensive I'll buy it all the same" or "Suppose it is expensive. I'll still buy it", hence "Even if it is expensive, I'll buy it".

The above investigation is anything but thorough. Nevertheless, it will have shown the inappropriateness of the expositions given of the three particles *wa*, *ga*, and *mo* by various grammarians. *Wa* may be used with any member of a sentence or even at the end of a clause, when it may assume the form of *ba*. In my opinion *wa* designates that part of utterance which the speaker thinks should be apparent or be made known to the hearer before he can give or seek information concerning something. Thus the particle *wa* usually precedes that element of a sentence which imparts or seeks information. Naturally it can never be affixed to an interrogatory word.¹ When used at the end of a sentence, as in *Atashi iku wa* "I'm jolly well going", the particle seems to act as an emphatic reminder. *Ga* indicates the relatively less known element of a sentence, restricting the application of the concept denoted by the word or group of words which follows it to the concept specified by the element that immediately precedes the particle. Thus the element to which *ga* is affixed generally gives or seeks information. When used at the end of a clause or sentence the

¹ In a sentence like *Nani wa dō narimashita* "What has become of what-d'ye-call-it?" the word *nani* represents "what-d'ye-call-it" and is therefore not interrogatory. In ancient Japanese *wa* was often affixed to interrogatory words, as in *Ikaga wa sa wa mōsan* "Why, you silly, how could I say such a thing to him" (GM., p. 61; WT., p. 76). *Wa* is here used after *ikaga* "how" to emphasize the meaning of the following element *sa wa mōsan* "could I say such a thing". This is how constructions of this kind generally acquire a rhetorical signification.

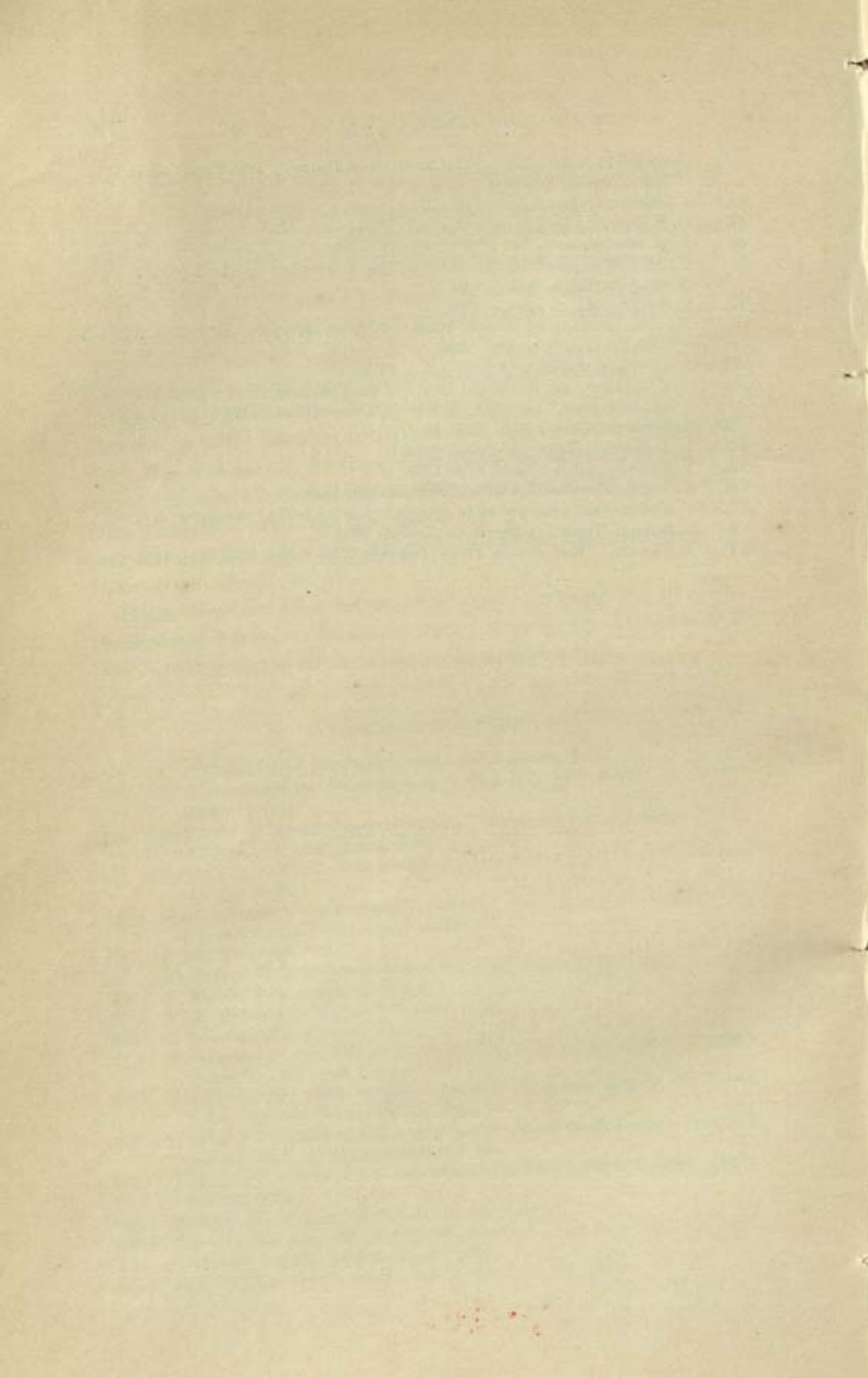
function of *ga* is reduced to one of correlating two clauses or indicating some mental reservation. *Mo* may be used with any member of a sentence or even at the end of a clause. In each case it serves to extend the application of the concept denoted by the word or group of words which follows it to the concept designated by the word or group of words which directly precedes it. This implies that the concept indicated by the word or group of words which follows *mo* is shared by some other concept than the one that is designated by the word or group of words which immediately precedes the particle (cf., however, p. 43). Since *wa* performs a duty that is exact opposite to those of *ga* and *mo* (cf. the three examples given on p. 43), a conjoint use of either of the latter two particles with *wa* would cancel each other's function. It is for this reason that *ga* and *mo*, unlike other particles such as *wo*, *ni*, *yor*i, *ye*, *made*, *kara*, and *koso*, can never be followed immediately by *wa*.

Space does not allow me to relate how I have arrived at these conclusions. I hope to discuss the structure of spoken Japanese in a further monograph in continuation of the present article.

ABBREVIATIONS USED

- CH.: B. H. Chamberlain, *Handbook of Colloquial Japanese*, 1907.
 CK.: B. H. Chamberlain, *Translation of "Ko-ji-ki", or "Records of Ancient Matters"*, 1932.
 FR.: K. Florenz, "Ancient Japanese Rituals," *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*, vol. xxvii, part i, 1899.
 G.: *Gikeiki* (c. A.D. 1400). Text according to the Kōchū Nihon Bungaku Taikei, vol. xiii, 1926.
 GM.: *Genji Monogatari* (early eleventh century). Text according to the Kōchū Nihon Bungaku Taikei, vol. vi, 1926.
 IK.: F. Ifa, *Koryūkyū*, 1922.
 K.: *Kojiki* (A.D. 712). Text according to the Nihon Koten Zenshū, 1928.
 KK.: M. Kiyeda, *Kōtō Kōgohō Kōgi*, 1931.
 MC.: W. M. McGovern, *Colloquial Japanese*, 1920.
 MG.: S. Matsuoka, *Nihon Gengogaku*, 1928.
 MK.: *Masukagami* (c. A.D. 1350). Text according to the Kōchū Nihon Bungaku Taikei, vol. xii, 1926.
 MS.: *Makura-no-Sōshi* (early eleventh century). Text according to the Kōchū Nihon Bungaku Taikei, vol. iii, 1925.
 NT.: C. Noss, *A Text-Book of Colloquial Japanese* (based on R. Lange's *Lehrbuch der japanischen Umgangssprache*), 1907.
 OK.: *Ōkagami* (c. A.D. 1120). Text according to the Kōchū Nihon Bungaku Taikei, vol. xii, 1926.
 OM.: H. Omadaka, *Man-yō-shū Shinshaku*, vol. i, 1931.
 ON.: *Ōharai-no-Norito* (probably older than A.D. 600). Text according to the Zōho Motoori Norinaga Zenshū, vol. v, 1926.
 RC.: A. Rose-Innes, *Conversational Japanese for Beginners*, 1924.

- S.: *Semmyō* (Imperial edicts dating from A.D. 697-789). Text according to the *Zōho Motoori Norinaga Zenshū*, vol. v, 1926.
- SA.: I. Shimmura, *Amakusabon Isoho Monogatari* (A.D. 1593), 1928.
- SH.: G. B. Sansom, *An Historical Grammar of Japanese*, 1928.
- SS.: E. A. Sonnenschein, *The Soul of Grammar*, 1927.
- T.: *Taketori Monogatari* (ninth century). Text according to the *Kōchū Nihon Bungaku Taikēi*, vol. ii, 1927.
- TK.: U. Tsugita, *Kojiki Shinkō*, 1925.
- U.: *Uji Shūi Monogatari* (c. A.D. 1240). Text according to the *Kōchū Nihon Bungaku Taikēi*, vol. x, 1926.
- WT.: A. D. Waley, *The Tale of Genji*, vol. i, 1925.
- YA.: S. Yoshitake, "An Analytical Study of the Conjugations of Japanese Verbs and Adjectives," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, vol. vi, part 3, 1931.
- YB.: T. Yamada, *Nihon Bumpō Kōgi*, 1924.
- YG.: Y. Yoshizawa, *Kokugoshū Gaisetsu*, 1931.
- YK.: T. Yamada, *Nihon Kōgohō Kōgi*, 1924.
- YM.: K. Yuasa, *Muromachi-jidai no Gengo Kenkyū*, 1929.
- YT.: Y. Yoshizawa, "Iwayuru ō ni tsūzuru joji ga ni tsuite," *Kanazawa Hakushi Kanreki Kinen Tōyōgogaku no Kenkyū*, 1932.
- YY.: T. Yamada, *Nihon Bumpō Yōron* (Iwanami Kōza Nihon Bungaku), 1931.



Some Corrections and Critical Remarks on Dr. Johan van Manen's Contribution to the Bibliography of Tibet¹

By ANDREW VOSTRIKOV

THE bibliography of the literature of Tibet is beset with extraordinary difficulties. The access to the literary treasures of this country is not easy and our knowledge in this domain is therefore exceedingly limited. If we exclude the two great Collections of Translations (the Kanjur and the Tanjur) which are tolerably well known from the bibliographical standpoint,² we must confess that the great ocean of the original Tibetan literature, the literature of Tibet proper, remains almost entirely unknown. It cannot, of course, be maintained that this literature has not been studied at all. We possess some excellent editions, translations, and investigations devoted to original Tibetan compositions. However, compared with the enormous compass of Tibetan works existing but unknown to us even by their titles, these scanty publications are not at all adequate to the task. Moreover, the choice of Tibetan works for investigation and the perspective under which they are regarded sometimes clearly show that the

¹ Note by Professor Th. Stecherbatsky.—Dr. Andrew Vostrikov has executed several tours through the Buddhist monasteries of Buriat-Mongolia in search of unknown Tibetan MSS. and block-prints. His collections constitute an important addition to the Tibetan fund preserved in the Oriental Institution (formerly the Asiatic Museum) of the Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R. During his tours he acquired some experience in cataloguing the new findings. This is not always an easy task since the real titles of the works are very often disguised either under long phrases of artistic composition or under conventional abridged nicknames.

Since the present juncture seems to offer many more facilities for collecting Tibetan literature than the former times of the almost absolute seclusion of that country, and since the Asiatic Society of Bengal always made efforts in that direction, the following critical remarks by Dr. A. Vostrikov on Dr. J. van Manen's Contribution to the bibliography of Tibet will, I hope, not be found superfluous and are here presented to the English reader.

² The most prominent works in this line are: "Index du Bstan-hgyur," par P. Cordier (*Catalogue du fonds tibétain de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, ii and iii), Paris, 1909-1915; *Verzeichnis der tibetischen Handschriften der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin*, von Dr. Hermann Beckh, 1 Abt. Kanjur (Bkañ-hgyur), Berlin, 1914; "Analysis of Kanjur and Tanjur," by Alexander Csoma Körösi (in the *Asiatic Researches*, vol. xx, Calcutta, 1836), and its emendated translation by L. Feer (in the *Annales du Musée Guimet*, vol. ii, Paris, 1881); the works of I. J. Schmidt, A. Schiefner, B. Laufer, and many others.

A considerable number of Tanjur texts has been edited and translated by Professor Th. Stecherbatsky, M. de la Vallée Poussin, and others.

author has made his choice at random and has absolutely no knowledge of the vast dimensions of the respective domain of Tibetan literature and of the place which the object of his choice occupies in it. It thus happens that much labour is sometimes spent on compositions which are not at all worthy of such attention.¹

In order to guide the investigator and to guarantee some system in his work, a review of all the extant riches of Tibetan literature is absolutely indispensable.

It is clear that inasmuch as the possibility of studying the literature of Tibet *in situ* at present seems to be excluded, the work of its bibliography can only be achieved by a careful description of all Tibetan manuscripts and block-prints already existing in different European collections. They, of course, are not complete, but in order to supplement them it must be well known what they already contain. Only then we will be able to start on the work of supplementing them, and there is no better method of doing it than the organization of tours in search of Tibetan MSS. and block-prints in Tibet, Mongolia, and China, conducted on the same lines as the celebrated tours in search of Sanskrit MSS. by Professor G. Bühler, Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, and others whose reports have laid the foundation of a systematic bibliography of Sanskrit literature.

¹ As an example of much labour spent on an unimportant subject, we can quote the work of Professor J. Bacot: "Une grammaire tibétaine du tibétain classique; les Śloka grammaticaux de Thon.mi.sam.bho.ta avec leur commentaires, trad. du tibétain et annotés par J. Bacot" (*Annales du Musée Guimet, Bibliothèque d'Étude*, t. 37), Paris, 1928.

It is a splendidly executed work, but the choice of the text is strange. Its main part is not the short tract of Thon.mi.sam.bho.ta, which has been published several times before, but its commentary, which is here reproduced with great technical skill phototypically, a transcription in Tibetan and Roman characters, as well as a French translation being added. But just this commentary is not at all worthy of the great attention devoted to it. It is a very popular primer; hundreds of such elementary manuals exist in Tibet. It represents a short and anonymous extract from the very well-known grammar of Situ (སི་ཏུ) and from the notes on it by མཁས་བླ་མ་པ་.

Considering that there are most important, fundamental grammars written by Tibetans, as e.g. the grammar of ཟ་ཞི་རིན་ཆེན་དོན་བླ་མ་, which was followed by a whole school of grammarians, a school which is constantly referred to and criticized by Situ; or the grammar of བསྟན་པ་རྒྱ་རྒྱ་རྒྱ་མཁས་པ་, containing a very interesting, quite new form of exposition and many other important and interesting works on grammar by the Tibetans, all of them unpublished and hardly known by name; considering all this, it is very strange to see Professor J. Bacot spending so much work on a quite insignificant tract, without at all mentioning and apparently without suspecting the existence of works of much greater importance.

Unfortunately the work of cataloguing the original Tibetan compositions contained in European libraries has not yet been seriously started. We possess only several lists, incomplete and far from being precise, mostly simple enumerations compiled without any systematic order.¹ They hardly can be regarded as scientific descriptions. It is true that Professor F. W. Thomas has made an attempt of bringing to a systematic order the materials disseminated in different lists in his Memorandum presented to the Government of India. This Memorandum, dated 18th January, 1904, contains a review of all published catalogues of Tibetan MSS. and block-prints extant in the libraries of Europe. It is a very interesting and unique first attempt to summarize all that is contained in different catalogues of Tibetan works on history, chronicles of monasteries, biographies, folk-lore, and profane literature. But it is to be regretted that this very meritorious work labours from the same defects that are contained in the catalogues from which it draws its information—it repeats all the mistakes contained in them.²

The bibliography of the literature of Tibet could, of course, derive

¹ These lists are indicated in Professor F. W. Thomas' Memorandum and in Dr. van Manen's paper. Their number is now increased by a catalogue of the Schilling collection compiled by Professor J. Bacot. Cf. "La collection tibétaine Schilling von Canstadt à la Bibliothèque de l'Institut," par Jacques Bacot (*Journal Asiatique*, tome ccv, Octobre-Décembre, 1924, pp. 321-348, Paris, 1924).

² It contains e.g. the list of "Annals of Monasteries and Priestly Successions" excerpted from the *Verzeichniss der Tibetischen Handschriften und Holzdrucke im Asiatischen Museum* of I. J. Schmidt and O. Böhtlingk. But this is a mistake. The nine works mentioned in the Memorandum under this item are not at all "Annals". No. 1 represents a supplement to the collection of *sādhana* (སྒྲུབ་ཐབས་); Nos. 2-4 point to the literature devoted to the custom of "total fasting" (སྤྲོང་གནས་, printed

བསྤྲོང་བར་གནས་པ་), and Nos. 5-9 represent collections of hymns (རབ་གསལ་) recited and sung at different divine services. These collections of hymns are different in different monasteries, and the list of Professor F. W. Thomas contains five such collections in use in five different monasteries in Buriat-Mongolia.

Professor F. W. Thomas equally repeats the mistake or misprint of the *Verzeichniss* in spelling and interpreting the term ཉི་ཕུ་ཐུར་ (printed ཉི་ཕུ་ཐུར་). This term is nothing else than the Russian word *депутат*, written in Tibetan letters; the English "deputy". It was the title given at that time to the བཞེད་མཁན་པོ་ (sounds in the Buriat pronunciation "Bandida-Khanbo"), or the archbishop of the Buddhist clergy in Buriat-Mongolia, Msgr. Dambadarje Zayagiin (Zayayeff), as a member of the Buriat-Mongolian deputation in the Imperial Commission set up by the Empress Catherine II for elaborating the New Code of 1766. His work (ཉི་ཕུ་ཐུར་པོ་ཉི་ཤེད་མཁན་པོ་འཇམ་དཔལ་སྒྲུབ་) is a short MS. containing his autobiography and the history of

great help from a study of original Tibetan bibliographical works, which exist in great number, many of them being compiled by celebrated scholars. But, unfortunately, these works are quite unknown in Europe. The same applies to the very numerous catalogues of Tibetan and Mongolian monastic printing offices. Nevertheless, the main source of bibliography remains the description of funds already contained in European libraries, since only these funds can directly be investigated, described with precision, and their description always verified.

However, since these funds are incomplete and casually collected and, therefore, it is not to be expected that their investigation could give us an idea of the whole compass of Tibetan literature, and since, moreover, their study requires long and assiduous work on the part of a number of librarians, some investigators deemed it advisable in order to accelerate the very slow progress of our knowledge to have recourse to a new method of collecting bibliographical informations, the method of information from hearsay. But it is evident that such a method can be resorted to in bibliography only *in extremis*, and it is *a priori* clear that its scientific results cannot be quite satisfactory.

The paper of Dr. Johan van Manen, "A contribution to the Bibliography of Tibet,"¹ must be regarded as an example of such a bibliography from hearsay, explainable only under the extraordinary conditions of inaccessibility of a great number of Tibetan compositions for direct investigation. Although his paper appeared in 1923 and is very interesting as an attempt to solve an almost insurmountable difficulty, it has till now not been critically examined and its results have not yet been valued. The following remarks can be regarded as a correction of some obvious mistakes which can be detected even with our limited knowledge, and will lead us, it seems to me, to a condemnation of Dr. van Manen's new method of bibliography.

Willing to supply information regarding Tibetan literature not represented in our libraries, Dr. van Manen should have consulted

the foundation of the first Buddhist Monastery in Transbaikalia, the Zongol monastery called in Tibetan ར་པ་ལྷ་མོ་འཕེལ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ (so called in imitation of the celebrated Tibetan monastery of that name). It is a very interesting account, containing a lively picture of the manner in which Buddhism has spread in Buriat-Mongolia.

¹ "A contribution to the Bibliography of Tibet," by Johan van Manen, *Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, New Series, vol. xviii, 1922, No. 8, pp. 445-525 (issued November, 1923, Calcutta).

the bibliographical works of the Tibetans themselves. But he was quite ignorant of their existence. He says simply "perhaps they exist". However, they really exist and many of them are widely known. Such e.g. is "A catalogue of works of lamas belonging to the Kadampa and Gelugpa sects" (བཀའ་གདམས་པ་དང་དགེ་བླུགས་སྤྱི་མ་རྒྱུ་གསུང་འབུམ་མཚན་ཐོ་བོ), compiled by the celebrated Longdöl-lama (ཁྲི་ལོ་ལྷ་ས་མ་དག་དབང་ལྷ་བཟང་, born in 1719). It is an exceedingly important and interesting work on bibliography. It contains a list of works which are to be found incorporated in the editions of the complete works of their respective authors and an additional list of works which have become the fundamental school manuals (ཡིག་ཆ) in different monastic schools in Tibet.¹ Much bibliographical information can be found in other works of the same author, especially in his Manuals on the terminology of Buddhist religion, philosophy, and science. Extraordinarily rich in bibliographical information are the so-called Thob-yig's (ཐོབ་ཡིག) ² compiled by different authors. A great many works are also mentioned in the historical and biographical literature of Tibet. Very valuable is a work called "A list of some rare books" (དཔེ་རྒྱན་དཀོན་པ་འགའ་ཞིག་གི་ཐོ་ཡིག), compiled by the lama Akhu Rinpoche (ཨ་ཁུ་རིན་པོ་ཆེ་ཤེས་རབ་བྱ་མཚོ་, A.D. 1803-1875),³ and many others. But this literature is unknown to Dr. van Manen.

All the concrete knowledge of Dr. van Manen in this department is limited to a work mentioned in the Catalogue of Tibetan MSS. and Xylographs in the Asiatic Museum of Academy of Science, St. Petersburg, compiled by I. J. Schmidt and O. Böhtlingk,⁴ where under Nos. 446-456 we find:

¹ This bibliographical composition is entered in the complete works of this author (ཁྲི་ལོ་ལྷ་ས་མ་དག་དབང་འབུམ་) under No. 25 (ར.), 65 folios.

² Their importance for Tibetan bibliography has already been pointed out by Professor W. P. Wasilieff in his paper, "Die auf den Buddhismus bezüglichen Werke der Universitäts-Bibliothek zu Kasan," *Mélanges Asiatiques*, tome ii, pp. 347-386, St.-Petersburg, 1855. (*Bulletin historico-philologique de l'Académie Imp. des Sciences de St.-Petersburg*, t. xi, No. 22, 23).

³ This composition is entered in his complete works, published in Ganden-rabgye-ling monastery (དགའ་འཕྲུག་རབ་བྱ་སྤྱི་ཐོ) in Amdo, vol. vi (ཆ), 63 folios.

⁴ "Verzeichniss der tibetischen Handschriften und Holzdrucke im Asiatischen Museum der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften," verfasst von I. J. Schmidt und O. Böhtlingk (*Bulletin historico-philologique de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences de St.-Petersburg*, t. iv, No. 6, 7, 8).

“ སྒོ་བ་དཔོན་བཟང་སྒྲུབ་མེད་ཅན་གྱིས་བཅུ་མ་པའི་དཔེ་ཐོ་རྒྱུ་ཆེན་ཆེན་འབྲུང་གནས ॥
 Das von dem Lehrer *Schad-sgrub-ming-tshan* (*sic*!) verfasste Bücher-
 verzeichniss, (genannt) die Fundgrube von Kleinodien. Elf Bände.”

But this is a mistake. The eleven volumes in question contain no “Bücherverzeichnis” at all. They contain the complete works (གསུང་འབྲུམ) of the very well known lama Dagpashedub (བཟང་པ་བཟང་སྒྲུབ) of the Choni (ཙོ་ནི or ཙོ་ནེ) monastery in Amdo. The authors of the catalogue have mistaken for a “Bücherverzeichnis” the Table of Contents of an edition of his complete works. According to the general use of Tibetan, Mongolian, and Buriat printing offices (པར་), an edition of complete works never has a general title page, neither for the whole collection, nor for its separate volumes. It represents a collection of separate works, having each its own title and pagination, connected together only by a letter indicating the volume number. This letter is always printed on the left side of each folio together with the page number. But to the whole collection or, more often, to each volume of the complete works a Table of Contents is added where the separate works included in the volume, or in the whole collection, are indicated together with the number of folios in each. Such Tables of Contents bear sometimes special names. A name of this kind is the one quoted in the catalogue of Schmidt and Böhtlingk: “སྒོ་བ་དཔོན་བཟང་སྒྲུབ་མེད་ཅན་གྱིས་བཅུ་མ་པའི་དཔེ་ཐོ་རྒྱུ་ཆེན་ཆེན་འབྲུང་གནས ॥” It literally means: “A mine of jewels.—The list of works composed by the Master Dagpashedub.” Curiously enough, another copy of this same collection is mentioned in the same catalogue once more under Nos. 312-322. Here again it figures under the name of its Table of Contents. The authors, however, do not translate it literally this time, but, owing to a remark written by hand on the binding (ཙོ་ནི་བཟང་པ་བཟང་སྒྲུབ་ཀྱི་གསུང་འབྲུམ), rightly determine the books as “die von dem Hauptlehrer, Namens *Schad-dub*, verfasste Schriftensammlung”. Unfortunately, this very obvious coincidence has escaped the attention of Dr. van Manen. He has thus mistaken a simple Table of Contents for a work on bibliography. The real bibliographical works of Tibetans are unknown to him.

To the same class of Tibetan bibliographical works may be reckoned, to a certain extent, the very numerous catalogues of different Tibetan and Mongolian libraries and printing offices. But Dr. van Manen mentions only two of them and supposes without

any reason that "bibliographical publications in Tibet are very rare ; booksellers' catalogues also".¹

Neglecting the description of Tibetan MSS. and block-prints already collected, and being ignorant of the original Tibetan works on bibliography, as well as of the catalogues of every monastic printing office, Dr. van Manen betook himself to the device of ordering the compilation *ad hoc* of lists of all the literature which is current in Tibet.² He addressed himself to a lama with whom he was acquainted and who was returning from a pilgrimage to India. He explained to him the European conception of bibliography and asked him to compile and bring with him on his next visit to India lists of literary works which are in vogue among Tibetans. After a lapse of six months two such lists were in his hands. But, as was clear from the beginning, these lists were entirely worthless for the purpose for which they were ordered by Dr. van Manen. They did not at all satisfy the requirements of scientific bibliography. This Dr. van Manen himself admits.³

¹ J. van Manen, *op. cit.*, p. 449.

² The attempt to receive bibliographical information from Tibet by the way of questioning the Tibetans themselves is not quite new. In the year 1901 Dr. Emil Schlagintweit, supported by W. W. Rockhill and Sarat Chandra Das, applied to the Dalai Lama himself asking him to give his assent to a compilation of lists of old Sanskrit MSS. preserved in the libraries of Tibetan monasteries. This attempt failed. A letter from these scholars was delivered (in 1902) by the ambassadors of the U.S.A. and Germany to the Chinese Government, who answered that they had forwarded the letter to Tibet. However, no answer from Tibet was received. The history of these transactions is related in "Bericht über eine Adresse an den Dalai Lama in Lhasa (1902) zur Erlangung von Bücherverzeichnissen aus den dortigen buddhistischen Klöstern", von Emil Schlagintweit (*Abhandlungen der philosophisch-philologischen Klasse der Königl. Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, xx Bd., iii Abt., S. 657-674, München, 1905). We find here the English and Tibetan texts of the letter and all the correspondence referring to the incident. Dr. E. Schlagintweit had even the intention to make use of the authority of the German Kaiser in order to impress the Dalai Lama with the importance of his demand. But this scheme was finally dropped.

Dr. van Manen is quite all right when he says about this attempt : " Its legacy is a rather amusing and prolific description of the attempt, together with all documentary material connected with it, which Schlagintweit published in Munich in 1904, and which is a very serious report concerning a more or less comic episode in the progress of Tibetan studies " (cf. *op. cit.*, p. 446). However, this condemnation did not prevent his repeating a similar attempt " in a more unambitious and unofficial manner ", as he says.

Leaving alone the manner in which the transactions have been conducted by Dr. E. Schlagintweit and his associates, it is obvious that the question regarding the preservation in Tibet of Sanskrit works is more or less natural inasmuch as it refers to such works which are known, be it only by name, to have existed in India. But Dr. van Manen's plan of getting information regarding works quite unknown was doomed *a priori* to failure independently from the manner in which it was conducted.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 448.

What is still less satisfactory, these lists do not even contain the real titles of the books, but very often only conventional nicknames under which they are known to the lamas and in the market.

It is not even known who were the authors of the lists and on what authority they compiled them. They probably were not very learned men, since the lists are full of the grossest orthographical mistakes. The lists evidently were compiled from hearsay. The literature mentioned in them is chosen accidentally, at random; the most celebrated and widely spread departments, the works which are more in vogue than all others, are not mentioned at all.

We find in the lists some editions of complete works (གཟུང་འབྲས) mentioned, but those that are predominantly spread and most highly revered are not mentioned at all. Thus the complete works of Tsongkhapa (ཙིང་ཁ་པ་ལྷོ་བཟང་ཟགས་པ) and both his pupils Gyältsab (ཡུལ་ཚབ་དར་ས་རིན་ཆེན) and Khaidub (མཁས་བྱུབ་དགེ་ལེགས་དཔལ་བཟང་པོ) are not mentioned at all. The complete works of all the Tashilamas, of Tārānātha, and many other celebrated authors have also escaped the attention of the anonymous compilers of both Dr. van Manen's lists. Out of all the numerous works of Gyältsab only a single one, which is not very important, is quoted. The same applies to the works of Tārānātha, Butön (བུ་སྟོན་རིན་ཆེན་བྱུབ), etc. In the first list the editions of the Depung (འབྲས་སྐྱངས) monastery are indicated, but only 46 items are named, while in the catalogue འབྲས་སྐྱངས་ཀྱི་པར་ཁང་ཆེན་པོའི་གཟུང་པར་དཀར་ཆག, as Dr. van Manen himself states, 285 titles are given.¹

Out of the enormous historical literature² only five works are mentioned, and such leading works as the history of Butön³ and

¹ Ibid., pp. 475-6 and 524-5.

² Cf. the very detailed review of the historical and biographical literature of Tibet contained in the celebrated work on the *History of Buddhism in Amdo*, by ཟག་དགོན་འབས་ཅུང་དགོན་མཆོག་བསྟན་པ་རབ་བྱས་ (born 1800). This history was written in 1833 and is known under the abridged title དེབ་ཐེང་བྱ་མཆོག. The full title is: ཡུལ་མདོ་སྐྱང་ཀྱི་ལྷུངས་སྐྱུ་བྱུབ་བསྟན་རིན་པོ་ཆེ་ཟི་ལྟར་དར་བའི་ཚལ་གསལ་བར་བརྗོད་པ་དེབ་ཐེང་བྱ་མཆོག, 3 vols. The bibliographical review is found in the first volume, f. 4 recto, l. 6 - f. 19 recto, l. 4.

³ Its full title is བདེ་བར་གཤེགས་པའི་བསྟན་པའི་གསལ་ཁྱེད་ཆོས་ཀྱི་འབྱུང་གནས་

དེ་མཆོད་ཀྱི་མཆོད་ཀྱི་མཆོད་¹ not to speak of many others, which are very much read, are not mentioned at all. The same refers to the literature on medicine and astronomy, which is also very rich. I myself have come across a special list of Tibetan works on medicine compiled in a Mongolian monastery. It contained 298 items. But in Dr. van Manen's list only very few medical and astronomical books are mentioned.

The exceedingly vast literature of school books is almost totally ignored.² Some classes, as e.g. བསམ་གཟུགས, རྟོན་འབྲེལ, དགེ་འདུན་ཉི་ཤུ, are omitted. Some others are represented only by single and not by the most important manuals.

Under these conditions it is evident that the lists so compiled are deprived of every value and it is difficult to understand how Dr. van Manen could suppose that "they give us the picture of the literature affected by the modern Tibetan intelligentsia (*sic!*)".³

Having thus exaggerated the importance of the lists he had received, Dr. van Manen was confronted with the very difficult task of interpreting or even guessing the meaning of the conventional nicknames, of which they were full. Such an interpretation required great bibliographical knowledge, which was not at the command of Dr. van Manen. And, therefore, his commentary is very often quite faulty.

In the sequel we will add some critical remarks on particular

གསུང་རབ་རིན་པོ་ཆེའི་མཛོད་, composed in 1322 by འུ་ཤྲོད་རིན་ཆེན་འོན་ལུབ་ (1290-1364). The work is edited in the བཀ་ཤིས་ལྷན་ལུབ་ monastery and includes 244 oblong folios. It, strictly speaking, represents a systematic review of the whole canonical literature of Northern Buddhism translated into Tibetan, but the review is supplemented by an introductory historical sketch of the evolution of the Buddhist doctrine in India and its first steps in Tibet. This review and this sketch are translated by E. E. Obermiller in the *Materialien zur Kunde des Buddhismus*, herausgegeben von Dr. M. Walleiser, Heft 18 and 19, Heidelberg, 1931-2, with an introduction by Professor Th. Stecherbatsky. The remaining part of Butön's work, the part containing the Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canon, is not yet issued.

¹ It was composed in 1476-8 by the celebrated translator Shönnupāl, native of Göi, འགོས་ཡོ་རྫོ་བ་གཞིན་ཏུ་དཔལ་ (1392-1481). It was edited in the གུན་བདེ་གླིང་ monastery in Tibet and later on in the དགའ་ལྷན་ཆོས་འཁོར་གླིང་ monastery in Amdo. The second edition consists of two volumes and includes 568 oblong folios.

² An idea of the extent of the obligatory school manuals (ཡིག་ཆ) only, can be gathered from the above-mentioned bibliographical work of Longdöl-lama.

³ J. van Manen, op. cit., p. 448.

items of Dr. van Manen's Index, which contain especially misleading indications.

The lists of Dr. van Manen do not follow any systematic order. In his index to them he follows an alphabetical order, independently from the circumstance whether the first letter of the title refers to the author's name, or to the title of work, or even to the name of the country where the author was born or flourished.

We, therefore, in our notes do not follow quite exactly this unsystematic order, but begin by pointing to the most conspicuous mistakes.¹

"28. ཁྱིམ་ཆེན་གྱི་བསྐྱུས་པ་ (188). Explained as the 'easy introduction' of the college (or house) of the old pulpit (or seat). No further details. མཚན་ཉིད་རྩེ་ཆ་, philosophy, Gelukpa."

The explanation is wrong. It is clear that Dr. van Manen knows neither the meaning of ཁྱིམ་ཆེན་ nor the meaning of བསྐྱུས་པ་. In the sequel he gives another interpretation of the last term, as "the book for the use of the body (assembly) of novices".²

བསྐྱུས་པ་ is the name of a course of Eristics taught during the first three years to novices in the monastic philosophic school (མཚན་ཉིད་པ་ཆེན་ or ཆོས་པ་). It is divided in three degrees according to the degree of difficulty. Its aim is to train a novice in the art of right and fluent argumentation by teaching him how to put every argument or even every idea into the form of a regular syllogism; and also to teach him quickly and rightly to react on every counter-argument set out by the opponent. The opponent questions, the disputant answers. He answers briefly in one of the four ways. (1) If he agrees he says simply: "Yes!" (འདྲིན་). (2) If he doubts, he asks: "For what reason?" (ཅིའི་ཕྱིར་), if the reason is not given. If he disagrees he must at once detect where the fallacy lies, and two possibilities are open: the mistake lies either in the minor (ཐོགས་ཆོས་ = པག་མཐོམ་) or in the major premise (ཐྱབ་བ་ = ཡན་ཤིན་). (3) If the fault lies in the minor premise he says: "The logical reason unreal" (རྟགས་མ་བྱུབ་), i.e. not contained in the subject, or minor term. (4) If it lies in the

¹ In our quotations the figures before the Tibetan titles refer to Dr. van Manen's Index, the other figures (in brackets), after the titles, refer to both his book-lists.

² J. van Manen, op. cit., Index, No. 120.

major premise he must at once answer: "No invariable connection" (ཉམས་པ་ས་ཕྱད་) between the middle term (or reason) and the major term.

Having this aim in view the course of བསྐྱེད་བྱ་ begins by some examples of discussions on the connotation of the simplest notions, e.g. colour in general and particular colours, the form in general and particular forms, etc. A double result is achieved, the novice gets quite precise logical definitions of current notions with which logic or philosophy are dealing, and he acquires a proficiency in applying the syllogistic formulation (with its three terms) to every argument and thought. The founder of this system of teaching of བསྐྱེད་བྱ་ and at the same time the author of the first school book on it, according to Tibetan tradition, is the Tibetan lama བླ་པ་ཆོས་ཀྱི་སེང་གེ་, who lived in the twelfth century (1109-1169).¹

The literature on བསྟན་འཕྲིན་ is enormous, it is not possible to review it here. Two works only are indicated in Dr. van Manen's lists, but not the most important ones. They are ཁྱེ་མེད་པུས་འཕྲིན་ and ཁྱེ་མེད་པུས་འཕྲིན་.² Leaving alone the second of them, whose author is the celebrated Desi, or Regent of Tibet, Sanggye-gyamtsö (ཁྱེ་མེད་སངས་རྒྱས་ཀྱི་མཚོ་),³ and considering the first, I must repeat that Dr. van Manen has not at all succeeded in grasping the meaning of ཁྱེ་མེད་པུས་. This term means "the old abbot"; it is a nickname of the author of the work. His real name is འག་དབང་པུ་ཤེས་. He was the pupil and collaborator of the first Jamyangshepa, Ngagwang-töndüi (འཇམ་དབང་པུ་ཤེས་པ་འག་དབང་པུ་ཤེས་པ་). The title of "the old abbot" was given to him as a reward for his very long tenure of office as abbot of the Labrang monastery in Amdo. He has composed two works on the བསྟན་འཕྲིན་ system. The title of the first is: ཆོད་མའི་དོན་ངས་འབྲེལ་གྱི་བསྟན་པུས་ཆོད་པ་རྣམས་འབྲེལ་གྱི་དོན་གཅིག་ཏུ་བྲིས་པ་ལྟེ་རབ་འབྲིང་ཐ་མ་གསུམ་དུ་སྟོན་པ་ལེགས་པའདྲ་ཆོད་པ་མཁས་པའི་མཁུལ་བྱུང་སྐུལ་བཟང་ལེ་བ་ཀྱན་སྟོང་. It is better known under the abridged title: འག་དབང་པུ་ཤེས་ཀྱི་བསྟན་འཕྲིན་.

¹ The Table of Contents of this work is given by Longdöl-lama in his *Terminology of Logic* (ཚིང་མ་རྣམ་འབྲེལ་སྟེགས་གཏན་ཚིགས་རིག་པ་ལས་བྱུང་པའི་མིང་གི་གྲངས་, entered in his complete works under No. 14 (མ), 27 folios, f. 2, verso, ll. 2-4.

² J. van Manen, *op. cit.*, Index, No. 28 and 120.

² Cf. below, our remark on No. 121 of Dr. van Manen's Index.

It was edited several times, in Labrang in 1860 and later in the Aga monastery¹ in Buriat-Mongolia.

His second work is mostly known under the title བསྐྱུས་ལྷ་ཚོམ་འཕྲོ་ or ཁྱི་ཤར་ཚང་གི་བསྐྱུས་ལྷ་, or ཁྱི་ཤར་ཚང་གི་བསྐྱུས་ལྷ་ཚོམ་འཕྲོ་. It was never finished and has also never been given a title. In the Amdo edition it has neither title nor colophon. In the Aga edition it has been given the conventional title of འཇམ་དབྱངས་གླེ་མ་དག་དབང་བཟུངས་ཤིས་དཔལ་བཟང་པོས་ཁྱི་བྱང་ཐང་སྐྱུ་ལྷ་བསྐྱུས་པའི་བྱུང་མཚན་ལ་བཟུགས་གཏོར་གྱི་ཆེད་དུ་གནང་བའི་བསྐྱུས་ལྷ་ཚོམ་འཕྲོ་, or “An unfinished བསྐྱུས་ལྷ་ composed by the venerable Master དག་དབང་བཟུངས་ཤིས་ for the use of the lama-incarnate བསྐྱུས་པའི་བྱུང་མཚན་, for the benefit of his intellect”. It contains 130 folios. In the catalogue of the printing office of the Aga monastery² its name is given as བསྐྱུས་ལྷ་ཚོམ་འཕྲོ་ཁྱི་ཤར་ཚང་གི་གསུང་རྒྱན་དུ་བཟགས་པ་, or “Unfinished བསྐྱུས་ལྷ་ known (according to tradition) as a work compiled by the old abbot”.³

It is impossible to determine quite exactly to which of the two books Dr. van Manen's mention refers, since both can be designated by the title ཁྱི་ཤར་ཚང་གི་བསྐྱུས་ལྷ་. But it is more probable that it refers to the second, unfinished work, since it is more usual to quote it under this nickname.

“35. བྱངས་ངེས་ཞི་འབྲེལ་ (32). *Commentary on the peace of the true number(s). མཚན་ཉིད་, philosophy.*” (!!)

“36. བྱངས་ངེས་ཐལ་སྐྱུད་ (4). *The method to arrive at the true number(s). མཚན་ཉིད་, philosophy. Gelukpa.*” (!!)

¹ The Tibetan name of this monastery is བདེ་ཆེན་ལྷན་གྲུབ་གླིང་.

² The title of this catalogue of the printing office of Aga monastery (in Buriat-Mongolia), which we will have several times the opportunity to quote, is བྱང་ཕྱོགས་ཀྱི་ཨ་ཀའི་དགོན་གྱི་ཆེན་པོ་བདེ་ཆེན་ལྷན་གྲུབ་གླིང་འདིར་བཞུགས་པའི་དཔར་གྱི་ཐོ་ཡིག་. It is divided into four parts, according to the length of the folios: (1) “catalogue of the long blocks” (པར་རིང་པོའི་གས་); (2) catalogue of the “intermediate” blocks (པར་འབྱང་); (3) catalogue of the “short” (པར་ཐུང་) and (4) “very short” (ཤིན་ཏུ་ཐུང་) blocks.

³ Cf. Aga catalogue པར་རིང་པོའི་གས་, f. 6 recto, l. 3.

Here orthographical mistakes on the part of the author of the lists have utterly changed the meaning. བླ་སྟོན་ "number" is a mistake for རྩ་ "indirect meaning", ཞི་ "peace" is a mistake for ཟུང་ "ground", and བསྟུན་ "method of *reductio ad absurdum*" is a mistake for བཅུ་རྟོག་ "detailed investigation".¹ The first title accordingly means "a ground commentary on the division of the meaning of Buddha's words into a direct and an indirect meaning". The second should be translated "a detailed investigation of the direct and indirect meaning (of Buddha's words)". These titles refer to a very well known and widely spread class of Tibetan literary works. It is astonishing that neither Dr. van Manen nor his informant have recognized it. The orthographical mistakes could not have prevented identification, for they are very common.

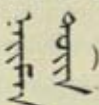
རྩ་རྟོག་ is the designation of a whole branch of Tibetan literature, containing numerous works. They are all devoted to the same problem of a division (རྩ་འཕྲེད་) of all Buddhist scriptural works into two classes, the class of direct meaning, called རྩ་ or རྩ་པའི་རྟོག་ (corresponding to Sanskrit **नीतार्थ**), and the class of indirect meaning, a meaning adapted to the comprehension by the auditory, called རྩ་ or རྩ་པའི་རྟོག་ (corresponding to Sanskrit **नेयार्थ**). As a matter of fact, Buddhism during its long history many times altered its fundamental philosophical and religious views. It therefore became a necessity for Buddhist authors to explain the connection of the new ideas with the old ones, to explain their contradiction and to justify the change. It was impossible simply to reject the old ideas and to replace them by the new ones. It was impossible especially in those cases when a firmly established tradition believed that the meaning in question was established by Buddha himself. Such a meaning could never be represented as heretical. But its glaring contradiction with the new ideas could totally undermine the canonical authority of the latter.

The solution of such difficulties which are not unknown in the history of many religious systems lies always in the creation of a new branch of literature whose aim it is to clear off the most flagrant contradictions by doing violence to the original text and its plain meaning. The original text then becomes so interpreted that the contradiction disappears. In Buddhism we have two great innovators,

¹ Cf. below our remark on No. 141 of Dr. van Manen's Index.

the Masters Nāgārjuna and Asaṅga, the founders of Mahāyāna.¹ In Tibet the celebrated learned monk Tsongkhapa, whose writings have served as the ideological platform for the reorganization of the Buddhist church in this country, has written a special work dealing with this problem of interpretation. Its full title is དང་པ་དང་ངེས་པའི་དོན་རྒྱུ་པར་འཕྲེད་པའི་བསྟན་བཅོས་ལེགས་བཤད་སྟོང་པོ་. It is better known under the abridged titles དང་ངེས་ལེགས་བཤད་སྟོང་པོ་ and ལེགས་བཤད་སྟོང་པོ་, or under the short, conventional nickname དང་ངེས་ཙ་བ་.

This highly esteemed work of Tsongkhapa, who in Tibet has been given the title of a second Buddha, is founded on a comparison and interpretation of two canonical works: མདོ་སྡེ་དཀོན་མཆོག་འབྲེལ་ (सन्धिनिर्माचनसूत्रं)² and རྩོམ་མི་ཐད་པས་བསྟན་པ་ (अवयवमतिनिर्देशः).³ Its aim is to demonstrate the method to be followed in order to clear away "supposed" contradictions, "supposed" from the author's point of view. This work exists in innumerable editions and has been commented upon by a great many authors. In the monastic schools of Tibet and Mongolia (ཆོས་གྲ) it forms a special course, as a part of the བར་ཕྱིན་(པར་མི་མཐོང་) (པར་མི་མཐོང་) class. For the use of these courses special manuals have many times been composed. Two such manuals are mentioned in the lists of Dr. van Manen.

The first of them, དང་ངེས་གདི་འབྲེལ་, is known to me only from hearsay. Its author is supposed to be a learned Mongolian lama of the name of Naiman Toin ().

The name of the second work དང་ངེས་མཐའ་དཔྱད་ is an abridged title appertaining to a whole class of similar works. It is, of course, impossible from such a generic title to determine exactly what work is meant. But since it is mentioned in connection with other school manuals in use in the རྩོམ་གསལ་གླིང་ school of the Depung monastery, it becomes most probable that the work "གསལ་རབ་ཀྱན་གྱི་དང་པ་དང་

¹ In Tibetan they are called the two Great Vehicles (ཤིང་ཏྲ་ཆེན་པོ་) of Mahāyāna.

² Cf. Kanjur, Mdo, vol. v (ཙ་).

³ Ibid., Mdo, vol. xvi (མ་).

ངེས་པའི་དོན་རྒྱུ་ཡང་འཕྲུང་པ་ལེགས་པར་བཤད་པའི་སྡིང་པོ། བརྒྱུ་ལན་གྱིས་རྒྱུ་
པར་འཕྲུང་པ་ལྷན་པའི་འཕྲུང་བ་ནེས་བྱ་བ་" is meant. Its author is བཀྲ་ཆེན་བསོད་
ནམས་གྲགས་པ་ (1478-1554). It contains 59 folios and is one of the
chief manuals (ཡིག་ཆ) of that school.¹

"56. རྩུང་ལྷ་ཐོགས་འབྲེལ་ (169). *Commentary on the obstructions
of the Tantrik Lamas?* (Very doubtful, but so according to oral
information.)"

The knowledge of the author of this piece of information could
not be very extensive, for the title really means: "The commentary
by Asaṅga (ཐོགས་མེད) on (Maitreya's work called) the Sublime
Science (རྩུང་ལྷ་མ = རྩུང་རྩུང་མ)." The abridged title རྩུང་ལྷ་ཐོགས་
འབྲེལ is the current name under which this most popular and widely
spread work, one of the fundamental canonical works of Northern
Buddhism, is very well known to every Buddhist monk. The རྩུང་རྩུང་མ
of Maitreya and the commentary on it by Asaṅga, called རྩུང་རྩུང་མ-
བྲེལ་མ་, are incorporated (in Tibetan translations) in the Tanjur,² and
there are besides innumerable editions in Tibet, Mongolia, China, and
Buriat-Mongolia.³ Both texts are edited in Aga monastery, and
in the catalogue of the printing office of this monastery the
Commentary of Asaṅga bears just the same abbreviated title as the
one found in Dr. van Manen's list, viz. རྩུང་ལྷ་ཐོགས་འབྲེལ་, 78 folios.⁴

¹ Longdöl-lama mentions this work among the obligatory manuals (ཡིག་ཆ) of
the རྩུང་ལྷ་ཐོགས་མ་གྱིང་ school of the Depung monastery. Compare his bibliographical
work indicated above, f. 44, verso.

This work is also contained among other manuals used in this school, which were
purchased by the late G. Zybikoff in Tibet. Cf. *Musei Asiatici Petropolitani Noticiae*,
iv. Список тибетским изданиям, привезенным Цыбиковым в 1902 г., No. 21
(St. Petersburg, 1904). The Tibetan title there given (བསོད་ནམས་གྲགས་པའི་གསུང་
འབྲུམ་) is not correct. Zybikoff's collection contains no "complete works"
of བསོད་ནམས་གྲགས་པ་, but a series of obligatory manuals (unfortunately
incomplete) of the རྩུང་ལྷ་ཐོགས་མ་གྱིང་ school, a series containing, among others, several
works of this author.

² Cf. Tanjur, Mdo, vol. xlii (མེ་). Cf. Cordier, op. cit., p. iii, p. 374.

³ Both texts have been translated into English by E. E. Obermiller. Cf. *Acta
Orientalia*, vol. ix, pp. ii-iii, 1931.

⁴ Cf. the Aga catalogue quoted above, བར་རིང་གི་གས་, f. 2, verso, l. 1.

The title རྩམ་ཐུང་ = འཕྲུག་པའི་ཐུང་ is altogether unknown to Dr. van Manen, since we find in his Index the following interpretation:—

“201. ཐུང་ཐུང་ཐུང་ཐུང་ཐུང་ཐུང་ཐུང་ཐུང་ཐུང་ (120). *Short account of the Lama succession (doctrinal tradition) of Translator Lodansherab.* ཐུང་ཐུང་ = ཐུང་ཐུང་ ཐུང་ = ཐུང་ཐུང་.”

The interpretation is wrong, since the title really means: “An abridged exposition of the sense (ཐུང་ཐུང་ཐུང་ = ཐུང་ཐུང་ཐུང་) of Uttara-tantra (ཐུང་ཐུང་) composed by Translator Lodansherab (ཐུང་ཐུང་ཐུང་ཐུང་ A.D. 1059–1109).”

“67. ཐུང་ཐུང་ཐུང་ཐུང་ཐུང་ཐུང་ (54). *The works of Ngagwang Jampa. Namthar. Said to have been the teacher of the present Dalai Lama and to have died some 20 years ago at an advanced age.* ཐུང་ཐུང་ཐུང་ཐུང་ཐུང་ཐུང་ཐུང་ཐུང་ ‘words spoken by’.”

Again a quite fantastic determination. According to Dr. van Manen's list the ཐུང་ཐུང་ཐུང་ཐུང་ཐུང་ཐུང་ཐུང་ or Complete works of Ngagwangjampa consist of three volumes, and their blocks are found in the printing office of the Purchog monastery (ཐུང་ཐུང་ཐུང་ཐུང་ཐུང་ཐུང་).¹ If Dr. van Manen would have given himself the trouble to look into G. Zybikoff's *Journey to Tibet*,² he would have known that in the monastery ཐུང་ཐུང་ཐུང་ཐུང་ཐུང་ཐུང་ཐུང་ཐུང་ the blocks of the complete works of one of the former lamas-incarnate Ngagwang-jampa are preserved, in three volumes. The general name of all the lamas-incarnate of the monastery of ཐུང་ཐུང་ཐུང་ཐུང་ཐུང་ཐུང་ཐུང་ཐུང་ is ཐུང་ཐུང་ཐུང་ཐུང་ཐུང་ཐུང་ཐུང་ཐུང་, and Zybikoff, who purchased there a copy of the three volumes of his works, quotes them under that name.³ Longdöl-lama in his bibliographical work, quoted above, mentions all the works of this author contained in three volumes of his “Complete works”.⁴ They exactly correspond to those found in Zybikoff's collection.

Dr. van Manen simply confounded two lamas-incarnate of that monastery, who both bore the title of ཐུང་ཐུང་ཐུང་ཐུང་ཐུང་ཐུང་ཐུང་ཐུང་, but of

¹ J. van Manen, op. cit., p. 478.

² Г. Ц. Цыбиков, „Буддист паломник у святых Тибета. По дневникам веденным в 1899–1902 г.г.“ (Издание Русского Географического Общества. Петроград, 1919), p. 352.

³ Cf. *Noticiae*, iv, p. 3, No. 23.

⁴ Cf. his bibliographical work quoted above, f. 34, recto, l. 2 – f. 35, recto, l. 2.

them the one was called དག་དབང་ཕུམས་པ་; he is known to Longdöl-lama, and is the author of the three volumes indicated in Dr. van Manen's list and in Zybikoff's catalogue. The other, called སྒྲོ་བཟང་ཚུལ་ཁྲིམས་ཕུམས་པ་བླ་མ་ཚེ་, was indeed the teacher of the thirteenth Dalai Lama, died very old in August, 1901,¹ but he has nothing to do with the three volumes of the works of the first. Both are considered and revered as two incarnations of the same person, but that is not enough to make them identical.

"83. འཇམ་དབང་མ་དག་འཇམ་སྒྲོ་བཟང་ཕྱ་ཁྲིམས་འཕྲིང་གཉིས་ (182). *The two recensions, full and medium, of (the work) conducting towards God Mañjughoṣa, by (Lama) Galo (Joymind?), uncertain, see S.C.D.,² s.v. ག་ལོ་, but see next number. There is also a ག་ལོ་རྩ་ (བ་).*"

"84. འཇམ་དབང་མ་དག་འཇམ་སྒྲོ་བཟང་གསུང་མྱོང་ (164). *About the writings of Galo concerning Mañjughoṣa. Uncertain. See previous number. Namthar.*"

Here the mistake apparently is due to Dr. van Manen himself. He has confounded the words ཕྱ་ཁྲིམས་ with ཕྱ་ཁྲིམས་. It is rather difficult to distinguish them in cursive writing. In his interpretation of these items Dr. van Manen has, moreover, disrupted the name of the author. He has misunderstood that the expression འཇམ་དབང་མ་དག་འཇམ་སྒྲོ་བཟང་ is nothing but an abbreviation of the author's name—འཇམ་དབང་མ་དག་འཇམ་སྒྲོ་བཟང་.

འཇམ་དབང་མ་དག་འཇམ་སྒྲོ་བཟང་, whose name is so curiously disrupted by Dr. van Manen, was the third Abbot of the Depung (འབྲས་ལྷོང་མ་) monastery; in this capacity he is also known under the name of འཇམ་དབང་མ་དག་འཇམ་སྒྲོ་བཟང་. He lived A.D. 1429–1503.

འཇམ་དབང་མ་དག་འཇམ་སྒྲོ་བཟང་ཕྱ་ཁྲིམས་འཕྲིང་གཉིས་ means "The detailed and the intermediate introductions into the (Mādhyamika) system, (the works) of Jamyang-Gabi-Lodöi", and refers to two of his three very celebrated works devoted to an Introduction into the Mādhyamika system, the more detailed ཕྱ་ཁྲིམས་འཕྲིང་མཁས་པ་འཇམ་དབང་མ་དག་འཇམ་སྒྲོ་བཟང་.

¹ Cf. Г. П. Цыбикова, op. cit., p. 270.

² i.e. *A Tibetan-English Dictionary*, compiled by Sarat Chandra Das.

³ Cf. the above-mentioned bibliographical work of Longdöl lama, f. 44, verso, ll. 1–2.

ཉིང་གདམ་ཞེས་བྱ་བ་, 17 folios, and the intermediate ལྷ་བའི་ཁྱིམ་ཡིག་རེ་ཉིད་གསལ་བྱེད་ཅེས་བྱ་བ་, 12 folios. His third work, the “abridged” redaction ལྷ་བའི་ཁྱིམ་ཡིག་བསྐྱུས་ལ་འཇམ་དཔལ་ལམ་ཐུང་, is not mentioned.¹

འཇམ་དཔལ་ལམ་ཐུང་གི་གསལ་བྱེད་ means “A collection of Jamyang-Gabi-Lodöi’s works”. གསལ་བྱེད་ means, sometimes, an incomplete collection, distinct from གསལ་འབྲས་ “Complete works”.

“92. ཉི་ཐང་རྒྱས་ཚེགས་ (167). *Discourse (ཚེགས་) on the occasion (རྒྱས་) of the exhibition of the scroll (or banner, ཐང་ལ་) on the Sundays. Refers to a custom in both Lhasa and Tashilhünpo to exhibit newly painted thankas on Sundays, to the Dalai and Tashi Lamas.*”

It is difficult to imagine an interpretation more misleading. Dr. van Manen evidently does not know that the works on Vinaya (འབྲུལ་བ་) contain a special chapter or a supplement devoted to time-computation and the calendar; the system by which beginning, length, and subdivision of a civil year is fixed; discussions on the seasons, their number; on months, festivals, and expiatory days. This supplement is called རྒྱས་ཚེགས་ or རྒྱས་ཚེགས་རྩམ་བཞག་. A whole literature is devoted to this subject in Tibet.² A special course on time-computation (རྒྱས་ཚེགས་) is gone through in the monastic schools (ཚེས་ཁྱ་) as a part of the འབྲུལ་བ་. One of the best known and widely spread school books on this subject is the work contained in Dr. van Manen’s list under the title ཉི་ཐང་རྒྱས་ཚེགས་.

The first word ཉི་ཐང་ (or ཉི་མ་ཐང་) is the name of a place and of its monastery, one of the many monasteries belonging to the so-called རྫོང་ཐེང་ part of the གསང་ཕུ་ abbey.³ But in the present case ཉི་ཐང་ is an abbreviation for ཉི་ཐང་པ་ or ཉི་མ་ཐང་པ་, the nickname of the author

¹ These three works are mentioned in the bibliographical work of Longdöl-lama, f. 44, verso, l. 4. They are contained in Zybikoff’s collection, No. 21, vol. ix.

² A short summary of this subject is given in the work of Longdöl-lama : རྒྱ་རྒྱུ་ཐུག་པ་འབྲུལ་བའི་ལྷ་ལྷོ་ལས་ཐུང་བའི་དོན་བསྐྱེད་མིང་གི་གྲངས་, f. 22, verso, l. 2 sqq. This work is entered in the complete works of this author, under No. 12 (ན་).

³ Cf. the work of Longdöl-lama, called བསྐྱེད་པོ་ལོ་ལྷ་ལྷོ་ལས་ཐུང་བའི་དོན་བསྐྱེད་མིང་གི་གྲངས་, f. 4, recto, l. 4. This work is entered in his complete works, under No. 22 (མ་).

of this book, the lama of ཉི་ཐང་ monastery. His full name is ཉི་མ་ཐང་པ་ཤེས་རབ་སྤྱན་པ་.

ཉི་ཐང་རྒྱས་ཆོགས་ is his work. Its full title is བྱང་དང་རིགས་པའི་གཏེར་
ཆེན་པོ་ལེགས་པར་བཤད་པའི་རྒྱས་ཆོགས་གསལ་བར་བྱེད་པའི་ཉི་མ་ཐེས་བྱ་བ་. The
library of Oriental Institution of the Academy of Sciences, U.S.S.R.,
possesses a copy of its block-print and I myself have another one,
printed at the Aga monastery in Buriat-Mongolia; this block-print
includes 71 folios. In the catalogue of the printing office of the Aga
monastery it has the title: “མཁས་པའི་དབང་པོ་ཉི་མ་ཐང་ཤེས་རབ་སྤྱན་
པས་མཛད་པའི་རྒྱས་ཆོགས་.”¹

“101. སྟག་ཚང་ལོ་རྒྱུ་བའི་རིག་གནས་ཀྱན་ཤེས་ཙ་འབྲེལ་ (127). *Text and
Commentary of the ‘Omniscience’ of Taktshang Lotsava. Taktshang
a place in Tibet, the birth-place of the Lotsava.*”

Not knowing neither the text in question, nor its real title, Dr. van
Manen had no other issue than to translate literally its abridged
title which figures in his list. This method followed by him in almost
all his notes inevitably leads to mistakes. The real title of the main
text (ཙ་པ་) is: རིག་གནས་ཀྱན་ཤེས་ནས་བདག་མེད་བྱུང་བ་ཤེས་བྱ་བའི་བསྟན་
བཅོས་; edition of the monastery དགའ་ལྡན་ཕན་ཕུན་ཆོགས་གླིང་ in Tibet,
11 folios. The title of its commentary is: རིག་གནས་ཀྱན་ཤེས་ནས་བདག་མེད་
བྱུང་བ་ཤེས་བྱ་བའི་བསྟན་བཅོས་ཀྱི་དྲུས་པར་བཤད་པ་ཉུང་གསལ་ཀྱན་དགའ་ཤེས་བྱ་བ་;
edition of the same monastery, 33 folios. As is seen from the title,
this text is devoted to a consideration of all “the five sciences”,
i.e. esoteric philosophy (དང་རིག་པ་), grammar (སྟག་རིག་པ་), logic (གཏེན་
ཆོགས་རིག་པ་), technique (བཅོམ་རིག་པ་), and medicine (གསོ་བ་རིག་པ་),
with the unique aim of establishing the cardinal tenet of all Buddhism,
the denial of the category of substance from every possible point of
view. The author of both these works is a very well-known heresiarch
སྟག་ཚང་ལོ་རྒྱུ་བ་ཤེས་རབ་རིན་ཅེན་, born in 1405.²

¹ Cf. Aga catalogue, པར་རིང་གི་བྲས་, f. 6, verso, l. 6.

² About his heresy as well as the heresy of རྫོ་དང་པ་ it is told that neither in
India nor in Tibet is there anything similar to them. Cf. དབག་བསམ་ལྟན་བཟང་
*History of the Rise, Progress, and Downfall of Buddhism in India and History of Tibet
from Early Times to 1745 A.D.*, by སུས་པ་མཁན་པོ་ཡེ་ཤེས་དཔལ་འབྱེར་. Ed. by
Sarat Chandra Das, Calcutta, 1908, p. 197.

"38. ཐུབ་མཐའ་ཀུན་ཤེས་ཙ་འབྲེལ་ (128). *Commentary and text of the Dubtha Künshe, the Siddhānta leading to omniscience.*"

Here the same mistake. The full title of the work is: ཐུབ་མཐའ་ཀུན་ཤེས་མཐའ་བཅུ་ཐུབ་པ་ཞེས་བྲི་བའི་བསྟན་བཅོས་, edited in the monastery དགའ་ལྷན་ཕན་ཚུགས་ལྷིང་, 17 folios. The title of the commentary is ཐུབ་མཐའ་ཀུན་ཤེས་མཐའ་བཅུ་ཐུབ་པ་ཞེས་བྲི་བའི་བསྟན་བཅོས་ གྱི་རྒྱུ་པར་བཤད་པ་ལེགས་བཤད་གྱི་བྱ་མཚོ་ཞེས་བྲི་བ་, edited in the same place, 114 folios. As is seen from the title and the text of these works, they are devoted to a consideration of all philosophical systems in their bearing upon the problem of infinity. The author of them is the just mentioned ལྷན་ཚང་ལ་ལྷ་བ་ཤེས་རབ་རིན་ཅེན་. I possess a copy of an edition of these two works together with the two works of the same author mentioned above.¹ They make together a small volume in which the four works are noted by letters ཀ་ཏ་ག་ང་, but each has its own pagination.

"121. ལྷ་སྟོན་པའི་མཚམས་སྟུང་ལྷ་པའི་འབྲེལ་བ་ (202). *Commentary on the five ways of composition, by the Desi. མཚམས་སྟུང་ = ལེགས་སྟུང་, composition.*"

Again a quite fantastic interpretation. It is a work on Sanskrit grammar, a commentary on the very well-known *सरस्वतीव्याकरणं*.²

མཚམས་སྟུང་ is a literal translation of the Sanskrit word *सन्धिः*, a designation of the changes of final sounds under the influence of a close contact with the initial sound of the next word. Here the five first chapters of the *सरस्वतीव्याकरणं* (དབངས་ཅན་སྟུང་མོད་) are understood: the first chapter on sounds in general, the second on *sandhi* of vowels, the third on exceptions, the fourth on *sandhi* of consonants, and the fifth on *visarga-sandhi*. All five chapters together represent the part on phonetics of this grammar and are known under the name *མཚམས་སྟུང་ལྷ་*.³

¹ See previous remark.

² The Tibetan translation of the *सरस्वतीव्याकरणं* = དབངས་ཅན་སྟུང་མོད་ is found in Tanjur, Mdo, vol. cxxxiv (མོད་).

³ Cf. e.g. the special work on this subject, composed by the above-mentioned Lama of Choni ལེགས་པ་བཤད་སྟུབ་. Its title is ལྷ་མཚམས་སྟུང་ལྷ་པ་ལྷོ་ལྷན་དོན་གཏེར་ཅན་གྱི་འཕྲུག་དོགས་ལྷ་ལམ་ཞེས་བྲི་བ་, 14 folios.

The list of Dr. van Manen very clearly points to the beginning of an unfinished commentary on the དབངས་ཅན་སྒྲ་མདོ་. Its full title is: བད་སྒྲིང་ཀུན་གྱི་ཡང་སྒྲིང་དབངས་ཅན་ཕྱ་ཀ་ར་ཏའི་འབྲེལ་བ་རབ་ཏུ་བྱ་བ་གསལ་ལྟན་འབྱར་ལྟན་དག་པ་མཐོང་བས་ཀུན་འགྲོལ་ཞེས་བྱ་བ་ལས་མཚམས་སྒྲིང་ལྟའི་བྱ་ཆེར་བཤད་པ་. Its author is the celebrated Desi, i.e. Regent of Tibet Sanggye-gyamtso (ཁྱེ་སྲིད་སངས་བྱས་བྱ་མཚོ་), who ruled the country from 1679 to 1702, and was killed in 1705. He was a prolific author and has left an inheritance of many works on diverse subjects.¹

“141. བར་ཕྱིན་དབ་མ་ཐམ་སྒྲིང་ (1). (*Rendering altogether problematic*): *Method of revering the pāramitās of the mādhyamikas. The expression ཐམ་སྒྲིང་ has not been explained and the grammatical relation between བར་ཕྱིན་ and དབ་མ་ is uncertain. མཚོན་ཏིང་, philosophy.*”

The rendering is not “altogether problematic”, but it is altogether

¹ Dr. van Manen's Index mentions under No. 122 an edition of his complete works, and under the Nos. 120, 121, 151, 152, and 153 his different works separately. No. 120 indicates his work on Eristics (cf. above our remark on No. 28 of Dr. van Manen's Index); No. 121 represents his work on Phonetics; No. 151 refers to his great work on Astronomy; No. 152 indicates his celebrated work on Medicine; and No. 153 represents his work on the history of the Gelugpa sect.

No. 187, གཡའ་སེལ་, refers very probably also to a composition of this author, whose full title is བསྟན་བཅོས་བློ་རྒྱུ་དཀར་པོ་ལས་འཛིན་པ་ལྟན་ལྟན་གཡའ་སེལ་དོན་གྱི་གཞིན་རས་སྒྲིང་ཕྱེད་ཅེས་བྱ་བ་, 473 folios. It contains a repudiation of objections which were raised against another work of his, the རྩལ་ལུགས་ཅིས་གྱི་ཐེགས་བཤད་མཁས་པའི་མཐུལ་བྱན་བློ་རྒྱུ་དཀར་པོའི་དོན་ལ་རམ་ལྟན་སྒྲིང་དོར་ཞེས་བྱ་བ་, 633 folios. Both these works are indicated in Schmidt and Böhtlingk's *Verzeichniss*, under Nos. 432 and 433, and in Zybikoff's Catalogue under Nos. 31 and 29. These works, as is clear from their titles, are devoted to Astronomy. The first of them is that very work which A. Csoma Körösi mentions in his *Grammar of the Tibetan Language in English* (Calcutta, 1834), p. 191, and the second is that very work from which he borrows his Chronological Table (*ibid.*, pp. 181-191).

From hearsay I myself, as well as Dr. van Manen, have heard of the existence of a medical work གཡའ་སེལ་, but even if this rumour is founded, it is hardly meant in the present case. It is much more probable that the very well known work of this author, the work mentioned above, is meant, since it appears together with his other work, as an edition of that very printing office, viz. རྟེན་པར་ཁང་, which is known as the place where this astronomical work is usually printed.

wrong, for this item clearly refers to two commentaries of a special type. One is the so-called "detailed investigation" of the pāramitā doctrine. The other is a "detailed investigation" of the mādhyamika system of philosophy.

"The grammatical relation between བར་ཕྱིན་ and དབུ་ས་ is uncertain," says Dr. van Manen, while it is the simplest relation of juxtaposition where the particle དང་ "and" is omitted. This is very often done, especially in titles.

ཐམ་སྟུན་ is a mistake for མཐའ་རྟོན་; this orthographical mistake, however, is very habitual even among learned men, because both words sound similarly and are closely related as regards their conventional, technical meaning. The term ཐམ་སྟུན་ can be rendered as "the method of *reductio ad absurdum*" or as "the deductive method" in general. It corresponds very closely to the technical term མཐའ་རྟོན་. For a man not knowing the exact spelling of the latter, ཐམ་སྟུན་ can appear as the most natural spelling. In the same manner the term མཐའ་རྟོན་ is sometimes confounded with the word མཐའ་གཅོད་, because both terms are very similar in pronunciation and in their meaning.

The term མཐའ་རྟོན་ or མཐའ་རྒྱུན་ can be literally rendered as "detailed investigation" or "detailed consideration". As a technical term it is a designation of a special form of commentaries on fundamental texts (ཆ་བ་) which has been called forth by the necessities of teaching in the monastic schools of Tibet.

In the original Tibetan literature of commentaries we find three chief types: རྣམ་བཤད་, མཆན་, and མཐའ་རྟོན་.

The first of them, རྣམ་བཤད་, represents a paraphrase, a continuous, connected exposition of the same subject, containing almost every word of the main text, but in a changed mode of syntactical expression and with additions. It is an explanatory paraphrase of the main text where all its verbal wealth is made use of. Having regard to the fact that it is a habit in Tibet to consider every work, even a quite independent one, as a commentary on some sacred text, every literary work written as a continuous and connected exposition of its subject matter may be called རྣམ་བཤད་. There are two varieties of the རྣམ་བཤད་: (1) "the interpretation of words" (ཚིག་འབྲེལ་) and (2) "the interpretation of meaning" (དོན་འབྲེལ་).

The second type, མཚན་, or more precisely མཚན་བྱ་, is a commentary of the usual type. It contains notes and glosses to separate passages which require explanation. It very often happens that these glosses are numbered in order to facilitate their being used when reading the main text; they correspond to our "footnotes".¹

The third type is called མཐའ་རྟོག་. In contradistinction to the other types it contains a critical consideration of the main text. It contains all its different interpretations, all right and wrong opinions which have been expressed on it, a proof of the right ones and a disproof of the wrong ones. By a construction of a whole series of interconnected syllogisms it tries to establish that the opinion of the opponent is contradicted by Scripture, by experience, and by his own views. This method of deductive ratiocination is called in Tibet ཐམ་འབྲུང་ (from the word ཐམ་བ་ = བསྐྱེད་). This is also the reason why insufficiently educated men often write ཐམ་ཐྱུང་ instead of མཐའ་རྟོག་.

Independently of this its chief aim of a detailed proof of one's own and a repudiation of contrary opinions, a མཐའ་རྟོག་ has a second aim, viz. the aim of training novices in the art of conducting a debate. Every discussion is an example to be followed in every bilateral disputation. Therefore, in the monastic schools, namely, the philosophical schools of the dominating རྟེན་བླ་སྤྱུང་པ་ sect, the so-called

¹ Cf. e.g. the work of the Mongolian lama, Ngagwang-paldän (འག་དབང་དཔལ་ལྷན་, more known under the surname དཔལ་ལྷན་ཚེས་ཇེ་), bearing the title: ལྷ་མོ་མཐའ་ཆེན་མོའི་མཚན་འབྲུང་དཀའ་གནད་མཐུན་གྱི་ཐོ་གསལ་གཅེས་དོར་ཞེས་བྱ་བ་ 3 vols. The work was composed in 1846 and printed in the Great Monastery of Ourga, Mongolia.

This work represents a commentary on the celebrated work of the first Jamyangshepa Ngagwang-tsondü (འཇམ་དབང་ས་བཞད་པ་འག་དབང་བཙུན་འབྲུས་, 1648-1722 A.D.), called per abbreviation ལྷ་མོ་མཐའ་ཆེན་མོ་, the full title being ལྷ་མོ་མཐའ་ཆེན་མོ་མཐུན་དང་གནད་ལྷ་མོ་མཐའ་ཆེན་མོ་ཐོ་གསལ་བ་ལྷན་བཟང་ཤིང་གི་ཏི་མ་ལུང་རིགས་ཀྱི་མཚོ་ཁྲི་རྒྱུ་འཕྲོ་ཞེས་བྱ་བ་, 2 vols. It was edited several times in Tibet, Amdo, and Mongolia. It was also edited in the Aga monastery in Buriat-Mongolia. It is mentioned in Dr. van Manen's Index under No. 39. It is contained in his first list among the publications of the རྟེན་བླ་སྤྱུང་པ་ school of the Depung monastery; the obligatory manuals of that school are mostly the works of the first Jamyangshepa.

མཚན་ཉིད་ལྟ་ཚང་ or ཚུལ་གྱི་སྟེང་, the མཐའ་དཔྱད་ manuals are very much in vogue; they are among the obligatory manuals (ཡིག་ཆ་) of every school. There are མཐའ་དཔྱད་ on every branch of learning without exception. མཐའ་དཔྱད་ always presupposes the existence of a fundamental text, "the root" (རྩ་བ་ = རྒྱུ་), which is always the same, but the མཐའ་དཔྱད་ is different according to the school. The number of མཐའ་དཔྱད་ is enormous, but the greatest part are devoted to such subjects as བར་ཕྱིད་ and དབུ་མ་, since these doctrines represent the focus of lamaist scholarship.

The first of the texts mentioned in Dr. van Manen's list is a dialectical commentary on the མཛོད་རྟོགས་བྱུང་ (འཕམ་མཐའ་ལྟར་བྱུང་).¹ The second is a commentary of the same type on Candrakīrti's དབུ་མ་ལ་འབྱུག་པ་ (མཐའ་མཐུག་པ་).² The latter is the fundamental text in the study of Mādhyamika system in the monastic schools of the དགེ་བླུགས་པ་ sect.

It is impossible to determine quite exactly who the authors of these works were, because we have in the list only their generic name, the name of the class of works to which they belong. But considering that in Dr. van Manen's list they stand at the head of all the fundamental manuals of the རྒྱུ་གསལ་གྱི་སྟེང་ school of the Depung monastery, it becomes very probable that they are the manuals admitted in that school. We probably have here two works of བར་ཕྱིད་པ་མཚན་ཉིད་ལྟ་ཚང་, who really is the author of two such works, admitted as obligatory manuals (ཡིག་ཆ་) of that school, as recorded by Longdöl-lama.³

"155. བཟུངས་ཚུལ་གྱི་ཕྱུ་ (11). *The five chapters of Lovereligion, i.e. Lama བཟུངས་ཚུལ་ཚུལ་གྱི་ཕྱུ་ཁྱེ་ཡེ་ཤེས་, the founder of the Sera monastery.*"

A very categorical, but quite fantastic interpretation! It is even quite incomprehensible who could have suggested such a monstrosity!

¹ Cf. Tanjur, Mdo, vol. i (ཀ་). The Sanskrit and Tibetan texts of this work are published by Professor Th. Stecherbatsky and E. E. Obermiller in the *Bibliotheca Buddhica*, xxiii.

² Cf. Tanjur, Mdo, vol. xxiii (ཨ་). The Tibetan text of the Mādhyamakāvatāra is published by M. L. de la Vallée Poussin in the *Bibliotheca Buddhica* series, vol. ix.

³ Cf. his bibliographical work mentioned above, f. 44, verso, ll. 4-6.

The title उमस-केस-श्रे-ल is a most usual, most widely spread, most popular name generally given to the collection of the celebrated five treatises of Maitreya. They are : (1) मद-वर्तन-कुप = अभिसमयालंकारः¹; (2) मर्-श्रे-कुप = सूचालंकारः²; (3) दसुस-मप-क्ष-अउर = मध्यान्तविभङ्गः³; (4) केस-र-केस-श्रे-क्ष-अउर = धर्मधर्मताविभङ्गः⁴; and (5) कुप-ल-म = उत्तरतन्त्र.⁵

Under the title of བཤམ་ཆོས་ལྟེ་པུ་, which is more usual than the identical title བཤམ་པའི་ཆོས་པུ་, these five works of Maitreya are known in the whole domain of Tibetan literature and even to every half-literate Tibetan.⁶ Under this title they appear in all the catalogues of all the printing offices of Tibetan and Mongolian Monasteries⁷ and even have found their way into our European scientific literature.⁸

The quoted examples clearly show the difficulties of the task assumed by Dr. van Manen when he resolved to publish his two quite inadequate lists. We have by no means pointed out all the mistakes of which his Index is full. We have selected only some most

¹ Cf. Tanjur, Mdo, vol. i (77').

² Cf. *ibid.*, Mdo, vol. xlv (३). Sanskrit text (with commentary) was edited and translated by M. Sylvain Lévi in the *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Hautes Etudes. Sciences historiques et philologiques*, fasc. 159 et 182, Paris, 1907-1911.

² Cf. *ibid.*, Mdo, vol. xlv (वे). The Sanskrit text of the subcommentary on it, composed by Sthiramati **मध्वान्तविभागसूत्रभाष्यटीका**, is now partly published by Dr. Vidhushekhara Bhattacharya and Professor G. Tucci in the Calcutta Oriental Series, No. 24, Calcutta, 1932 (only the first part issued).

⁴ Cf. *ibid.*, Mdo, vol. xlv (2).

^a Cf. *ibid.*, Mdo., vol. xlv (21*). Cf. also above our remark on No. 56 of Dr. van Manen's Index.

* Cf. e.g. a special work of the Chönyi lama རྒྱལ་བ་པོ་འགྲུག་པོ་ (born 1727), devoted to a review of the contents of these five treatises of Maitreya. This work is called : དམས་ཆོས་ཤེད་ཀྱི་བསྟན་པར་བསྐྱོད་པའི་མཛོད་ཀྱི་རྩིས་བླ་པ་, 10 folios.

¹ Cf. e.g. the Ağa catalogue mentioned above, བར་རིང་གི་བླ་མ་, f. 2, verso, ll. 2-3.

* Cf. В. П. Васильев, „Буддизм, его догматы, история и литература,“ part iii, p. 119, footnote 1. Cf. also Б. Барадийн, „Статуя Майтреи в Золотом Храме в Лавране.“ *Bibliotheca Buddhica*, xxii, p. 25, footnote 1, etc., etc.

conspicuous and suggestive examples. Almost every item wants either correction or supplementary explanation. Without going into details we can shortly mention that even such a work as Bodhicaryāvatāra which is known to every Buddhologist has been overlooked by Dr. van Manen, when he explains the abridged title of its commentary, “ལྷན་འབྲེག་འབྲེག་པ་”, as “Commentary on entering on the (right) practice (or conduct)”.¹ Not less wonderful is the interpretation of the term རྒྱལ་མ་ as “Imperial”, as “an adjective of rank, derived from the designation of the Emperor of China,”² whereas this term means “superior”, “former”, and is applied to the first reincarnation of a celebrated lama; the title in question, རྒྱལ་མ་རྒྱལ་མ་, refers to the first Changkya-Khutuktu, Ngagwang-chöiden (འཇུག་རྒྱལ་མ་རྒྱལ་མ་ཆེན་པོ་), who lived in 1642–1714; etc., etc.

It hardly is necessary to go through the whole of Dr. van Manen's Index and point to every mistake and obscurity which is found almost in every item. Since it is clear that the lists themselves, as mentioned above, are unsatisfactory, it is useless to attempt their full emendation. Our aim was not to correct them, but to show the mistake of the method of collecting bibliographical informations from hearsay.

Our review of Dr. van Manen's attempt confirms us in the conviction that Tibetan bibliography must start just by a careful description of all Tibetan literary works to be found in the libraries of Europe and by a study of original Tibetan compositions on bibliography and history, as well as of catalogues of monastic printing offices (པར་) in Tibet, China, Mongolia, and Buriat-Mongolia.

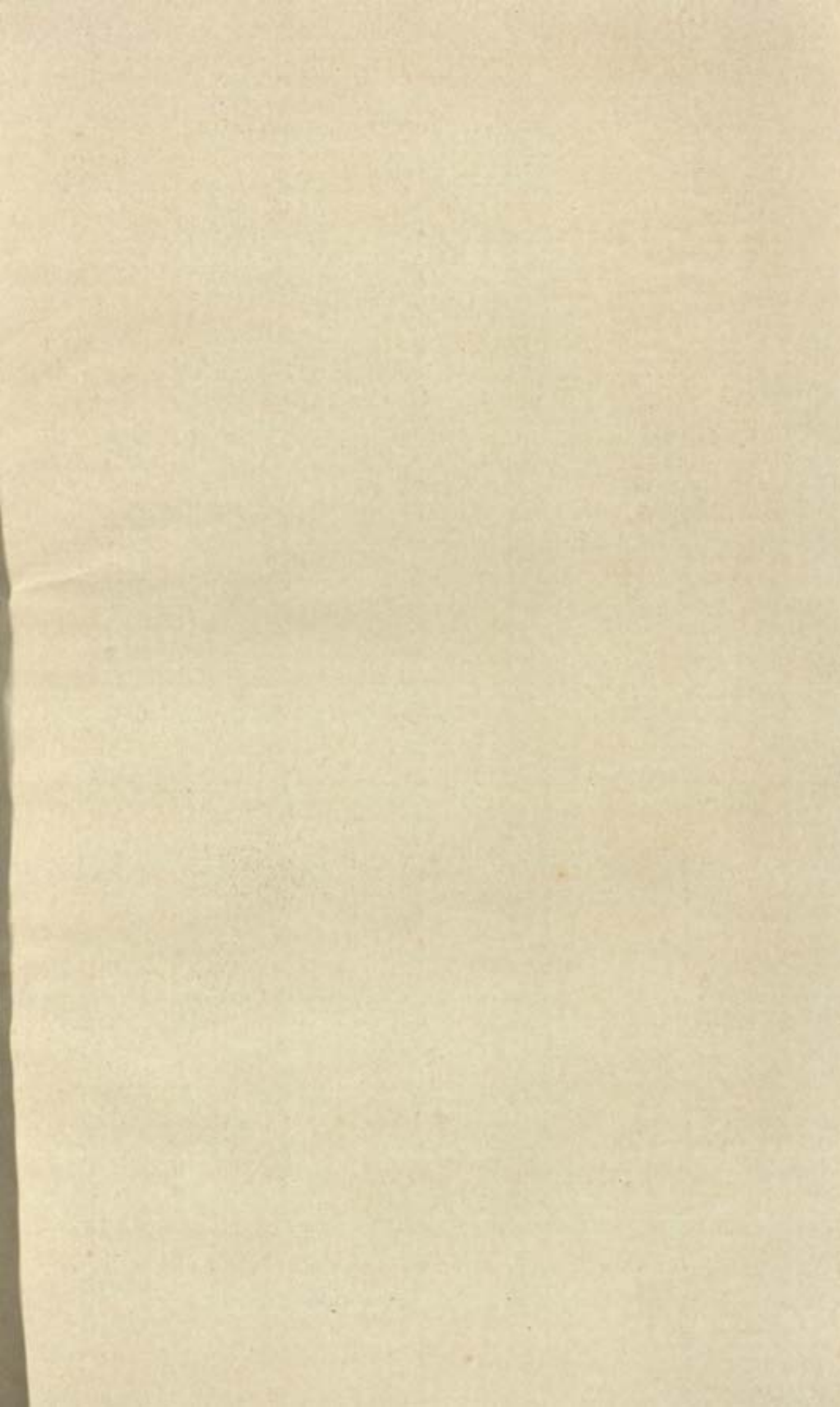
In this department very much can be done. The description of all the རྒྱལ་མ་རྒྱལ་མ་, e.g., would be very useful, since nobody knows in Europe what works they include.³

Although our collections are very far from being complete, nevertheless they represent the only reliable material in our hands and every precise and detailed description of them becomes a real and valuable contribution towards a bibliography of Tibet.

¹ J. van Manen, op. cit., Index, No. 136.

² Ibid., No. 72.

³ In his introduction to the edition of the *Samtānāntarasiddhi* (*Bibliotheca Buddhica*, xix) Professor Th. Stcherbatsky has given the full list of the works of རྒྱལ་མ་རྒྱལ་མ་. But his example has unfortunately not so far been followed by other scholars.





A Fragment of the *Uttaratantra* in Sanskrit

By H. W. BAILEY and E. H. JOHNSTON

(PLATE II)

C.H. 0047 is an incomplete roll of the Stein collection at the India Office, measuring 130×31 cm. The accompanying photograph shows the roll except the lower part (32 cm.) containing six short vertical lines (a business account) in Chinese, the last 10 cm. being blank. The reverse of the roll contains the Chinese version of the Aparimitāyuh Sūtra, and one line in Tibetan script. The obverse here edited consists of Sanskrit verses with Khotanese Saka annotations. There is a brief description of the roll by the late Dr. A. F. R. Hoernle in Stein, *Serindia*, p. 1449.

The Sanskrit orthography¹ is similar to that of texts published by Dr. Hoernle in *JRAS.*, 1911, 447 ff. The Saka is of the late type found in documents of the times of the kings Viśa Dharma and Viśa Sambhava, about the end of the eighth century A.D. A *terminus ad quem* is given by the closing of the Tun-huang library about the beginning of the eleventh century.

The MS. is carelessly written in cursive Brāhmī script, and the scribe has struck through many of the akṣaras.—H. W. B.

The Sanskrit text, unearthed by Dr. Bailey, contains a passage from which important deductions may be drawn on a vexed question of the history of Buddhist dogma. It falls into two parts, the first of which consists of the opening verses of several works. Two of these, the *Mahāyānasūtrālamkāra* and the *Mūlamadhyamakakārikās*, are too well known to need comment, though the copyist distinguishes himself by transposing the authors' names. Of the remainder, the first is from an unnamed work, which I cannot identify but which dealt perhaps with the "false views", and the third is attributed to the *Mahāyānasamāsa*, a title apparently unknown to the Tibetan and Chinese translations; the application of the epithet *nirmala* to *dharma* suggests the possibility that it is a work of the Prajñāpāramitā school. The last verse in this part is described as opening the *Ratnagotravibhāgaśāstra* of the Bodhisattva Maitreya, that is, the

¹ It is not excluded that in the Sanskrit virāma may have been at times intended by the sign transliterated i, even with tt.

Uttaratantra, the crabbed Tibetan version of which has recently been rendered into English with remarkable skill by Dr. Obermiller in *Acta Orientalia*, ix. The Chinese translation (Taisho Issaikyo ed., No. 1611) is usually styled the *Mahāyānottaratantraśāstra*, despite the fact that the title literally translated, as pointed out long ago by Nanjio, is *Uttaraikayānaratnagotraśāstra*, where *ekayāna* should presumably be taken as the translator's interpretation of the significance of the term *tantra*. According to P. C. Bagchi, *Le Canon bouddhique en Chine*, p. 249, a Chinese catalogue of A.D. 597 knows an alternative title, of which the first part is *Ratnagotravibhāga*, in agreement with the roll. The second part of the text is an excerpt of nine verses from the same work, chapter iii, 1-7 and 9, according to Dr. Obermiller, who has amalgamated the two verses, 5 and 6, into one; the copyist has also numbered the verses, but wrongly, treating the Śārdūlavikrīḍita verse, number 7, as two, by reason of the transcription dividing each *pāda* into two parts at the cæsura.

To appreciate the value of the find, I must discuss the present state of our information about the *Uttaratantra*. The Tibetan version presents a work in five chapters and names Āsaṅga as the author, so that it is ordinarily reckoned among his five main works, which were revealed to him by the future Buddha, Maitreya. A curious feature of it is the way in which *kārikās* of the usual mnemonic curtness are interspersed with verses or series of verses composed on regular *kāvya* principles. The roll contains two good examples, in the *yathāsamkhyā* compound of its verse 8, a figure several times employed by Aśvaghoṣa but not in favour with the poets of the classical period, and in the repetition, amounting to internal rhyme, of *stha* in the last *pāda* of its verse 10; and there appears to be a long series of such verses in chapter iv. The Chinese translation, which was prepared by Ratnamati, a monk from Central India, early in the sixth century A.D., gives no author's name; but according to Péri, *BEFEO.*, xi, pp. 348-55, a seventh-century writer named Fa Tsang attributed it to a certain Chien I and transliterated the name as Sāramati, though the more natural rendering of the Chinese translation would be Sthiramati. This authority places Sāramati in the 700's and Vasubandhu in the 900's, while Paramārtha, who accepts the same period for Vasubandhu, places the other in the beginning of the 600's shortly after Nāgārjuna. It is also to be noted that Sāramati is associated doctrinally with the supposititious Aśvaghoṣa, the author of the so-called *Mahāyānaśraddhotpādaśāstra*. Fa Tsang attributes

to him also Nos. 1626 and 1627 of the Taisho Issaikyo Tripiṭaka, the title of which is literally *Dharmadhātaviśeṣatāśāstra*, and he is also said to be the author of the *Ju ta ch'êng* (usually translated *Mahāyānāvatāra*); according to Péri this last work contains a single allusion to the *Mahāyānasūtrālamkāra*, besides numerous references to earlier works, but, as it was translated before A.D. 440, the identification of the quotation may be incorrect or the passage an interpolation. For, if the work is really by the same writer, he lived, according to the two Chinese authorities cited above, long before Āsaṅga. Ratnamati's translation of the *Uttaratantra* is a curious piece of work; though nominally divided into four chapters, it falls primarily into two sections. The first, covering pp. 813-820 of the Taisho Issaikyo edition, consists solely of verses with occasional captions; the first thirty-nine columns are an introduction, and it then proceeds to give a selection of verses from the text. Whether it has verses not found in the Tibetan translation, I am unable to say. The second section, beginning near the end of chapter i and containing in its fourth chapter the end of the Tibetan's chapter i and the whole of its remaining four chapters, gives the work with the commentary. The latter differs in minor details from the Tibetan, but resembles it too closely not to have been translated (or perhaps better, paraphrased) from the same original. This second part is remarkable in that it seems to omit the *kāvyā* verses of the Tibetan; thus verses 8 and 10 of the roll and iv, 14-86 of the Tibetan are not to be found in it. On the other hand, verses 8 and 10 of the roll and some of the missing verses of the Tibetan's chapter iv are given in the first section. The explanation of this state of affairs may be that two separate translations have been joined together by the Chinese; for Bagchi, *op. cit.*, p. 250, quotes a Chinese catalogue of the eighth century as saying that it is the second translation, and he remarks that Bodhiruci, who collaborated with Ratnamati in another translation, also translated the *Uttaratantra*, though he does not identify it with any of the works of Bodhiruci mentioned in the catalogues, *ibid.*, pp. 252-260. The verses common to both sections, so far as I have tested them, are worded in identical terms, and one of the two sections may well be by Bodhiruci.

The divergence between the Chinese and Tibetan traditions is therefore considerable, and the value of the roll, which supports the Chinese in its title and the Tibetan in its ascription, lies in the bearing of its evidence on the puzzle. In the first place, Tibetan tradition, as cited by Dr. Obermiller, recognizes the peculiar position which

the *Uttaratantra* takes in the corpus of Āsaṅga's works by virtue of its strong tendency to Mādhyamika tenets. On one point, however, according to Dr. Obermiller's translation, it definitely accepts Vijñānavādin doctrines, namely with regard to the Buddha-bodies; for, following the interpretation of modern Tibetan scholars, the English version makes it teach the existence of three such bodies. Now, besides the quotations from a number of texts in La Vallée Poussin, *Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi*, pp. 762 ff., the standpoint adopted by the various sects and schools with regard to this doctrine is set out in complete and masterly fashion in *Hobogirin*, s.v. *bushhin*, from which it appears that the Mādhyamikas accept the existence of two bodies only, and the Vijñānavādins, with the sole exception of the treatise under discussion, three or more bodies. The Sanskrit text, however, of verses 1-4 of the roll, which agrees in this point entirely with the Tibetan text when properly understood, shows that the modern Tibetan method of interpretation followed by Dr. Obermiller is wrong as reading into the text a meaning it cannot bear, and that the *Uttaratantra* in reality knows of only two Buddha-bodies, the *paramārthakāya* and the *saṃvṛtikāya*. The author of the article quoted in *Hobogirin* understands the Chinese version similarly to teach the doctrine of two bodies only. With the disappearance of the *trikāya* doctrine from it, there is nothing left to attach it with certainty to the Vijñānavāda. Two points in the Chinese further support the view that we are dealing with a purely Mādhyamika work, firstly that Ratnamati and Bodhiruci's activities appear from the list of their translations to have been confined to the sūtras used by the Mādhyamikas and to the treatises based on them, and secondly that Ratnamati, by translating *tantra* by *ekayāna*, indicates his view that he is translating a Mādhyamika work; for, as Dr. Obermiller has pointed out, the *ekayāna* theory of the *gotra* is a specific teaching of that school as opposed to the Vijñānavādins.

Are we, then, justified in attributing a purely Mādhyamika work to Āsaṅga on the strength of Tibetan tradition and of the attribution to Maitreya in this roll, and in direct opposition to earlier Chinese evidence? In this connection it must be remembered that the latter goes back to the school of Hiuan Tsang; according to Demiéville, *BEFEO.*, xxiv, pp. 52-3, Yüan Ts'ê, a pupil of his, ascribes the *Pao hsing lun* (*Ratnagotrāśāstra*) to Sāramati, and, *ibid.*, p. 55, n. 4, the Fa Tsang, already quoted from Péri, certainly had some connection with the same school. The famous pilgrim was deeply versed in the

Vijñānavāda, and it seems impossible that, if he thought the *Uttaratantra* to be by Āsaṅga, his followers should attribute it to a writer of a different school. On the other hand, Dr. Obermiller supports the Tibetan ascription by pointing out the identity of *Uttaratantra*, i, 152, with *Abhisamayālaṃkāra*, v, 21, and the similarity of two verses with passages in the *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra*. The first of these cases does not hold good. The verse in question, first elaborated by Aśvaghōṣa, was adopted and transformed by Nāgārjuna, who read a new meaning into it; in that form it was quoted frequently in Mādhyamika and Vijñānavādin works (La Vallée Poussin, *Mélanges chinois et bouddhiques*, i, p. 394). Moreover, I have been unable to discover the verse in either section of the Chinese translation, and it may be an interpolation. As regards the testimony of the roll, the term *ratnagotra* is known to Āsaṅga but used differently, *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra*, iii, 10 (we may compare the *ratnakula* of the Tantra in Tibet, G. Tucci, *Indo-Tibetica*, III, pt. i, p. 43), and the expression *guṇaprabheda* of the roll might be compared with *gotraprabhedatā* of the same work, iii, 1. The style of the verses of *kāvya* type in the roll suggests an earlier date than Āsaṅga to me, though such a point is too subjective to be relied on. Altogether the evidence in this respect does not appear to me to have cogent force or to outweigh Chinese statements, which on the face of them are well authenticated and which give a result in accordance with what we should *prima facie* expect.

The final question is, if Tibetan tradition and the ascription in the roll are wrong, how did they come to go wrong? Now the restoration of the name Sāramati from the Chinese seems to me doubtful. It is a somewhat unusual form and it does not really coincide with the Chinese translation, Chien I; further, Chinese transcriptions of proper names have often come down to us in a corrupt state, and in the present case the loss of a single character in copying would have been enough to change Sthiramati into Sāramati. The former, in my opinion, is the correct form of the name; for we do know of an early Sthiramati from other sources, the author of a commentary on the *Kāśyapaparivarta*, a very early Mahāyāna sūtra, which is far older than the Vijñānavāda school. This commentary, No. 1523 in the Taisho Issaikyo Tripiṭaka, was translated by Bodhiruci who gives no author's name, but Baron von Staël-Holstein, in his preface to the *Kāśyapaparivarta*, pp. xiv-xvii, points out that the Tibetan gives his name. In note 1 to the preface of his edition of the commentary he quotes

also Bu-Ston's *History of Buddhism* as authority for the statement that this Sthiramati was born in the Daṇḍakāraṇya. The reliability of this statement is possibly open to doubt, but it is curious that Ratnamati, the translator of the *Uttaratantra*, also came from Central India. The theory I would put forward for consideration is therefore as follows : There was a writer named Sthiramati, who lived some time before Āsaṅga, and who wrote the *Uttaratantra* or *Ratnagotravibhāga*, the commentary on the *Kāśyapaparivarta*, the *Dharmadhātuvaiśeṣaśāstra*, and possibly the *Mahāyānāvātāra* ; he belonged to the Mādhyamika school, but to a section teaching a doctrine more advanced than that of Nāgārjuna, of a type approximating to that of the mysterious *Mahāyānaśraddhotpāda*, and in some degree anticipating Vijñānavādin developments. As he failed to found a school which could compete with the two great divisions of the Mahāyāna, his works fell into comparative oblivion at a fairly early date. Later, after Āsaṅga and either after or contemporaneous with the date of the Chinese translations of the first Sthiramati's works, there was a much more famous Sthiramati of Valabhī, an adherent of the Vijñānavāda, who wrote a number of commentaries, some still extant in Sanskrit. By the time of the roll, somewhere according to Dr. Bailey in the eighth to tenth centuries A.D., when the name Sthiramati was found attached to the *Uttaratantra*, it was supposed to be that of the only Sthiramati whose name was still living, namely Āsaṅga's follower and commentator. It would be natural in such circumstances to suppose the commentary alone to be by him, in which case the original, whose teaching shows some affinities with Vijñānavādin doctrines, could only be attributed to Āsaṅga. The word *tantra* in the title might assist in the mistake, as Āsaṅga is traditionally associated with the origin of that school. This theory has the advantage of accounting for all the facts and of making the position of the *Uttaratantra* in the history of Buddhist dogmatics much more comprehensible, and the same cannot be said of any other possible explanation. Further than this the matter can hardly be taken, till more evidence is produced, for instance by a much completer examination of the Chinese translation than I am competent to undertake.

A few words must be added about the restoration of the Sanskrit from the transliteration. The original, which cannot always be read with certainty, has a certain number of corruptions, besides a number of extra syllables, which should have been cut out and which I have omitted from the Sanskrit ; the method of transliteration also in the

roll is not uniform, particularly with regard to the vowels, while the language is such as to make conjecture unsafe. As it is not possible therefore to give the Sanskrit that was intended by the writer by relying solely on the MS., I have made use for the *Uttaratantra* of the Tibetan translation in Mdo 45 (India Office copy), and of the Chinese translation (verse i, 1, on p. 820 *c*; vv. 1-6 and 9 on pp. 844 *a* and *b*; and vv. 1, 4, 6, 8, and 10, on pp. 817 *a* and *b*), and this has enabled me to prepare a text which, subject to one or two small matters of uncertainty, I feel justified in considering to be that which lay before the author of the roll. The Tibetan has occasional variant readings, which I give under the letter T in the notes, but there is in reality almost complete textual agreement between the three versions, the Chinese being far more literal than is often the case.¹—E. H. J.

¹ Since the above paper was written the Rev. Rāhul Sāṃkrityāyana has announced in *JBORS.*, xxi (1935), pp. 31 and 33, the discovery in Tibet of two incomplete MSS. of the Sanskrit text of the *Uttaratantra*. It is to be hoped that photographs will be made available for the publication of this important material.

CH. 0047.

1. [*Fragment of lower part of akṣara da.*]
2. rāgādidaursam - viṣadrrigdi - kudrriṣṭiśalyam =
gāṇ¹ḍābhineddham - hrra = dayam samivrrikṣi
3. laikam = ttrāttū paramśrrimimagātta karināttmim²kā
yam = stasidhya³muhta = ma⁴ - bhaisagūri
4. mabhyarca⁵yāmme = arthajñarthhivibhāvinā
prrikuratte va va⁵ va⁵ padiṣṭattima
5. lai = dukhittisyāttittiriṇayi dukhittaujine =
kārūṇṇastattinta³tti⁶mayam
6. sūtrālamkāriśāstri hiya paḍauysa kārya - ārya
nāgārrjum baudhisatvina hva
7. sarvajñayi namahi : stasimī : parārtha ?⁷
bharitta⁸ttimane = narimala
8. yi ci dharmayam = dīmatṭigīṇivarayi ca =
mihāyāpna simāsiśā⁶stri⁶ hiya paḍau-
9. ysa kārya =
anaraudha anautipāda . anachida³manasitta =
manekārtha⁺manā
10. kārthamanārgimanirgima = yatti
prittittisimuttapāda prripamcapamcima
11. śiva = deśa⁶me²yam⁸ mahāsam²budhamstamvayam
kū de²va²ttā² bauhhattauvara⁺ = bauhhatta² -
12. madhyimai śāstri hiya paḍauysa kārya āryā mittrai
baudhasatti jsa hvata
13. śti - dharmasā - gaṇasā dhāttū = bauhharigūṇi
karmam ci bauhamevam = krrisijasya

¹ samrūṭta written over ṇḍābhine.² Struck out.³ With -i struck out.⁴ muhta=ma below the line.⁵ With -ā struck out.⁶ Below the line.⁷ Uncertain, possibly ra.⁸ With -au struck out.

SANSKRIT TEXT, WITH ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF SAKA

(l. 2) Rāgādidoṣaviṣadigdhakudrṣṭiśālya-¹

gaṇḍābhinaddhahṛdayaṁ samavekṣya (l. 3) lokam |

Trātā² parāśrayagatān karuṇātmako yas

taṁ siddhimuktam aviṣaṁ³ guru(l. 4)m arcayāmi ||

Arthajño 'rthavibhāvanāṁ prakurute vācā padaiś cāma(l. 5)lair

duḥkhasyottaraṇāya⁴ duḥkhitajane kārūnyatas tanmayah |

The first kārīkā of the Sūtrālamkāraśāstra. Spoken by Ārya-Nāgārjuna.

(l. 7) Sarvajñāya namas tasmai parārthaprahītātmane |

Nirmalā(l. 8)ya ca dharmāya dhīmadgaṇavarāya ca ||

The first kārīkā of the Mahāyāna-samāsa-śāstra.

(l. 9) Anirodham anutpādam anucchedam aśāśvatam⁵ |

Anekārtham anā(l. 10)nārtham anāgamam⁶ anirgamam ||

Yah pratītyasamutpādam prapañcopaśamaṁ (l. 11) śivam |

Deśayāmāsa sambuddhas⁷ taṁ vande vadatāṁ varam ||

The first kārīkā of the Madhyamaka-śāstra. Spoken by the Bodhisattva Ārya-Maitreya.

< Buddha > (l. 13)ś ca dharmaś ca gaṇaś ca dhātur
bodhir guṇāḥ karma ca bauddham eva⁸ |

¹ °śālyaṁ would be preferable metrically.

² Or trātā.

³ The restoration is doubtful.

⁴ The roll reads wrongly duḥkhitasyo°.

⁵ Did the writer intend anāśītam ?

⁶ It looks as if anagrimam is meant here.

⁷ Is deśayan mahāsambuddhas intended ?

⁸ tha-ma, T., i.e. ante.

14. śāstrasyi śīrīramettatti = simasatta
vajña padhāmna sappta =
mittraī baudhasa -
15. tvi jsa hva - rahna = gautrivibhāgiśāstri hīya
paḍauysa kārya — —
16. . . svārtha-parārtha parimārthikā yaṃ =
stidaśritta samvrrittakayintām ca - ba ⁹
17. laṃ viṣaṃyauḡaṃ vipākabhāvamtti¹⁰
ettatti cittūriṣaṣṭigūṇaṃ prribhedam = 1
18. svārthasampattyidriṣṭāṃta = mriṣe
sāketta śīrīraṃ parimārthika = paraṣaṃ
19. pattidriṣṭāṃta = mriṣe sākettaṃ vipū 2
viṣaṃyauḡagūṇīryū¹¹hi = ttaṃ = vipū
20. rādyibalādabai = vipakakaṃ dvīttiyamca¹² =
mahattipūrūṣalakṣaṃṇaṃ 3
21. balaṃ tvavajñāmna-vrritteṣa vajñavatti =
stidaśritta samvrrittakayattām ca ¹³
ttithāgattāvimṇakattānti¹⁴rikṣivatti¹⁵ =
22. viśāradaṃtva paraṣattisū siha : vatti = ukātta
23. muṇnidrīda darśanamāmbhū¹⁶caṃdrivatti = 4
sthāmnāsthāṃna vīpāki ca = karma
24. ṇāmiṃdrīye¹⁷sa ca = dhātveṣamīdhamuhttau ca =
mauurge sarva¹⁸ttrigrāṃmane 5
25. dhyāṃnādakīdeśavimalyā = nivāsrānū
prasimrritte¹⁹ysaṃntha²⁰ smrrattevī²¹he
26. = devicakṣuśāṃttām²¹ ca = jñāṇaṃ
diśivīdaṃ balaṃ = 6 sthāmnāsthāṃna vī

⁹ bā with ā probably struck out.

¹⁰ Struck out.

¹¹ ryū written under rū (with ū struck out).

¹² tta struck out, ca written below.

¹³ stī . . . ca struck out, = l. 16.

¹⁴ ri with -i written above.

¹⁵ tti . . . vatti below the line.

¹⁶ bhū struck out, bhū beneath.

¹⁷ An uncertain akṣara struck out, ye written below.

¹⁸ rvi with -i struck out.

¹⁹ prasimrritte struck out.

²⁰ ysam ntha uncertain.

²¹ ttrām struck out, with ttām below.

Kṛtsnasya (l. 14) śāstrasya śarīram etat
samāsato vajrapadāni sapta ||

Spoken by the Bodhisattva Ārya-Maitreya. The first kārīkā
of the Ratnagotravibhāga śāstra.

1. (l. 16) Svārtham parārtham paramārthakāyas
tadāśritā samvṛtikāyatā ca |
Pha(l. 17)lam viśamīyogavipākabhāvād
etac catuḥṣaṣṭiguṇaprabhedam ||
2. (l. 18) Svārthasāmpatidrṣṭāntam ⁹ śarīram pāramārthikam |
Parasam(l. 19)pattidrṣṭāntam rṣeḥ sāmketikam vapuḥ ||
3. Viśamīyogaguṇair yuktaṁ vapu(l. 20)r ādyam balādibhiḥ |
Vaipākikam dvitīyam ca mahāpuruṣalakṣaṇam ||
4. (l. 21) Balam tv avijñānavṛteṣu ¹⁰ vajravat
Tathāgatāveṇikatāntarikṣavat |
(l. 22) Viśāradatvaṁ pariṣatsu śīṃhavan ¹¹
(l. 23) muner dvidhādarśanam ambucandravat ||
5. Sthānāsthāne vipāke ca karma(l. 24)ṇām indriyeṣu ca |
Dhātuṣv evādhimuktau ca mārga sarvatragāmini ||
6. (l. 25) Dhyānādikleśavaimalye nivāsānusmṛtāv iha |
(l. 26) Divye cakṣuṣi śāntau ¹² ca jñānam daśavidham balam ||

⁹ T has *bdag-ñid-kyis hbyor-ba*, possibly for *svatāsamṣatti*¹⁰.

¹⁰ *ma-rigs sgrigs-pa*, T, i.e. *avidyāvarāṇeṣu*, which is the better reading.

¹¹ The Chinese and T transpose *b* and *c*, rightly as the continuation shows. The three following characters do not belong to the verse and may represent a misplaced *uktam*.

¹² T has *ldan-pa* "possession"; the only possible word, *prāpti*, is metrically difficult. For *pattau* from *pad*, which is free from this objection, there is only the authority of the Indian lexicons.

27. pākadāttūṣi jagatti = nānādhimuhttimdrriyetti = cikrra²²vari²³rtti
28. manayaugabhūmeṣa jagatti = pūr²⁴venavāprā²⁵smrrattau kārūṇastattittatti²⁶mayam ga-devye cakṣau
29. cāsavakṣīyikrrittau = vajñāṇnavarmācalaṃ = prākāraṇdhūmmabhedaprika
30. raṇam = chaidhāautti balavajrravatti = 8 sarvadharmavisambaudham = vībaṇdau
31. prritta ṣedhana = margarya²⁷ dani raudhattpi = pti²⁸ viśāradhyi cittūrividdham = 9
32. naityya va²⁹naunteṣa yithā mrrigrrripdrra = ne ra³⁰rbhīranūṃtha grritte mrrī
33. gebhya = munepdrrasīhaupi stathā gaṇe³¹ṣā = svasthau narastha sthira
34. vekeramastha = 10 baysūṃñāṃ tcaurakṣaṣṭyāṃ pājāṃ dharmāṃ u tcihauryāṃ viśā -
35. radhyāṃ-rahna³² = gauttravibhāgiśāstri jsi niramda
36. — — —
37. pūñāṃ sārāṃ³³ ryā gaṃ ?³⁴
38. =pūña sāṃrrārauryā ga ?³⁴
Six vertical lines of Chinese follow.

²² krrī with -i struck out.

²³ ri struck out.

²⁴ pū . . . ttau below the line.

²⁵ Uncertain.

²⁶ ttatti below the line; kārūṃ . . . mayam struck out.

²⁷ rya first written, later stroke added to left.

²⁸ pti below the line in thinner handwriting.

²⁹ vi with -i struck out.

³⁰ ra struck out.

³¹ Uncertain akṣara struck out, with ṣe below.

³² rahna to end of line struck out.

³³ rām with ryām below.

³⁴ uncertain sign.

8. Sthānāsthānavi(l. 27)pākadhātuṣu jagannādhimuktindriye
cakrāvarta(l. 28)nayogabhūmiṣu ¹³ jagatpūrvāparānusr̥tau |
Divye cakṣuṣi (l. 29) cāsravakṣayakṛtāv ajñānavarmācala-
prākārandukabhedanapraka(l. 30)raṇacchedād ¹⁴ balam
[vajravat ||
9. Sarvadharmābhisambodham vibandha(l. 31)pratiṣedhanam |
Mārgajñatā nirodho 'pi vaiśāradyam caturvidham ||
10. (l. 32) Nityam vanānteṣu yathā mṛgendro
nirbhīr anuttrāsagato mṛ(l. 33)gebhyaḥ |
Munīndrasimho 'pi tathā gaṇeṣu
svastho ¹⁵ nirāsthaḥ sthira(l. 34)vikramasthaḥ ||

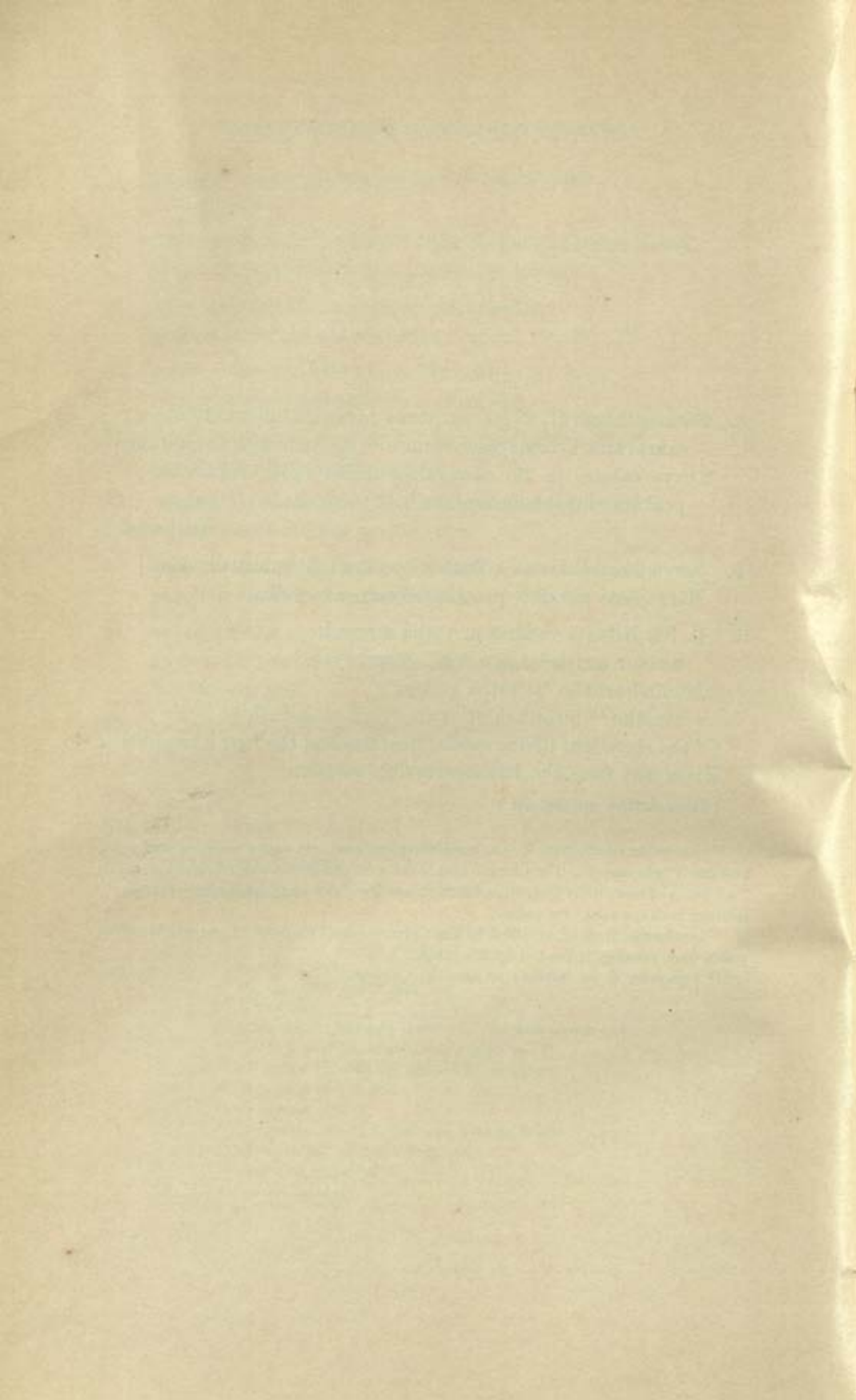
Of the sixty-four divine special qualities and the four intrepidities.
Excerpted from the Ratnagotravibhāgaśāstra.

(Translation uncertain.)

¹³ *ñon-moṅs rnam-byaṅ*, T. i.e. *samkleśavyavadāna*°. It omits *bhūmiṣu* and *jagat*, and reads °*pūrvaparā*°. The Chinese had *bhūmi* and paraphrases the preceding words "all kinds of tendencies (*sui*, Giles 10396, ? *anuśaya*) and abandonments (*prahāṇa*)", reading perhaps *cūtrā*° for *cakrā*°.

¹⁴ *prakaraṇa* from *kṛ*, certified by the Chinese's *san* "disperse"; one would expect *pradarāṇa*, possibly indicated by T's *gzhig*.

¹⁵ *legs-gnas*, T. i.e. *svastho*; so also the Chinese.



Two Vedântic Hymns from the *Siddhântamuktâvali*

By ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY

THE (*Vedânta*)-*Siddhântamuktâvali* of Prakāśānanda, a work of the sixteenth century, written in refutation of Rāmānuja's *Tattvasāra*, has been edited and translated in another manner by A. Venis in the *Pandit*, N.S., vols. 11 and 12, and reprinted separately, Benares, 1912. In our version we have endeavoured to be absolutely literal without employing the customary phraseology of Sanskrit scholarship, some of which is actually misleading, and other parts obscure to the general reader. On the other hand, we have not hesitated to employ the technical terms of scholastic philosophy in their proper context; we maintain, indeed, that the content of Indian religious or philosophical texts cannot be conveyed in any other way; and that the propriety of this procedure will be apparent to anyone precisely to the extent that he is familiar with both Hindu and Christian scholastic method. It is not intended that the result make for easy reading; on the contrary, the modern reader, accustomed to the use of words in vague or much degraded senses, and to the making of hasty assimilations, must be faced with the necessity of establishing for himself the content of unfamiliar references, which is even more essential here than it would be in the analogous case of the study of the Latin hymns of the Middle Ages. It will therefore be understood that the translation is a technical one, and to be taken accordingly. We believe at the same time that by these means the formal beauty and clarity of the original are better preserved than would be possible in an easier, vaguer, and more sentimental wording.

What may be found remarkable in the translated hymns is their markedly devotional character, which might not have been anticipated in connection with so highly technical and controversial a treatise as is this "Clew to Freedom, the Last End and Whole Intention of Revelation"; it is not really more remarkable than that St. Thomas should have written not only the *Summa Theologica* and *Summa Contra Gentiles*, but also the hymn *Adoro te devote*. In "man's last end" the Way of Gnosis (*jñāna yoga*) and the Way of Participation (*bhakti yoga*) meet in the full consent of Intellect and Will, where Being, Intelligence, and Beatitude — the equivalents of the more familiar

“Goodness, Truth, and Beauty”—are no longer thinkable as accidental attributes (*upalakṣaṇa*) annexed to the First, but only as essential attributes (*viśeṣaṇa*) or names of the First, *idem in seipso*.

I

Ya ātmā sarvavastūnām yadartham sakalam jagat
 ānandābdhiḥ svatanthro 'sāvanādeyaḥ katham vada.
 yadanyad vastu tatsarvam yadbhede naraśrṅgavat
 satā sarvapadārthānām anādeyaḥ katham vada.
 yadvaśe prāṇiṇaḥ sarve Brahmādyāḥ kṛmayastathā
 īśānaḥ sarvavastūnām anādeyaḥ katham bhavet.
 yaccakṣuḥ sarvabhūtānām manaso yanmano viduḥ
 yajjyotir jyotiṣām devo nopādeyaḥ katham vibhuḥ.
 modapramoda-pakṣābhyām ānandātmā tamo gataḥ
 jīvaatyakhilān lokān anādeyaḥ svayam kutaḥ.
 yasyānanda-samudrasya leśamātram jagadgatam
 prasṛtam Brahmālokādāu sukhābdhiḥ kaḥ parityajet.
 hairanyagarbham aiśvaryam yasmin dṛṣṭe tṛṇāyate
 sīmā sarvapumārthānām apumārthaḥ katham bhavet.
 yatkāmā brahmācaryanta Indrādyāḥ prāpta-sampadaḥ
 svasvabhogaḥ tyajantyeva na pumārthaḥ katham nṛṇām.
 yaddidṛkṣāphalāḥ sarvā vaidikyo vividhāḥ kriyāḥ
 yāgādyā vihitāḥ tasminnupekṣā vada te katham.
 yaddṛṣṭimātrataḥ sarvāḥ kāmādyā duḥkhabhūmayāḥ
 vinaśyanti kṣaṇenāsāvupādeyaḥ katham na te.
 āhlādarūpatā yasya suṣupte sarvasākṣiki
 tatlopekṣā bhaved yasya tadanyaḥ syātapaśuḥ katham.

II

Ānandarūpam ātmānam saccid advaya-tattvakam
 apūrvādi-pramāṇoktam prāpyāham tadvapuh-sthitaḥ.
 Yo 'ham advaya-vastveva sadvaye dṛḍha-niścayaḥ
 prāpya cānandam ātmānam so 'ham advaya-vigrahaḥ.
 nāsti Brahma-sadānandam iti me durmatih sthitā
 kva gatā sā na jānāmi yadāham tadvapuh-sthitaḥ.
 pūrṇānandādvaye tattve Mervādi-jagadākṛtiḥ
 bodhe 'bodhakṛtaivāsīd abodhaḥ kva gato 'dhunā.
 saṃsāra-roga-saṃgrasto duḥkha-rāśir ivāparaḥ
 ātma-bodha-samunmeṣād ānandābdhir aham sthitaḥ.
 yo 'ham alpepi viśaye rāgavān ativihvalaḥ
 ānandātmani samprāpte sarāgaḥ kva gato 'dhunā.

yasya me jagatām kartuḥ kāryair apahrītātmanah
 āvirbhūta-parānanda ātmā prāptaḥ śruter balāt.
 parāmr̥ṣto 'si labdho 'si preṣito 'si ciraṃ mayā
 idānīm tvām ahaṃ prāpto na tyajāmi kadācana.
 tvām vinā niḥsvarūpo 'ham mām vinā tvaṃ katham sthitaḥ
 diṣṭyedānīm mayā labdho yo 'si so 'si namo 'stu te.
 dehābhīmāna-nigaḍair baddho 'bodhākhyā-taskaraiḥ
 ciraṃ te darśanād eva truṭitaṃ bandhanaṃ kṣaṇāt.
 viśuddho 'smi vimukto 'smi pūrṇāt pūrṇatam ākṛtiḥ
 asaṃspr̥śya mamātmānam antar Brahmāṇḍakoṭayaḥ.
 tattvam-ādi-vaco-jālam āvṛttam asakṛt purā
 idānīm tat śravād eva pūrṇānando vyavasthitaḥ.

I

How can it be asserted that that Essence that is the essence of every substance, and in which the whole world subsists as in its sufficient reason, that authentic Ocean of Beatitude, is other than man's last end ?

How can that Essence that is the ground of all else, which if divided from that whole is as non-existent¹ as the horns of a man, how can that Essence which is the reality of all categories, be other than man's last end ?

How can That, within whose sway are all things living, from Maker² to emmet, and being the ground of all things is their Ruler, be other than man's last end ?

How can That, which Comprehensors call the Eye of all things, the Intellect of intellects, the Light of lights, and numinous Omnipresence, be other than man's last end ?

How can that Essence and Beatitude which, when it enters the Dark-world on its wings of enjoyment and satisfaction,³ quickens every world, be made out to be other than man's last end ?

Who can refuse that Ocean of Beatitude, of which but a little measure pervades the world,⁴ and is yet the Tide of Well-being that flows in the Maker's heaven and every other world ?

How can That, which when it is seen, the lordship of the Golden-Germ is valued at a straw, and which is the uttermost limit of human value, be other than man's last end ?

How can That, for which Indra and others, though each was complete in his own manner, abandoned their several modes of enjoyment, becoming anchorites, be other than man's last end ?

Which to yearn to behold is the fruition of all ritual acts and appointed sacrifices, how may it be said that therein is aught but man's last end ?

How can That, at sight whereof all longings ⁵ whatever, the bases of ill, are suddenly destroyed, be other than man's last end ?

How is he aught but a brute beast who refrains from that Form of Refreshment that is immediately and universally seen in Deep Sleep ? ⁶

II

Now that by means of the norm ⁷ that is now as it ever was I have found the Essence that is the Form of Beatitude, and other-less Principle of Being and Intellect, I too subsist in that likeness.

That same I that was firmly persuaded of otherness, albeit really devoid of otherness, now subsist in the form of No-otherness. ⁸

This was my silly thought, to wit, that "That Omnipotence, Being, and Beatitude is not" ; but now subsisting in that very image, I know not where that fancy fled.

The outward seeming of the world of Meru and so forth was wrought unawares in the very principle ⁹ of plenary Beatitude ; but now that I wake, where is that slumber gone ?

Clutched by the fever of the flux of things, ¹⁰ I was estranged, and naught but a mountain of ill ; but now by uprush of awareness of the Essence, I subsist as the Ocean of that Beatitude.

That Essence erst was rent away by the working of what in me was the maker of semblant worlds ¹¹ ; but since by power of the self-revealed-Word I have found the Essence, Beatitude Supernal is made apparent.

Thou hast been touched and taken ; long hast Thou dwelt apart from me, but now that I have found Thee, I shall never let Thee go !

Without Thee, I have no being in myself ; without me, how mayst Thou be ? ¹² Hail unto Thee ! Thou that art That that I found by transmitted doctrine !

Bounden I was in shackles of imagined flesh by bandits of delusion ; but now at last by mere sight of Thee the bondage has been broken suddenly.

I am cleansed and enlarged, in a likeness more plenary than any plenum ¹³ ; and what though myriad worlds inhere, there is none can touch my Essence.

Time was, "That thou" ¹⁴ and such like sayings were hidden as though by a net, and so it ever went ; now plenary Beatitude subsists in audition of that very Word.

Hymns of this sort could be annotated at indefinite length, but here we shall notice only expressions the values of which can be elucidated by a brief citation of analogous texts:—

¹ "Non-existent": things considered apart and as they are in themselves (*ordo per esse*) are naught when compared to the Essence in and whereby they subsist, cf. St. Augustine, *Confessionum*, xi, 4, *quo comparato nec pulchra sunt, nec bona sunt, nec sunt*, and *ib. esse quidem, quoniam abs te sunt, non esse autem, quoniam id quod ea non sunt*, i.e. "Compared with Whom, things are neither beautiful, nor good, nor are they at all", and "A being they have, because they are from Thee: and yet no being, because what Thou art, they are not."

Yad-bhede naraśrgharat also corresponds to St. Thomas, *Quaest. disp. de veritate*, q. 8, a. 7, ad 2, *Omnis creatura . . . si consideratur sine hoc quod ab alio habet, est nihil et tenebra et falsitas*, cf. Eckhart, *Super Oratione Dominica*, *temporalia, maxime respectu aeternorum, nichil sunt*. St. Thomas, indeed, is careful to add that *non est intelligendum, quod essentia eua sit tenebra vel falsitas*, nor does this differ in any respect from the Vedantic position, which likewise asserts the absolute reality of the *ātman* which is the *vastu* of all things.

The expression "man's last end" is taken from the text immediately preceding the hymn, which is an answer to the false assertion that "the Essence is not to be taken as man's last end" (*ātmano' puruśārthatve prāpte*), the opponent maintaining that "man's last end is merely the cessation of ill" (*duḥkḥābhāvārtham eva*). The actual refrains give only *katham vada* "How can you assert?" (or variants of these words), a following *ātmano' puruśārthatvam* being understood.

The rendering of *ātman* by "Essence" and "essence" (respectively *paramātman* or *antarātman*, and *pratyagātman* or *adhyātman*), which I adopt henceforth in place of the customary "Self" and "self" (awkward in English in various ways, and especially because of the connotation "selfish"), has great advantages, both as being more exact in reference and as facilitating comparisons (the problem of the identity or distinction of the divine and human essences being treated at length in Christian theology, which asserts their distinction, and in this respect diverges from metaphysics according to which *tat tvam asi*). Essence (*essentia*) is that by which a thing is (*habet esse*) in any mode whatever. Adopting the translation "essence" we have then a perfectly logical trilogy of *ātman* as that by which a thing is; *nāma*, or "form", as that by which a thing is *what* it is; and *rūpa*, the phenomenal aspect, in which the thing is *as* it is. The same trilogy corresponds to the Christian "body, soul, and spirit" = "matter, form, and essence", and again to the Hindu concepts of the *anna-maya*, *mano-maya*, and *ānanda-maya* "sheaths", the *māṇsa*, *divya*, and *jñāna* "eyes", and like formulae. The identity of "essence" with "life-breath" or "spirit" will be evident; *ātman*, like *prāṇa*, derives from an "to breathe", or perhaps from *nā* "to blow", and the consubstantiality of essence and spirit is constantly asserted or implied in the Vedas, e.g. *Rg Veda*, vii, 87, 2, *ātmā te vāto* "the Gale that is Thine Essence", or wherever *Mātariśvan* is referred to as the kindler of Agni, Who is in fact "self-kindled" or, better, "kindled by His own Essence"; cf. *Rg Veda*, x, 129, 2, where "in the beginning, That One" (the same as *Mrtyu*, not yet *ātmanvī*, in *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Up.*, i, 2, 1) "suspIRES without spiration", *ānīṭ avāta* = *apṛāṇah*, *Maitri Up.*, vi, 26). Rendering *ātman* thus by "essence", we reserve "spirit", "breath", "gale", "life", etc., for *prāṇa*, *vāta*, *vāyu*. Assuming *ātman* to be Essence, the Buddha's last words take on a new significance, thus: "Be ye such as have the Essence for their light, the Essence for their refuge, and no other."

The rendering of *ātman* by "essence" is referentially correct, inasmuch as the *ātman* is precisely that unchangeable reality which underlies all accidents. The rendering is nevertheless experimental, and it may well prove better to render

ātman by Spirit or Spirant, in closer accordance with the etymology, and at the same time avoiding the difficulty that is occasioned by the employment of essence univocally with respect to things as they are in themselves and things as they are in God. *Ātman* as Brahman is coincident with a being that is not in any mode; *ātman* in the individual is not that individual's "essence", but the *sine qua non* of an *esse habere* or existence in any mode. In verse 1, then, we might have read "that Spirant that is the spirant in every substance", or even "that Life that is the life in every substance", bearing always in mind that Essence, Spiration, and Life are *idem in seipso*, one and the same in the subject referred to, although apparently manifold in the worlds of "knowledge-of" (*avidyā*).

² We render *Brahmā* (m.) by "Maker", the Creator, God as Deity *in actu* being intended; and similarly in the sixth verse.

³ "Dark-world" renders *tamas*: from the Vedic point of view the creation is essentially a penetration of the Dark-world by Light, the Supernal Sun "releasing all things in their kind" (*viśvā rūpāṇi prati muñcate*, v, 91, 2), which were veiled by Darkness (*tamasi*, x, 129, 3) in the beginning (ib. and *Maitri Up.*, vi, 2).

The concept of procession upon wings corresponds to that of the divine procession as symbolized in the *Rg Veda*, e.g. iii, 54, 8, *carat patatri* "He proceeds on wings", and vi, 9, 5, "Intellect is the swiftest of birds," while Agni's motion is several times described as a falcon or eagle's swoop (cf. Bloomfield, "The legend of Soma and the Eagle," *JAOS.* xvi, 1, pp. 11-15). To represent the Spirit and all Angels as birds is common to tradition universally; in Christianity, for example, the Holy Ghost is represented by a dove (and this "dove" is the same as that dove which when it leaves the ark finds that the Tree of Life has appeared above the ebbing Waters, and "does not return", but perches there, being, as Dante expresses it, "the power that is form unto the nests," *Paradiso*, xviii, 110, an image constantly recurring in the *Rg Veda* and Upaniṣads, e.g. *Rg Veda*, x, 91, 2, where Agni "like a bird makes His home in every tree", *rane rane śiśriṣe takvīr iva*, and *Maitrāyaṇīya Up.*, iii, 2, "He fetters himself like a bird in the net").

"Enjoyment" and "satisfaction" are employed respectively to render *moda* and *pramoda*; the terms are placed in apposition to "wings" in the dual, and it is clear that a distinction of meaning is intended. We take it that there is allusion to the well-known figure of the two birds that perch in the Tree of Life, one eating of its fruit, the other looking on (*Rg Veda*, i, 164, 20-21), and that *moda* and *pramoda* represent their respective modes of enjoyment; the figure of the two birds being replaced by that of the two wings of the single bird. Our view that *pramoda* refers to the vision of the whole (*viśvam abhicakṣṣe*, *Rg Veda*, i, 164, 44, etc.), and *moda* to that of the parts, is confirmed by the use of the expression *pramadam prayāti* in Śaṅkarācārya's *Satīmanirūpaṇa*, 95, where it is said that "the Essence, regarding the world-picture painted by the Essence on the canvas of the Essence, experiences a great satisfaction". A close parallel can be found in Genesis, where at the end of each day's work God sees that it is "good", but when all is done, that it is "very good", cf. St. Augustine, *Confessions*, xiii, 28, "Thou sawest everything that Thou hadst made, and behold it was not only Good, but also Very Good, as being now altogether."

It is also of much significance that the divine procession in both aspects (*adhidaivata* and *adhyātma*) is referred to as essentially and altogether a blissful experience (cf. *Rg Veda*, vii, 87, 2, "Like an untamed hart that takes his pleasure in the pastures," and Eckhart, "The joy and satisfaction of it are ineffable"); where we might perhaps have expected the assertion of an experience of pleasure and pain as the twin wings of procession, and might have looked for a corresponding *contemptus mundi*. There is evidently assumed, on the contrary, an intrinsic perfection of all things; which perfection if realized in so far as they are known essentially and not by their accidents: it is assumed, in other words, that the Comprehensor's (*videān*) knowledge of ill is like the divine understanding wholly *sub specie boni*.

The notions of the "two wings" and of *moda* and *pramoda* are evidently derived

from *Taittirīya Up.*, ii, 2, where the wings are identified with *prāṇa* and *apāna* in the *prāṇa-maya* hypostasis, and ii, 5, where *moda* and *pramoda* are the right and left sides of the *ānanda-maya* substance of the superessential Person. In *Rg Veda*, x, 14, 16, the Only Great (*ekam bṛhat*) "flies into the six worlds".

⁴ One of the many Vedāntic texts in which the Transcendence as well as the Immanence of the Essence is asserted. The *Siddhāntamuktāvalī* itself elsewhere (pp. 67-8), assuming Immanence (*vyāpakatva*) and Universal Presence of the Whole Essence (*sarvasambandhatvaṁ sarvātmanā*), shows that Transcendence is necessarily implied; for if one finite thing could be pervaded by the whole essence of another finite thing, the two things would be one and the same; therefore that Essence which is assumed to be wholly present to every finite thing must be itself an Infinite Essence.

In the course of the argument it appears incidentally that finite things are by no means regarded as wholly non-existent (*asat*), but only as false (*mīṭhya*) in the sense of being inexplicable (*anirevacanīya*) if considered apart from the Essence that is their support (*adhiṣṭhāna*). It would be obvious in any case that *asat* could only apply to "things" to the extent that they are not wholly in act, an entity (*sattva*) being by hypothesis what is in act and therefore has being (*sat*). Cf. St. Thomas, *Sum. Theol.*, i, q. 16, a. 1c, "Everything is said to be true absolutely in so far as it is related to the intellect from which it depends . . . natural things are said to be true in so far as they express the likeness of the species that are in the divine mind," and ib. q. 17, a. 1c, "In relation to our intellect, natural things which are compared thereto accidentally can be called false; not simply, but relatively," i.e. with respect to our misapprehension of their true nature; "a thing is said to be false that naturally begets a false opinion," for example, when we call "tin, false gold"; which corresponds exactly to the Vedāntic exemplum of the snake and the rope; and "although the falsity is not in the thing but in the intellect" (which represents the equivalent of the Vedāntic theory of *avidyā*), St. Thomas would certainly have agreed to call natural things "false" in so far as they are mistakenly regarded as independently self-subsistent. Thus it appears that it is extremely difficult, if not impossible, to state a distinction of the Christian from the Vedāntic doctrine in the matter of external reality.

We venture to add, without being able to cite authority, that to assert an absolute or simple "unreality" of "things" would be not only a contradiction in terms ("real" deriving from *res*, "thing") but also false in fact, in that a denial of reality to things would be (as suggested above) to assert their existence merely in *potentia*, whereas by hypothesis "things" are always at least partly in act, or else are not things.

"Maker" renders Brahṁā; and corresponds to "Golden Germ" in the next verse. *Hiraṇyagarbha* (the "Golden Germ") = *Agni-Prajāpati*, the Year, the Sun, etc., i.e. God in *actu*, or as correctly understood by Śaṅkarācārya, *saṁyama*, *martya*, *apara* Brahman, i.e. Brahṁā. Cf. *Kaṭha Up.*, ii, 11, where Naciketas surrenders the heavenly world that is the natural term of the *devayāna* for the sake of the Supreme Identity altogether without otherness. It is a well-known Aupanishada (and Buddhist) thought that man's last end is not accomplished with the attainment of a Heaven, in which all desires are fulfilled, but lies beyond; and it is repeatedly asserted that the manifested, i.e. manifestable aspect of deity, represents but a "little fraction" of the whole divine being, which can only be grasped, if at all, by the *via remotioris* (*nēti*, *nēti*, etc.), the possibilities of non-manifestation infinitely transcending those of manifestation. This relative disparagement of deity in act is exactly paralleled in Eckhart (see i, 274-8 in the Evans edition), when he says "the soul has got to die to all the activity of the divine nature if she is to enter the divine essence where God is altogether idle"; here "where God is altogether idle" = *śānta ātmani*, "in the Essence at rest," *Kaṭha Up.*, iii, 13.

⁵ "All longings," *kāmaḥ*, cf. *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Up.*, iv, 3, 21-9. *Kāmaḥ* here also corresponds to early Buddhist *taṇhā*, as the origin of ill.

* "Form of Refreshment," *āhlāda-rūpatā*. "Deep Sleep" (*suṣupta*) is a technical term in the well-known classification of modes of consciousness as "Waking", "Dream", and "Deep Sleep", designating the worldly, angelic, and divine modes of understanding; Deep Sleep being synonymous with *samādhi*, where the distinction of knower and known no longer confuses the understanding, or, in other words, where knowledge-as perfects the imperfection of knowledge-of. *Dharaṇa*, *dhyāna*, and *samādhi* (= *suṣupta*) in Yoga correspond to St. Bernard's *consideratio*, *contemplatio*, and *excessus* or *raptus*, but with this distinction, that the Christian *excessus* is usually an ec-stasis, the Hindu *samādhi* rather an "in-stasis".

Note the correspondence of *suṣupta* with *suṣupāna* characterizing Ahi-Vṛtra in RV. iv, 19, 3; the significance is developed in my "Angel and Titan", to appear at once in the *JAOS.*; cf. also note 9.

"Brute beast," *paśu*, i.e. less than man and only fit to be offered up in sacrifice by others; cf. *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Up.*, i, 4, 10, "Whoever worships any Angel as other than the Essence, thinking 'He is one, and I another', does not understand, and is like a beast for the Angels," and *Aitareya Āraṇyaka*, ii, 3, 2, where *paśu* is defined as "whose discrimination is merely by hunger and thirst" (*aśanā-pipāse eva abhivijñānam*), i.e. whose understanding is merely empirical and estimative. In *Aitareya Āraṇyaka*, loc. cit., the distinction made is of *puruṣa* (person) from *paśu* (animal), cf. Boethius, *Contra Eutychen*, ii, "there is no person of a horse or ox or any other of the animals which dumb and unreasoning live a life of sense alone, but we say there is a person of a man, of God, or an angel."

† "Norm," *pramāṇa*, "which is now as it ever was," *apūrvādi*; St. Augustine's "Wisdom uncreate, the same now as it ever was, and the same to be for evermore" (*Confessions*, ix, 10); *sanātana dharma*, the everlasting, self-revealed, and self-consistent Veda. It is assumed that the Veda is not the work of any author, human or divine, but presents itself to the divine omniscience in eternity (cf. the Christian doctrine of "eternal reasons"), and has been revealed (cf. *Rg Veda*, x, 71, *Muṇḍaka Up.*, i, 1, etc.), for which reason it is commonly spoken of as *śruti*, "that which has been heard," as, for example, in verse 6 below, where *śruti* is rendered by "self-revealed word". For a fuller exposition of the fundamental doctrine of the eternity of the Vedas see the *Mīmāṃsā Nyāya Prakāśa*, 6, in Edgerton's version, New Haven, 1929.

The doctrine does not, of course, imply that the actual words in which the Veda is expressed are themselves eternal, but that that which was heard, and has been transmitted, is in itself eternal. Christianity in the same way speaks of "eternal truths" without implying that the *ipsissima verba* of Scripture in any one language are eternal as such.

"Being, Intellect, Beatitude," *sac-cit-ānanda*; cf. St. Thomas, *Sum. Theol.*, i, q. 26, a. 1c. with respect to God's beatitude, "Beatitude is the perfect good of an intellectual nature."

* "Of no-otherness," *advaya*. The Vedānta cannot properly be defined as a monistic system, but only by its own name as a doctrine of "No-otherness" (*advaita*); "God" (*īśvara*) being spoken of as "One" rather in relation than as He is essentially, viz. "Without-otherness". "No-otherness" excludes both number and quality; "That" is innumerable and simple. This is also Christian doctrine (Boethius, *De Trin.* ii, *nulla igitur in eo diversitas . . . nec numerus*). The conclusion follows that things in their thingishness (*yathā-bhūta*, i.e. as they are accidentally, or to use a familiar Christian expression "in their creaturehood") are non-essential (*an-ātmya*), which is the Mahāyāna formulation; or, in other words, that things have essence (*ātman*) only in abstraction from the accidents by which we apperceive them, which essence is therefore "Not, not" (*nāsti, nāsti*) anything that can be predicated of the thing in its thingishness (*astitva*), and this is the Vedāntic formulation.

* "In the very principle," cf. "on the canvas of the Essence," cited above in note 3.

For *abodha* and *bodha* we prefer to retain the primary senses of "slumber" or "unawareness" on the one hand and "awakening" on the other, although the more familiar "ignorance" and "enlightenment" are also implied. For in this way the continuity of the traditional thought is better seen; procedure from potentiality (the condition of *asuravea*) to act (the condition of *devavea*) being constantly described as an awakening from stupor or slumber; this is found especially in connection with Agni as *uparbudh* "awakening at dawn", and in connection with the Angels generally, who are sometimes referred to as "wake", i.e. "quick" in the Biblical sense. In the same way the Buddha's "enlightenment" is really a "complete awakening", *sambodhi*. But life in the worlds, being still an admixture of potentiality and act, torpor and life, is a continuous process of awakening, which when it is accomplished implies a despiration (*nirvāṇa*) and a return (*nirvṛtti*) upstream (*pratikūla*), and for this reason the Complete Awakening is described in terms of "inverse thinking" (*pratyak cetanā*, *Yoga Sūtra*, i, 29) as "Deep Sleep" (see note 6), which Deep Sleep is contrasted with the mere "wakefulness" (*jagrati*) of the empirical consciousness or possible intellect (*abuddha manas*, *Maitri Up.*, vi, 34); attainment of the Ultimate Station (*param padam*), that of the speculative or pure intellect (*buddha manas* or *cit*) implies a "dementation" (*amanibhāva*, ib.). In other words, the whole course of the *devayāna* leads from the pre-rational, through reason, to the supra-rational.

¹⁰ "Flux of things," *saṁsāra*, Eckhart's "storm of the world-flow". "Uprush of awareness of the Essence," *ātma-bodha-samunmeṣa*.

¹¹ The maker of semblant worlds is knowledge-of or epistemological cognition (*avidyā*) as distinguished from knowledge-as or gnosis (*vidyā*).

"Self-revealed Word," *śruti*, as in note 7.

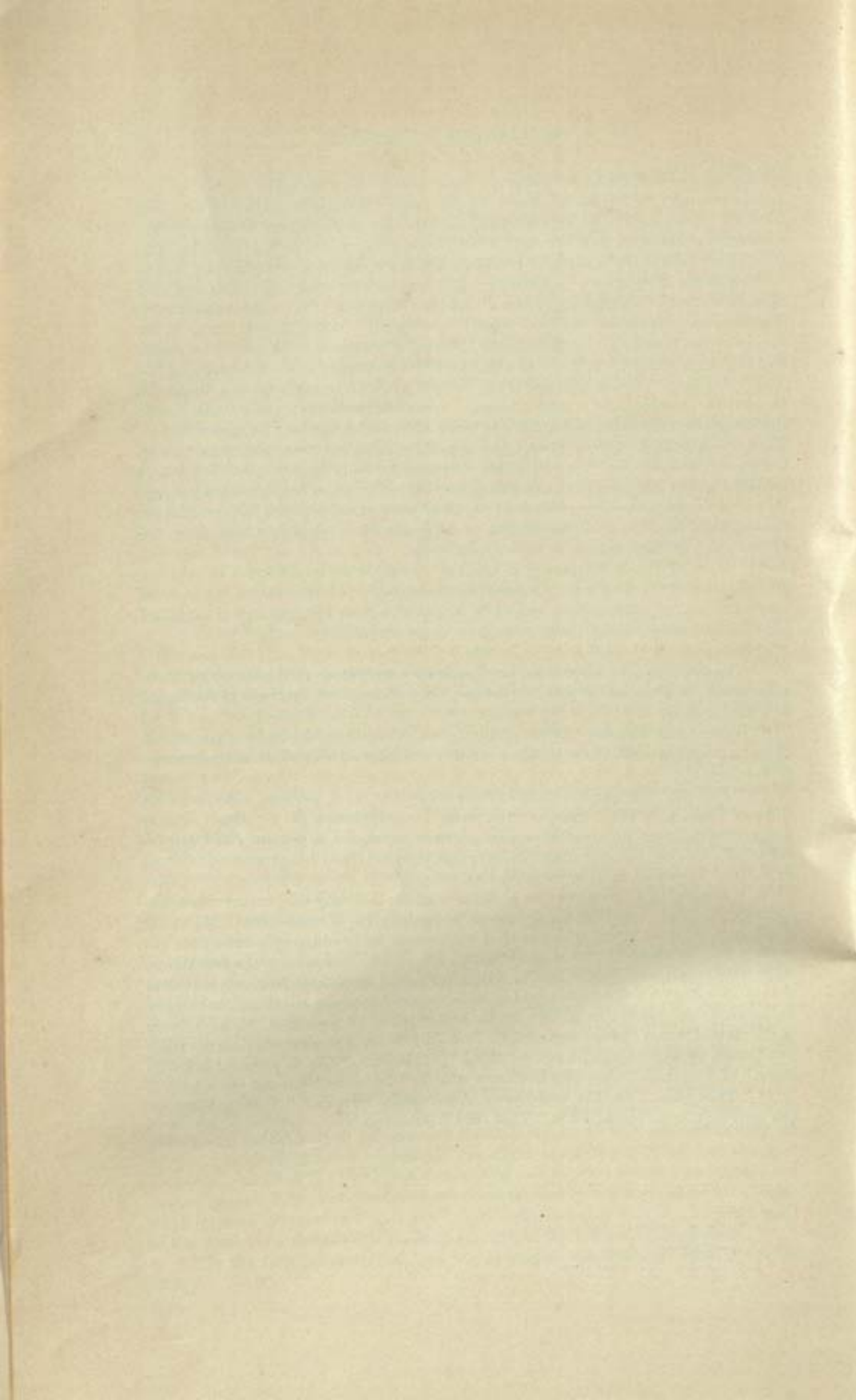
¹² The doctrine of *avinābhāva*, or "necessary reciprocal relationship", is here enunciated; see the many parallel passages cited in my *New Approach to the Vedas*, p. 9 and note 26.

"Transmitted doctrine" (*diṣṭi*); either with reference to the body of traditional exegesis (*smṛti*) or more likely with reference to oral instruction and initiation received from a *guru*.

¹³ "Plenum," *pūrṇam*; cf. *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Up.*, v, 1 (almost identical with *Atharva Veda*, x, 8, 29), "Plenum from plenum taken, plenum yet remains." This is not a contradiction of *avinābhāva* (see previous note), for a plenum could not be essentially infinite (but only numerically or relatively so) if anything remained external to it; i.e. "without me" it would not be infinite.

It is interesting to contrast this position with the difficulty that ensues when the identity of divine and individual essence is denied; St. Thomas (*Sum. Theol.*, iii, q. 93, a. 1, ad 4) is forced to argue that "Although finite added to infinite does not make a greater thing, it makes more things, since finite and infinite are two things, while infinite taken by itself is one"; a tissue of logical inconsistencies, for it is evident that an infinite to which a finite could be added cannot have been an infinite, but merely an incalculable. Boethius knows much better when he says that "Two belongs to the class of things" (*duo rebus sunt*, *De Trin.*, iii). Infinite plus infinite does not make two things, because infinite is not a "thing", cf. Böhme, "God is properly called no thing," cf. Erigena's "God does not know what he is, because He is not any what".

¹⁴ "That thou," i.e. the well-known Aupaniṣada formula, "That art thou" (*tat tvam asi*), here contracted to "That thou" (*tat tvam*).



Pōst(ā)

By †JARL CHARPENTIER

NEITHER in *Hobson-Jobson* nor in Dalgado's excellent *Glossário Luso-Asiático* is found a single word concerning a word *post(ā)*, meaning an infusion or decoction of opium, which seems to have played rather an important role in Mogul times. As several passages in the works of older European authors give the word in the form *post* (or at least something very near to it) I shall here put together what I have found about it. Probably several passages have so far escaped my attention and may be added later on.

The oldest author in whose work I have met with this word is Father Monserrate. Speaking of a certain Bābā Kapūr at Gwālīor he tells us as follows¹: "*Namque paucis abhinc annis, in hac eadem ciuitate, nebulo quidem, cui nomen erat Baba Capurius, Mahammeddi sectator, fuit, qui Bacchi exoletos mores, et instituta potione quadam, instaurauit, quae ex papaveris putaminibus aqua dilutis, conficitur. Opinabatur homo perditus, in eo beatitudinem esse positam, si omni sensu quis careat, nec corporis morbos, nec animæ ægritudines patiatur, quin magis, quodam sensuum lenocinio semisopitus deliniatur. Cumque id oppio offici animaduertisset, cui tamen si quis assuescat, in discrimen incidit præmaturæ mortis, ex papauerum siliquis sorbiunculam excogitauit, in hunc modum. Posteaquam oppium, ex papaueris siliquis incisis effluxit, æque maturitatem sunt consequutæ, demptis seminibus in aquam conjiciuntur, tandiuque subiguntur, donec humor quasi vinum coloretur. Qui posteaquam paulisper resedit, in uas aliud reticulo interjecto, tenuissimi lini, transfunditur, et expurgatur, eiusque iam ad potandum parati ipsi pharmacopæi magnis crateribus se proluunt . . .*"² *Novus hic Epicuræorum coryphæus, plurimos nactus est, qui ei nomen dederunt, viros quidem principes, et in ijs regem ipsum Zelaldinum*³ *magnum*⁴: *qui omnes ab eo pharmaco, quod uulgari eorum lingua, postum dicitur, Postinos*⁵ *se dici honorificum arbitrantur.*"

¹ *Mongolicæ Legationis Commentarius*, MASE., iii, 557 sq.

² Opium-drinkers abstain from meat, onion, garlic, etc., and especially from oil, which to them acts like poison. Owing to their continuous sleepiness they abstain from sexual indulgence, and thus obtain a great fame for holiness.

³ Jalālu-d dīn.

⁴ Thus in the text, but probably to be written *Magnum* as it is no doubt meant to render *Akbar*.

⁵ *Posti*, an opium-drinker.

Post, according to Monserrate, is prepared from the husks of the poppy steeped in water; neither condiments nor spices are mentioned here.

In another passage¹ Monserrate says of Akbar: "*Posti potionē, uel aqua sitim depellit: cuius immodico potu stupefactus sedet, et oscitatur.*"²

The next author known to me, who makes mention of *pōst(ā)* is Teixeira in chapter vi of his *Relaciones de los Reyes de Persia*,³ where speaking of *afion* (opium) he says: "Poor people use the husks, and a decoction thereof instead of opium, and as the husks are called *pust*, those who do so go by the name of *pustys*." *Pusty*, of course, is nothing but *postī*, though Teixeira seems to have been thinking of the Persian *pāst* "vile, low".

Teixeira is quoted by De Laet *De imperio Magni Mogolis* (1631), pp. 104 f., though the reference seems to be also to another passage which I have unfortunately not been able to unearth. Says Dr. Laet: "*Opium præterea, quo nationes pleræque Asiaticæ tantopere capiuntur, maxima copia hic⁴ colligitur: ipsi vocant Afion: emanat illud è surculis papaveris incisis: tenuiores⁵ vero illius loco utuntur vulgo decocto capitellorum papaveris: quia autem capitella estu vocantur ipsis Pust, eos, qui decocto illo utuntur, appellant Pusty, uti opulentiores, qui opium usurpant, Afonii. Usus illius primo introductum volunt Persæ a viris principibus, quibus curæ somnos adimebant: vulgusque sensim imitare cœpisse, ut fere solent; ita ut jam pauci sint, qui alterutro non utantur. Narrat Teixeira se vidisse nonnullos, qui tantopere illi assueverant, ut quum illo destituerentur, emorerentur: plures tamen nimio illius usu læduntur, atque adeo tolluntur, est enim lethale venenum, nisi quis modum adhibeat, & caute illo utatur.*"

The Jesuit Father Bartoli in his *Missione al Gran Mogor del Padre Ridolfo Acquaviva* (1663),⁶ p. 64, tells us the following about Akbar: "O se pur l'invitava a dirgli alcuna cosa di Dio, appena cominciato, s'addormentava; e ciò per lo troppo uso hor dell'Orraca, che è un fumosissimo vino di palma,⁷ hor del Posto, chè e una

¹ *MASB.*, iii, 642.

² Cf. Smith, *Akbar*, p. 336.

³ Translated in the *Hakluyt Society Publ.* (1902), p. 200.

⁴ Viz. in Gujarāt.

⁵ These are the "poor people" of Teixeira.

⁶ There are other editions issued at Rome in 1714 and at Piacenza in 1819.

⁷ There is considerable confusion in the use of the word *Arrack*, *Rack* (cf. *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v.). It is undoubtedly much used to denote the spirit distilled from the exudation of the date-palm, which, however, should properly be called *toddy*; but it also means a coarse brandy distilled from cane-molasses and especially from rice.

tal confettione d'oppio, rintuzzato, e domo con varie correctioni d'aromate." Bartoli no doubt is dependent upon Monserrate whom he has even slightly misunderstood; but the mention of spicing the *post*, which appears here for the first time, must have been taken over from another authority.

The famous French physician François Bernier spent at least ten years (1658/59-1668) within the frontiers of the Mogul Empire, and obtained a thorough knowledge of things Indian. In his work there is found the following passage concerning *pōst(ā)*¹: "Ce *Poust* n'est autre chose que du pavot écrasé qu'on laisse la nuit tremper dans de l'eau; c'est ce qu'on fait ordinairement boire à Gouialeor, à ces princes auxquels on ne veut pas faire couper la tête; c'est la première chose qu'on leur porte le matin, & on ne leur donne point à manger qu'ils n'en aient bu une grande tasse. on les laisseroit plutôt mourir de faim; cela les fait devenir maigres & mourir insensiblement, perdant peu à peu les forces et l'entendement, & devenant comme tout endormis et étourdis, & c'est par là qu'on dit qu'on s'est défait de Sepe-Chekouh,² du petit fils de Morad-Bakche, & de Soliman-Chekouh³ même." The chief state prison of the Moguls was at Gwālior; and Bernier seems to be the first European to mention the custom of slowly poisoning State prisoners to death with *pōst(ā)*,⁴ which was probably practised during the time of Shāh Jahān (1627-1658) and certainly during the earlier years of the reign of Aurungzēb (1658-1707).⁵

The native historian Muhammad Sālih Kambū in his '*Amal-i Sālih*' (v. Elliot-Dowson, *History of India*, vii, 131) also tells us that Sulaimān Shikōh and Muḥammad Sultān (a younger son of Aurungzēb) were taken to Gwālior to be fed upon *kuknār*, which is simply a synonym of *pōst(ā)*. Muḥammad Sultān afterwards was removed to Salimgarh and there done to death by opium.

¹ I quote from the edition of Amsterdam, 1724, called the *Histoire des Etats du Grand Mogol*, p. 147. An English translation is found in the *Travels in the Mogul Empire*, by Constable and Smith (1916), pp. 106 f.

² A younger son of Dārā Shikōh.

³ The eldest son of Dārā Shikōh.

⁴ Cf. however, De Laet, l.c., p. 40, who, speaking of the State prison at Ranthambhor, tells us that prisoners were kept there for two months and then: *praefectus arcis eos producit, et in fastigio muri constitutos et lacte potatos, praecipites agit in subjectas rupes*. The *lac* mentioned here must certainly be some sort of decoction of opium (or possibly *bhang* which is sometimes mixed with milk, cf. Watt, *Commercial Products of India*, p. 258).

⁵ That such was the case is mentioned by Tavernier, *Travels in India* (ed. Crooke), i, 52.

Peter Mundy in his *Travels*, ii, 247, also mentions the *pōst(ā)*: "Of the huskes they make a kind of Beveredge called *Post*, steeping them into water a while and squeezinge and strayingne out the liquor, they drinck it, which doth inebriate." Drinkers of this decoction are called *Postee*.

A curious deviation from all other descriptions of this beverage is found in the *New Account of East India and Persia, being Nine Year's Travels*, 1672-1681, by the well-known English physician John Fryer¹ (1650-1733). In i, 92, we read the following notice concerning the punishment of great nobles within the Mogul's realm: "Upon an Offence they are sent by the King's Order, and committed to a place called the *Post* (from the Punishment inflicted), where the Master of the *Post* is acquainted with the heinousness of the Crime; which being understood, he heightens by a Drink which at first they refuse, made of *Bang* (the juice of the intoxicating sort of Hemp), and being mixed with *Dutry* (the deadliest sort of *Solanum* or *Nightshade*) named *Post*, after a week's taking they crave more than ever they nauseated... making them foolishly mad" etc. The same recipe for preparing *Post* is repeated i, 263; in iii, 169, Fryer mentions "*Goualar* or *Post*", apparently believing *Post* to be a name of the state prison at Gwālīor.

It is scarcely probable that Fryer, who was himself an M.D. and apparently much interested in natural history should have been so badly informed that he thought *post* to be not an infusion of poppy-husks steeped in water, but *bhāṅg* (prepared from *Cannabis*) mixed with *Datura*.² But if we take it that in the passage quoted above

¹ Edited for the Hakluyt Society by W. Crooke, vols. i-iii, London, 1909-1915. The first edition appeared in 1698.

² A few references to *Datura* may not be out of place here. The species, which are put to medicinal and especially criminal use in India seem to be above all *D. fastuosa* L. (: *D. alba* Nees) and *D. Metel* L. It is known to the Portuguese authors as *Dutro* (Konkani *dhātūrō*) or *Dutroá* (in Port. and Spanish also as *burladora* "joker" because it makes people laugh in a foolish way); Sanskrit dictionaries usually give words like *dhattūra* or *dhustūra*, the connections of which are by no means clear (a suggested relationship with Latin *festuca* "a straw" cannot be upheld as there is scant reason for believing *dhattūra*, *dhustūra*, etc. to be of Aryan origin). *Datura* seems to be mentioned first of all by Garcia d'Orta, *Colloquios*, xx (1563): "SERVA. A' minha senhora deu *datura* a beber huma negra da casa, e tomoulhe as chaves, e as joyas que tinha ao pescoço, e as que tinha na caixa, e fogio, com outro negro... ORTA. A quem dam esta mézinha não falam cousa a proposito; e sempre riem, e são muito liberaes, e todo o negocio e rir e falar muito pouco, e não a proposito; e a maneira que qua ha de roubar he deitandolhe esta mézinha no comer, porque os faz estar com este acidente vinte e quatro horas." Monserrate, l.c., p. 574, speaking about the institution of suttee tells us how the poor widow, before being burnt, was stupefied by poison: "*Has mulierculas, ut*

from De Laet, p. 40, *lac* really means *bhang* diluted in milk there certainly also exists such a drink with an admixture of *Datura*-seeds, which is considered to be extremely dangerous and maddening to any degree, cp. Watt, l.c., p. 488. It may be very well possible that State prisoners were done to death not only by preparations of opium, but also by other poisonous concoctions, which were all popularly known by the common name of *post*.

Malcolm *Mem. of Central India*, 2, ii, 146 n., mentions the liquid opium which he calls not *post* but *kusoombah*.¹ It was much in use as a ceremonial drink with the Rājputs and considered as a sacred pledge of friendship. Such a use of various infusions of poppy is also mentioned by Tod,² who also does not seem to use the word *post*.

Post is known also to Burton *Scinde or the Unhappy Valley*, i, 267 sq., where he describes it thus: "A dried poppy-head or two was infused in warm water allowed to stand the whole night, and in the morning squeezed till none of the juice remains in it." The draught was then cooled in ice or snow in the hot weather, sweetened, perfumed, and thus administered to the captive.

Other references that I have come across are to Thevenot, *Travels* (1687), ii, 97; Hamilton, *A New Account of the East Indies*, i, 172, and Herklots' *Qanūn-i Islām*, p. 326, but as they add but little to our knowledge of *pōst(ā)*, I leave them out here. A reference to Forbes, *Rās-Mālā*, p. 557, must probably be incorrect; at least it has proved impossible to me to identify it in the new edition of that work which is alone accessible here.

Pōst or *pōstā*, according to the authorities quoted above (with the exception of Fryer), thus is an infusion of poppy-heads steeped in

omni doloris sensu carcant, medicamentis quibusdam, oppio præsertim, vel herba soporifera (quæ bangue dicitur, canabique quam similis est) vel, quod usitatius est, duturone herba, Indis cognita, Europæis, ac veteribus prorsus ignota consopiant omnino." It is spoken of as having been much used in Goa to stupefy jealous husbands in order to afford their wives more freedom, cf. e.g. Linschoten, *Voyage to the E. Indies*, i, 209; Pyrard de Laval, *Voyage* (Hakl. Soc.), ii, 113; Mocquet, *Voyages*, p. 312, etc. That it was used by Indian robbers to stupefy their victims was known already to Prosper Alpinus, *Hist. Aegypt.* (1580), i, 190 sq.; and it is still said to be in frequent use with the descendants of thugs, cf. e.g. Sleeman, *Rambles and Recollections* (ed. Smith), p. 82 sqq.; Chevers, *Ind. Med. Jurisprudence*, p. 179 sqq. Watt, l.c., p. 488, tells us that pots in which arrak is poured are sometimes fumed with the smoke of burnt *Datura*-seeds. On *Datura*, cf. further Acosta, *Tractado de la Drogas*, p. 87; Rheede, *Hortus Malabaricus*, ii, 47 sqq.; Rumphius, *Herb. Amboinense*, v, 246 sqq.; Ainslie, *Mat. Med. Hind.*, p. 47, etc.

¹ Skt. *Kusumbha* is the Safflower or Bastard Saffron (*Carthamus tinctorius* L.); a corresponding word also seems to be used of the Lac Tree (*Schleichera trijuga* Willd.).

² Cf. *Rājasthān* (ed. Crooke), i, 86, etc.

warm water and allowed to draw over night. The fluid is then strained, sometimes cooled, and perhaps mostly mixed with spices or other flavouring stuffs. So far there seems to be little difficulty. That it should be in special use in the Punjāb¹ is, of course, quite possible, though it seems to be widely known in different parts of India.

There remains, however, the derivation of the word *pōst* (पोस्त) or *pōstā* (पोस्ता) itself, which seems to cause some uncertainty. Sir George Grierson, whose knowledge of everything connected with India is unrivalled, and who was for a couple of years himself an Opium Agent in Bihār, tells us² that the usual name of the *Papaver somniferum* L. is really *pōst* or *pōstā*, which thus, at least within Bihār, denotes the whole plant. I ventured to write to Sir George Grierson on the subject, stating it as my humble opinion that it is really the seed-capsule that is called *pōst(ā)*, and that this name was then transferred to the plant itself; and in his reply³ Sir George willingly endorsed this opinion. He further tells me that the common opinion in Bihār seems to be that *pōst* is really the Persian word *pōst* meaning "skin",⁴ which is "in this connexion referred to the 'skin' or outer shell of the poppy capsule". For phonetic reasons it seems impossible that *pōst(ā)* could be a genuine Indian word, and it must thus be suggested that it was borrowed from somewhere. The difficulty seems to me to be that Pers. *pōst* does really mean "skin, hide of an animal",⁵ and that it seems slightly uncertain whether such a meaning could be developed into the "skin" (or rather shell) of a poppy capsule. As, however, no other probable derivation seems to be at hand we shall so far have to rest content with this one.

¹ Watt, Lc., p. 845.

² *Bihar Peasant Life*, 2nd ed., p. 241.

³ Letter dated 11th January, 1935.

⁴ On this word which has been borrowed into Sanskrit as *pusta(ka)*- "manuscript, book" cf. Gauthiot, *MSL.*, xix, 130 f.

⁵ Pers. *pōst* should be related to Kurd. *pīst* "skin" (*G.I.Ph.*, i, 2, 267) and to Avestan *pāsta*- "skin". There is considerable difficulty concerning the root-vowel; but undoubtedly the Avestan word owes its origin to a false writing and should really be *pīst* or *p'īst* (i.e. **pāsta*- or **pausta*-).

Bhāgavata Purāṇa and the Kārikās of Gauḍapāda

By AMARNATH RAY.

ABOUT three years ago, I sent a paper on "The Date of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa" to the I.H.Q. The publication of the paper was delayed, and it was forestalled by B. N. Krishnamurti Sarma's paper on the same subject, which appeared in the *Annals* of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, vol. xiv, pts. iii-iv. The object of both the papers was the same, viz. to controvert the views of Vaidya and Winternitz who proposed the tenth century A.D. as the date of the Bh.P. Sarma suggests that this Purāṇa was composed in the fifth century, if not earlier. My own view is that the work came into being some time between A.D. 550 and 650. The mention therein of the Huns (ii, 7, 26) and of the Tamil Saints (xi, 5, 38-40) would go against Sarma's hypothesis. Sarma and the present writer adopted somewhat different lines of attack upon the position taken up by Vaidya and Winternitz. It is unnecessary, however, to state the additional matter my paper contained, or to publish it. This will be done if the other view finds a defender who has to be refuted.

I propose in this place to raise a discussion as to whether the composition of the Bh.P. preceded or followed that of the Kārikās of Gauḍapāda. From the parallelisms cited below, it will be clear to all that one of these two writers must have been influenced by the other. Sarma points out a quotation from Bh.P. (x, 14, 4) in the *vytti* on the "Uttaragītā" (ii, 45), attributed to Gauḍapāda, and also two clear references to the Bhāgavata in the so-called *Māṭhara vytti* on the "Sāṃkhyakārikā". As regards this latter work, it has been doubted whether we have the original text before us; the work appears to have grown with the times, and the Bh.P. references found therein do not appear in Paramārtha's Chinese translation. If the Uttaragītā commentary were a genuine work of Gauḍapāda, as Belvalkar and Sarma think, it would be clear that the author of the Bh.P. preceded Gauḍapāda. I must, however, invite these and other scholars to reconsider the question in the light of what follows.

Compare the similarity of ideas in the following quotations from the Bh.P. and the Kārikās of Gauḍapāda :—

- (a) “*Ādāvante ca yan nāsti vartamane’pi tat tathā
Vitathaiḥ sadrśāḥ santo’vitathā iva lakṣitāḥ.*”
G. K., ii, 6, and iv, 31.

“*Na yad idam agra āsa na bhaviṣyad ato nidhanād-
Anumitam antarā tvayi vibhāti mṛṣaikarase
Ata upamīyate draviṇajātivikalpapathair
Vitathamano vilāsam ṛtam ityavayantyabudhāḥ.*”
Bh.P., x, 87, 37.

“*Ādyantayer yad asato’sti tad eva madhye.*”
Bh.P., xi, 19, 7.

“*Na yat purastād uta tan na pascāt
Madhye’pi tan na vyapadeśamātram.*”
Bh.P., xi, 28, 21.

Note the word *vitatha* in the Kārikā and in the first of the Bhāgavata passages.

- (b) “*Na nirodho na cetpatti na baddho na ca sūdhakāḥ
Na mumukṣur na vai mukta ity eṣā paramārthatā.*”
G. K., ii, 32.

“*Baddho mukta iti vyākhyā guṇate me na vastutaḥ
Guṇasya māyāmūlatvān na me mokṣa na bandhanam.*”
Bh.P., xi, 11, 1.

- (c) “*Advaitam samanuprāpya jaḍavallokaṃ-ācaret.*”
G. K., ii, 35-6.

“*Ātmārāmo’nayavṛttyā vicareḥ jaḍavanmunih.*”
Bh.P., xi, 11, 16-17.

- (d) “*Māyāśa tasya devasya yayā yaṃ mohitaḥ svayam.*”
G. K., ii, 19.

“*Svamāyāguṇam āviśya bādhyabādhakatām gataḥ.*”
Bh.P., vii, i, 6.

- (e) “*Ghaṭādiṣu pratīneṣu ghaṭākāsādayo yathā
Ākāśe sampratīyante tadvaj jīva ihātmani.*”
G. K., iii, 4.

“*Ghate bhinne ghaṭākāśa ākāśa syād yathā purā
Evaṃ dehe mṛte jīvo brahma sampadyate punaḥ.*”
Bh.P., xii, 5, 5.

- (f) “*Manoḍṛśyam idaṃ dvaitam yat kiñcit sacarācaram
Manase hy amanībhāve dvaitam naivopalabhyate.*”
G. K., iii, 31.

*"Manaḥ sṛjati vai dehān guṇān karmāṇi cātmanah
Tan manaḥ sṛjate māyā tato jīvasya saṁsṛtiḥ."*

Bh.P., xii, 5, 6.

(g) In interpreting Bh.P., xi, 24, 7, Śrīdhara quotes the well-known G.K., iii, 15 :—

*"Mṛlloha viṣphulingādyaiḥ sṛṣṭir yā coditānyathā
Upāyaḥ se'vatārāya nāsti bhedaḥ kathañcana."*

(h) The similes of the Rope and the Snake and of the city of Gandharvas, so familiar to Advaita Vedānta, occur in both the works. (Bh.P., vi, 9, 37 ; xi, 26, 17 ; and G.K., ii, 17-18 ; and Bh.P., vi, 15, 23, and G.K., ii, 31.)

(i) Bh.P. (vii, 15, 54) names the four states or modes of the Being, viz. *viśva*, *taijasa*, *prājña*, and *turya*, just as they occur in the Kārikās, which Vidhusekhara Bhattacharya considers to be older than the so-called Māṇḍūkya Up., where the first and the fourth appear as *Vaiśvānara* and *turiya*.

A closer comparison of the two works would, I am sure, disclose many more parallelisms. In the absence of any earlier semi-Buddhistic Vedānta work of the type of these Kārikās, a student of Indian Philosophy is naturally led to think that the Kārikās were earlier than the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, which looks like attempting to harmonize their Vedānta with the Pāñcarātra Bhakti religion, without, at the same time, disowning the latter's original allegiance to what is known as the Paurāṇic Sāṃkhya. But while the author of the Purāṇa appears to be familiar with the "Ajātavāda" doctrine, he does not know the "Anirvacanīyatā" doctrine posited by Śaṅkara. I am inclined, on this among other grounds, to think that the author came between Gauḍapāda and Śaṅkara. No doubt the latter does not mention the Bhāgavata in his commentaries, but if the "Govindāṣṭakam" be a genuine work of his, as the sixteenth-century Bengal Vaiṣṇava writer, Jīva Gosvāmin thought, and as Belvalkar and others of this day think, Śaṅkara must have known the Bhāgavata. It may be noted also that both Śaṅkara and Rāmānuja are said to have known Puri or Jagannath, but that holy place does not appear to have been known to the author of the Bh.P. It would otherwise have found mention in the chapter on Balarāma's pilgrimage (x, 79).

The difficulty in the way of the acceptance of my hypothesis is twofold : Firstly, the Bhāgavata passage, hunted out by B. N. Krishna-murti Sarma, from the "Uttaragītāvṛtti," and, secondly, the tradition that Gauḍapāda was the teacher's teacher of Śaṅkara.

The first difficulty is not really so insuperable as it appears. The attribution of the *ṛtti* to Gauḍapāda rests on the evidence of the colophon in one or two manuscripts of the text. Such colophons cannot form independent evidence, knowing, as we do, that they often originated from ignorance or fraud. Nor does the fact that the philosophy of the *ṛtti* is Advaita of the Gauḍapāda type mean much, for that is also the philosophy of the "Uttaragītā" itself. I should be prepared to ascribe that work, rather than the commentary, to the great Gauḍapāda.

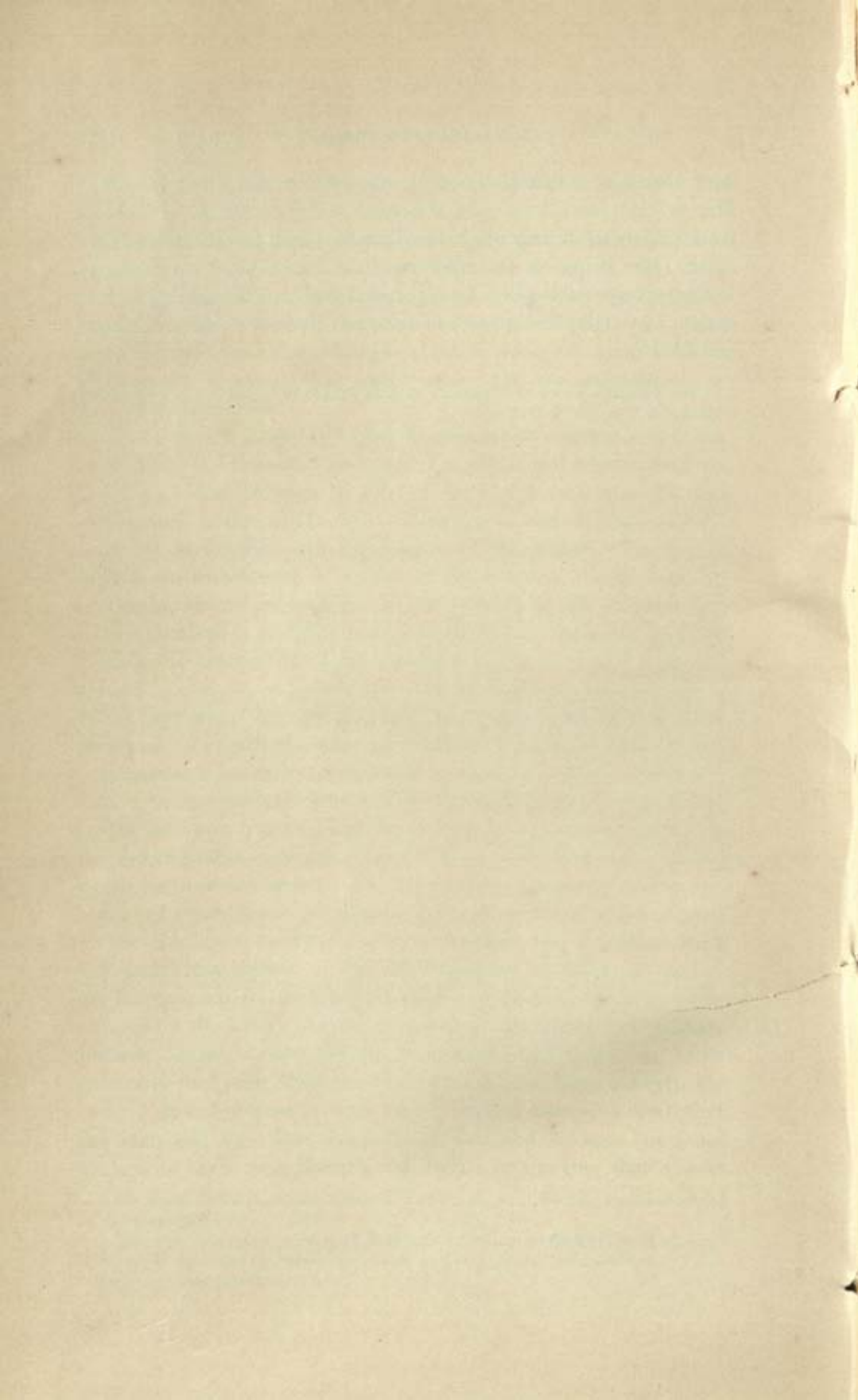
The second difficulty is harder to meet, as in meeting it, one has to reject a time-honoured tradition. The traditional relation between Gauḍapāda and Śaṅkara would not leave sufficient time for the pre-Śaṅkara author of the Bh.P., belonging to the extreme south of India, to be familiar with the Kārikās of Gauḍapāda. Two pieces of evidence are adduced in support of the tradition, viz. the mention of Gauḍapāda as *paramaguru* in the *puṣpikā* to the commentary on the Gauḍapāda Kārikās, usually attributed to Śaṅkara; and the reference to Gauḍapāda as *guror garīyase* in the metrical "Upadeśa-sāhasrī" (xviii, 2), an undoubted work of Śaṅkara. But can either of the expressions mean nothing else but "teacher's teacher"? I see no reason to restrict the meaning in this way, in either case, though *paramaguru* is generally understood to mean "teacher's teacher". I have besides grave doubts as to the authorship of the commentary on the Kārikās. Vidhusekhara Bhattacharya would reckon it among the Śaṅkarācārya apocrypha,¹ and I agree with him for a reason which he does not adduce, viz. the author's ignorance of the real import of a good many Buddhist philosophical terms which abound in the Kārikās. Śaṅkara was more familiar with Buddhism than any other commentator on the Brahmasūtras we know of, and I am not prepared to ascribe such ignorance to him. One has only to consider the widely varying attitudes of Gauḍapāda and Śaṅkara towards Theism, as also towards the Buddha and Buddhism, to be convinced that more than one teacher must have come between the two.² I do not propose to enter into a detailed discussion of all that has been said by others about Gauḍapāda and his age, but I am inclined to agree with Barnett and Jacobi in thinking that a date,

¹ *Sir Ashutosh Silver Jubilee Memorial Volume*, iii, pt. ii, Śaṅkara's commentaries on the Upaniṣads!

² Note also the remote nature of Śaṅkara's references to Gauḍapāda in his commentary on the Brahma-Sūtras, i, 4, 14-5, and ii, 1, 9), as "Sampradāyavit" and "Vedāntārtha-sampradāyavit".

later than A.D. 500, should not be assigned to this great teacher.¹ This would place him nearly 300 years before Śaṅkara, and allow for an interval, during which the Kārikās might travel down to the south. May it be that the influence of the Purāṇa itself led Śaṅkara to find a respectable place for a personal God and his worship in his system? Gauḍapāda appears to have felt little concern for Theism and *bhakti*.

¹ See Barnett's review of Walleser's work in *JRAS.* 1910, and Jacobi's paper on "Māyāvāda" in *JAOS.* 1913.



Some Early Dramas in Bengali

By JAYANTA KUMAR DASGUPTA

RĀMNĀRĀYAN'S *Kulīn Kulsarbasva* (1854) is often regarded as the first Bengali drama, but there are many other Bengali plays of one sort or another anterior to it in date.

Although Herasim Lebedeff, a Russian adventurer, staged two Bengali plays in Calcutta towards the end of the eighteenth century, these have not come down to us. It is doubtful if Lebedeff's plays, which were translations of English dramatic works, were ever published. No clue to the subsequent fate of these plays is found in the autobiographical introduction to Lebedeff's *Grammar of Pure and Mixed East Indian Languages*, printed in London in 1801.

That some kind of indigenous Bengali plays existed in the first part of the nineteenth century is evident from a reference to an old play named *Kalirājār Yātrā* in some of the old Calcutta periodicals.¹ This play seems to have been popular in its own day. The characters are two Vaiṣṇavas, Kalirājā, his Minister, his Guru, a noble and well-dressed Englishman with his lady and two servants. Dancing, singing, and witty conversation were distinguishing features of this play, which was very much liked by the audience.²

The tone of Bengali plays in those days was rather low. Dramatic versions of *Vidyāsundar* were severely criticized by contemporary journals on this ground.³ In 1826, the Samācār Candrikā put forward a vigorous plea for a regular stage.⁴ For some years before theatres were founded in Bengal, translations were made from Sanskrit to supply the want of good dramas in Bengali. Some of these earlier plays were until recently very little known.

A paraphrase of Kṛṣṇamiśra's *Prabodha Candrodāya Nāṭaka*, which was published in 1822, is the first printed Bengali drama. This paraphrase under the title of *Ātmatattvakaumudī* was the joint work of three pandits—Kāśināth Tarkapañcānan, Gaṅgādhara Nyāyaratna,

¹ *Calcutta Review*, vol. xiii, p. 160. The *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, vol. ii, p. 460, mentions a Bengali work, *Kaliraj*, but it is not definitely stated whether this was a drama or a prose narrative.

² *Asiatic Journal*, 1822, p. 287.

³ *Calcutta Journal*, 26th February, 1822, p. 587.

⁴ *Asiatic Journal*, 1826, p. 214.

and Rāmkiṅkar Śiromaṇi. The whole composition is in a very stiff kind of Bengali prose. In 1830 the Samācār Candrikā advertised a version of the same play written in “payār” verse, but nothing further is known about it.¹

James Long’s *Granthābālī* or *Catalogue of Eleven Hundred Bengali Books* (1852) mentions another drama, *Kautuksarbasva Nāṭak*. This is based on Gopīnāth Cakravartī’s Sanskrit play noticed by Wilson in the *Select Specimens of the Theatre of the Hindus*. The work was done by Pandit Rāmcandra Tarkālaṅkāra of Harinābhi. A copy of it which is in the British Museum is dated 1828. Some people have confused this play with a stage-version of *Vidyāsundar* performed in Calcutta in the early thirties of the last century.² *Kautuksarbasva* is a two-act play and opens with an invocation to the god Gaṇeśa in “tripadī” verse. The characters are Kalibatsal Rājā, his general Samarjambuk, a learned Brāhmaṇ, Satyācāryya, some courtiers, the Queen, a maid-servant, and a public woman. It shows occasionally a bad moral taste, being a play which aims at illustrating the degenerating tendencies of the Kali age. The style is a mixture of the Sanskrit and the colloquial. The translator, however, regarded his language as “sādhubhāṣā”. The Bengali version is truly speaking a paraphrase rather than a translation of the Sanskrit original. Both prose and verse are used and there are many stanzas in “payār” and “tripadī”.

Long’s *Catalogue of the Vernacular Literature Committee’s Library* (1855) names a play *Mahanatak, Ram’s History dramatized from the Sanskrit*, 1840. This evidently is the same play as Rāmgati Kabiratna’s dramatized version of *Mahānāṭaka*, the date of which is given by Schulyer as 1849.³ This is not a regular drama. It is a kind of dramatic representation of Rāma’s life. The play opens with an invocation to Gaṇeśa. “Payār” and other forms of Bengali verse have been used throughout. There are also several stage-directions. Parts of this play do not evince good taste even if some allowance is made for conventional Sanskrit erotic descriptions.

Another translation from Sanskrit, Jagadīśvara’s *Hāsyārṇava*, is supposed to have been published in 1840.⁴ The British Museum copy

¹ Samācār Candrikā, 1830, 12th April.

² *Dhanāñjay Mukhopādhyāy-Baṅgīya Nāṭyāśālā*, p. 2.

³ *A Bibliography of the Sanskrit Drama*, p. 65. Long, however, in his *Descriptive Catalogue of Bengali Works* (1855), gives the date as 1849.

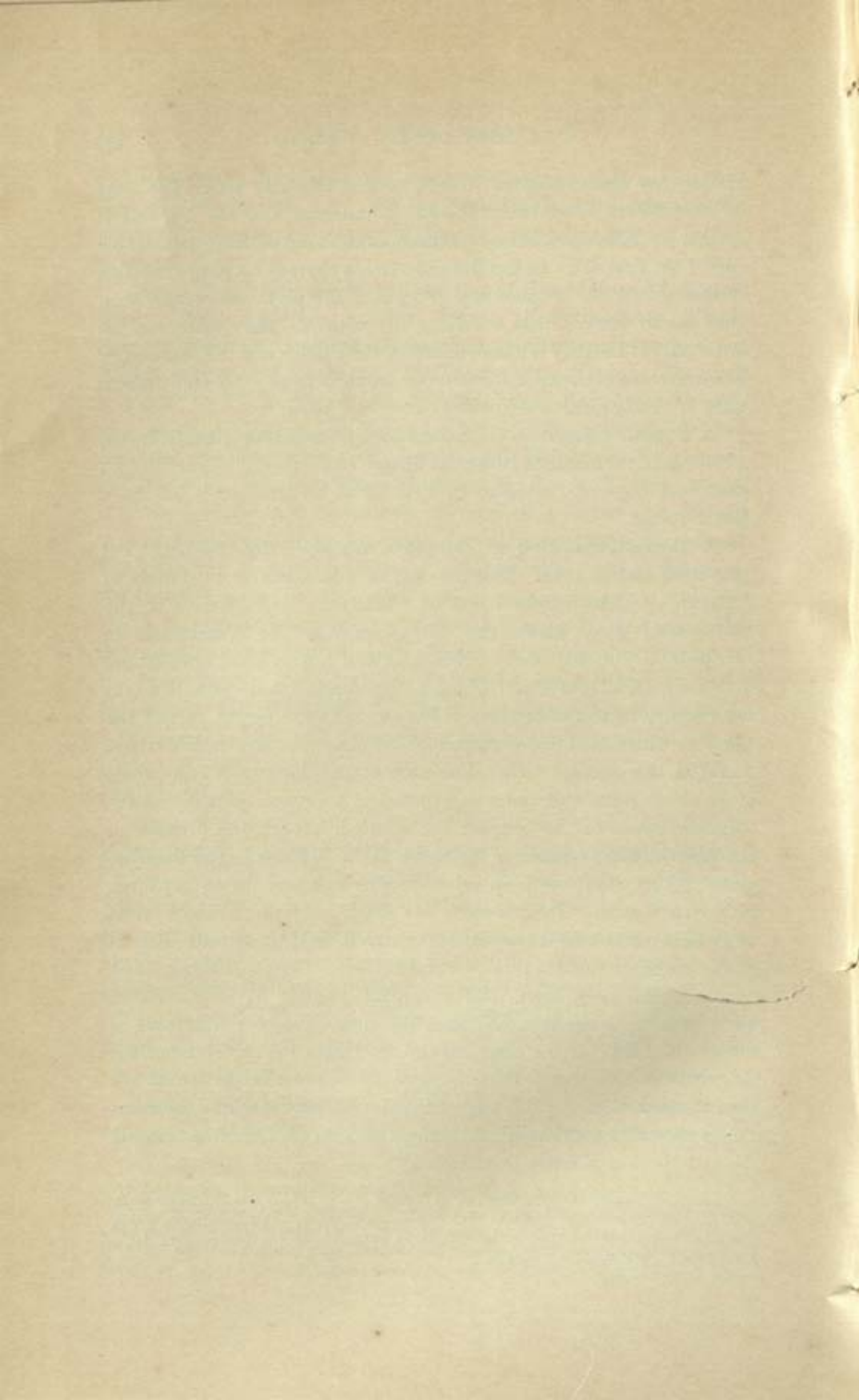
⁴ Bendall, *Catalogue of Pālī, Prakrit, and Sanskrit Works in the British Museum* (1893), pp. 143-4. The *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, vol. ii, p. 454, gives the date as 1835.

of this play bears no date. Wilson noticed this play also. The taste of *Hāsyārṇava* is at times absolutely indecent and the humour is spoiled by blunt coarseness. Wilson says that the King left at the end of the first act. In the Bengali version there is no stage-direction to that effect, nor is there any division of the play into regular acts. One has to assume that the King left with his whole party as the latter part of the play is monopolized by the pandits and the courtesans. The narrative portions of *Hāsyārṇava* are in Bengali prose and translations of the original Sanskrit slokas are in "payār".

A Bengali translation of *Śakuntalā* by Rāmtārak Bhaṭṭācāryya, a student of the Calcutta Sanskrit College, was reviewed by the Bengali periodical *Sambād Prabhākar* in 1848. But no trace of it has been found so far.

A Bengali rendering of Śrīharṣa's *Ratnāvalī* by Nīlmaṇi Pāl was published in 1849. This play opens with a prayer to Gaṇeśa in "payār". Then follows a sort of "bandanā" or salutation to the Guru, after which comes the "granthasūcanā" or introduction in "tripadī". But the work of Nīlmaṇi Pāl is not an exact translation. It is only an adaptation. Nīlmaṇi Pāl supplemented Śrīharṣa's text with additions and alterations of his own. In the earlier part of the play, he introduced a description of Śrīharṣa's capital which is not found in the original. Then there are other additions, e.g. a whole story about Ratnāvalī and a description of a voyage. Almost all the stage-directions of the original are omitted, though the division of the play into acts remains the same as in Śrīharṣa. The dialogue parts of the play have been considerably condensed, being put often in narrative form. The poetry is not altogether bad. Various forms of Bengali verse such as payār, laghutripadī, ekābali, tripadī, dīrgha-payār, ekābali antayamak, tunakābhās, lalitlaghu, totak, and caupadī have been used. But "tripadī" and "payār" seem to have been the favourites. Nīlmaṇi Pāl must have been a devotee of the goddess Kālī as there are several references to his reverence for that deity in this play. There is more use of prose in the fourth act than in other acts, and this part of the play, strictly speaking, becomes a mere narrative with occasional stanzas of poetry. Therefore towards the end there is a sense of monotony.¹

¹ Long, in his *Descriptive Catalogue of Bengali Works* (1855) mentions this work twice, and in one place he remarks that it requires pruning. This Catalogue, which is rather scarce now, has been reprinted as an appendix to Dr. Dinescandra Sen's *Bangabhasa o Sahitya* (fifth edition).



Iranian Studies V

By H. W. BAILEY

THE task of publishing the Khotanese Saka texts of the India Office and the British Museum, on which I am engaged, is likely to be long protracted. It therefore seems advisable to make known as soon as possible a list of the words for which parallel texts guarantee the meanings in Tibetan, Chinese, or Sanskrit. Most of the following words are from the Siddhasāra-śāstra of Ravigupta, of which there are extant sixty-five folios. The Tibetan is to be found in the Tanjur. Two short passages of the Sanskrit are preserved in a compilation in a Madras MS., of which a copy (made in 1902) is in the Bibliothèque Nationale. Through the courtesy of the Librarian I have been able to make use of this.¹

When the meaning of the Saka is uncertain, the English equivalent is given for the Tibetan parallel word, and follows it. An asterisk denotes a translation from the context, without direct parallel text. A large number of other words are known to which no meaning can yet be assigned. Most of the words are new, but some, already known in E, can now be certainly translated, others are given as corroborative evidence to meanings known before. The abbreviation E refers to E. Leumann, *Das nordarische (sakische) Lehrgedicht des Buddhismus*, 1933-4; Konow Suv. to Sten Konow, *Zwölf Blätter einer Handschrift des Suvarṇabhāṣasūtra in Khotan-Sakisch*, 1935; Śacū Doc. refers to the Saka Text edited by Konow in *Two Medieval Documents from Tun-huang*.

āḍā	flour	phye.	See ārrāñā.
	(NPers. ārd).		
aḍārye	other	gʒan; aḍāraṣṭa to	
	another place; ttālanāṣṭā u aḍāraṣṭa to and fro	phan ts'un	
	du. Cf. aḍāñā.		
adiṣṭa	unripe	ma smin-pa.	
agane	powerless	dbañ-med-par	(cf.
	Sogd. γn' Vimal. 97).		
aha	noose	Skt. pāṣa.	

¹ Since the above was sent to the press, I have been able to use in Oxford photographs of two Nepalese MSS. of the Sanskrit text of the Siddhasāra. It has been possible to use this rich new material to a small extent during the reading of the proofs.

aharṣṭā . . .	regularly . . .	rgyun-tu.	
ahauvam . . .	weak . . .	see hauvana.	
āhvāñā . . .	to be warmed . . .	bsros-pa.	
āhvarai fem. āhvarra . . .	sour . . .	skyur-ba.	Konow

Saka Studies āhvarrai.

amāṣṭā ñye . . .	unfermented curds . . .	zo ma lañs-pa.	
aneṣṭa vātā . . .	without firmness . . .	Skt. asāraka.	

See eṣṭa-.

amgausḍi, amguṣḍā . . .	asafoetida . . .	śiñ kun (NPers. anguṣṭad).	
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anvaṣṭa . . .	difficult . . .	dkah-ba, Skt. kṛcchra. See nvaṣṭa. Misread *atvaṣṭa- in Aparimitāyuh Sūtra.	
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añuta . . .	unaccustomed . . .	śñon ma goms-pa.	
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Cf. ñuska.

ārraje . . .	shrinking . . .	hkhums-pa, see āri-sāma.	
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ārrāñā, ārāñā . . .	*to be ground . . .	Ptc. ārda (< *ar-n-ta cf. Iškāsmī yurd ground).	
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arīṣe bauśa . . .	bad smell . . .	mnam-pa.	
arīśai . . .	unpleasant . . .	mi žim-pa.	
ārisāma . . .	shrinking . . .	hkhums-pa, Skt. samkoca. Cf. pārisāme decrease, and ārraje.	

āṣana . . .	green, blue . . .	śñon-po.	
aṣarrāmata . . .	dread žum-pa . . .	Cf. E 8, 24, ṣṣarri, E 21, 8, āṣṣuḍa.	

āṣemjā ūtea . . .	lake water . . .	mts'ohi chu, Skt. sārasa. Cf. E 21, 4, āṣṣingye.	
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aṣnai . . .	pigeon . . .	Skt. kapota.	
āskā . . .	deer . . .	āskā hiya gūṣṭa, Skt. aiṇa (sc. māṃsa) deer's flesh (Sogd. āsūk). So translate E 10, 8, o tarrā rrau vātā āska or thirsty deer in the plain (see rrau below).	

āskaphai . . .	poppy . . .	le brgan.	
askhauysa . . .	top . . .	thor-to. Cf. khauys-.	
āsñai . . .	previous . . .	thog-mar.	
aspaśdāka . . .	producing . . .	aspaśde, 3 sg. rgyur . . .	

hgyur-ro.

asthajāñā . . .	1. to be applied . . .	bsgo žiñ.	
	2. to be taken . . .	blañ-bar bya-ho.	

isthamjāñā . . . *to be taken* . . . blañs-la, blañ žiñ.

Pret. usthiyāñdā E 6, 30 ; 24, 160.

astaucā . . . *dry land* . . . skam-sa.

asurai . . . *unclean* . . . See surai.

atcaštā . . . *injured* . . . gnod-pa.

avyaucā . . . *unbearable* . . . mi bzad-pa.

aysbrijsāñā . . . *to be roasted, fried* . . . brños-pa. See brrijs-.

(ays- iys- ěys- are written for older uys-.)

aysdau, aysdo . . . *boy* . . . byis-pa.

u vara āna kṣasā salā vi bure aysdo gūršte *and thence up to sixteen years he is called aysdo.*

aysdemāñā, aysdimāñā *to be cooled* . . . bsgrañs-te.

aysdraphai . . . *crouching* . . . tsog-tsog-pur.

ayulā . . . *ball.*

pasve ayulā . . . *heated ball.*

Chinese 丸 in the story of Mahāprabhāsa. So read Ṣacū Document 70 : ysiri biṃdi brrivīnai ttaudi ayulā *on the heart the hot ball of love.*

ba, baka, bakalaka,

bata . . . *small* . . . ñuñ.

bājam, loc. sg. bājinaña *vessel* . . . snod.

bajevākā . . . *destroyer* . . . Skt. pranāśaka.

bajsiha, loc. sg. *mortar* . . . gtun, E 5, 65, baj-sihā.

bajsihaña.

bale . . . chu skyar (= Skt. *a water-bird* kalahaṃsa)

balgaña, loc. sg. *vessel* . . . Skt. bhāṇḍa.

balohā, loc. sg. balo-

haña . . . *a cloth* . . . ras.

balsa, gen. plur. balsānu *stūpa* . . . mchod-rten.

In Ṣacū Document 42 baṣi paste padaide *he ordered to build a stūpa.*

bamāme . . . *vomiting* . . . skyug-pa.

bamāññāñā . . . *to be made to vomit* . . . 3 sg. bame vomits.

bāmā . . . *vomiting.*

banāte . . . *jack-fruit tree.* . . . Skt. panasa.

bara . . . **crops* . . . (Mid. West Iran.,

NPers. bar.)

dārabhakṣa pasta u bara pahī **famine occurred and crops failed.*

bāta, bāva . . . *root* . . . rtsa-ba.

- beramdā . . . cracking . . . hgas-pa.
 bī . . . willow . . . lcañ-ma (Av. vaēti,
 Soī vī, NPers. bid).
 bijautta . . . spoiled . . . Skt. dūṣita.
 hvāṣā jsa bijautta *spoiled by vegetation*. E 16, 9, bajot-
 tādā.
 bijsāñā . . . to be poured . . . blugs-pa (vaik-, Av.
 vaēk-, Mid. West Iran. vēxt).
 bīnājāñā . . . to be steeped . . . sbañs-pa.
 biñāñā . . . to be split . . . dral-te, Skt. pātanā.
 biñji . . . sparrow . . . mchil-pa, Skt. caṭaka.
 bārriysāta . . . moved . . . g-yos-so.
 biśī, beśī . . . buttermilk . . . dar-ba.
 bisai . . . being in, expressing locative case in adjectival
 form *passim*. Cf. hīvī similarly expressing genitive case.
 viysāñjvā bisā utca *water in the ponds*; purāñā bisām āchām *of*
diseases in the womb. So translate *passim* in Ṣacū Document:
 l. 17, secū bise kañthe *the towns in Secū* (probably,
 according to a suggestion of V. Minorsky, 西州 *siei tsiu*
 the Chinese name, in modern pronunciation Hsi-chou, of
 Yarkhoto). So also in Ṣacū Document 20 secū misti kañtha
Secū the capital.
 bisu . . . bush, tree (used of śiñ.
 castor and juniper)
 biṭhāñā . . . dril-ba . . . to be twisted together.
 bitte . . . is cut off . . . chod-ba.
 biysānai . . . severe . . . mi bzad-par.
 biysamjāñā . . . bkañ . . . fill.
 3 Sg. Pret. biysiya *seized*, 3 pl. biysiyaude.
 biysma . . . urine . . . gcin *passim*.
 brā, brāvi . . . clear . . . gsal-ba.
 brāñjā . . . birch-tree . . . stag-pa.
 brihā, brraha, loc. sg.
 brāḥāñā . . . back . . . Skt. prṣṭha.
 jsiññā brihā *belly*, mkhal sked, Skt. kuṣi.
 brrijsāñā . . . to be roasted, fried . . . brños-pa.
 (Balōči brējag, etc.). See aysbrijs-.
 bujāñāñā . . . to be extended . . . brta-bar bya-ho.
 bujsvārā . . . pestle . . . btun-bu. E 5, 65,
 bajsvārā.

būne intestines . . . loñ-ga. Cf. buñū,
E 23, 149.

būne hamddri vya *inside the intestines*.

buysiñā adj. goat's rahi (Av. buza-).

bvāšcyē, bvāštya, adj.

bvāštiñā experience šes-pa.

byājāñā to be melted bzu (vi-tak-, Av.
vitaḥti-).

byamjsā astringent bska-ba. Konow Suv.
bātamjsa.

byāra gourd ga-gon, Skt. ervāruka.

byāšāñā to be opened wide gdañ

byāšde dissolves hjig-pa (vi-tak).

byūrā, byūrrā ten thousand (Av. baēvar-).

ssa byūrā juna 1,000,000 times; dvārabistā byūrrā hašta
ysāra 228,000; byūrā kūla jūna a myriad koī times.

So translate E 6, 87, kṣei byūrru 60,000.

cambula disturbed. Tib. zi-zi-por, Skt.

ākula. pajsā cambula vijiṣde śin-tu zi-zi-por gyur-pa, Skt.
dr̥ṣṭer ākulatā bhr̥ṣam. Cf. E, 2, 10, biśśūnye cambule.

cambva, loc. sg. cabvañā, cabūñā, *thicket* (according to Skt. and
Tib. parallel passages).

So translate E 25, 420, cambuve vīri.

chai, pl. chā sprout myu-gu.

E 14, 153; 15, 79 chei; E 8, 20, chāte.

dahaušta, dahošta virility ro-tsa-ba.

dalai, pl. dalā shell (of egg), bark (of
tree) śun-lpags.

darāñā to be scraped bzar.

dāšde ripens smin-pa (Av. dag-).

daujsā lead (metal) ra-ñe.

diḍe sloth Skt. ālasya.

dilaki little chu-ñuñ.

dināra, dināryau Skt. hiraṇya gold

diśāñā to be thrown bor-la.

Pret. 3 Sg. diṣṭe. Skt. prakṣiptā.

diṣṭā ripe smin-pa. See adiṣṭa
unripe. So translate E 2, 68; 23, 294 (cf. Konow's Review,
p. 36).

drāma pomegranate bal-po sehu. Hence

Chinese 塗林 d'uo liēm (modern t'u-lin), quoted by Laufer, Sino-Iranica, 282. Skt. dāḍima is perhaps in some way connected.

drāmphāme, drrauphāme *exertion* . . . Skt. vyāyāmakā, Tib. brtsal-ba.

drrāvā . . . *languid* . . . rgod-pa.

Fem. drāca in drāca tsūmata, Skt. cañcalam. E 2, 101 ; 25, 401 drātai ; E 21, 15, drāce.

dvīsatā, dvīssa . . . *two hundred*.

dvyāñā . . . *to be beaten* . . . rdeg-pa.

eṣṭavana . . . *firm* . . . brtan-pa.

eṣṭāma . . . *strength* . . . ṇams-stobs.

Cf. aneṣṭa, Skt. asāraka. So translate E 24, 27, nai ne ysirā eṣṭātu yindi *his heart cannot be stilled*.

éysā . . . *millet* . . . ci-tse, Skt. nīvāra.

ganam . . . *wheat* . . . gro. (< *gandama-, cf. NPers. gandum). ganamai **wheat for him*.

ganihāñā . . . *to be made wet*.

Ptc. ganaistā . . . *wet* . . . gser.

Cf. ganiṣṭā loc. sg., Skt. saṃsveda in the Vajracchedikā.

garkhā . . . *heavy ; honoured* . . . lci-ba,

yor-yor-ba *passim*. garkhām hvaḍām khaṣṭām jsa, Skt. gurvāhāram.

garkhāttetu . . . *reverence* . . . gus-pa.

garśā . . . *throat* . . . lkog-ma.

gaudā, godā . . . *lean* . . . skem-pa, Skt. kṛśa.

gausā . . . *millet* . . . khre, Skt. priyaṅgu.

gaysā . . . *reed* . . . Skt. naḍa.

ggeiha . . . *wood* . . . Skt. kāṣṭha.

gichauka . . . *centre, heart* . . . sūñ-po.

gīśai . . . *name of a plant*.

gīśai hīya bāta, gīśā bāte, rtsva ku-śa *the grass kuśa*.

So in E 2, 13 ; 25, 169 ggīśā ; E 24, 172, ggīśai.

gīśka . . . **rope (in the simile of snake and rope)*.

griḥa . . . *hjm-pa* . . . mud, clay

grūṣka . . . *skin, husk, rind* . . . sun-lpags.

Adj. grūṣkinai. Cf. E 2, 13, grūṣke.

gūhā . . . *ox* . . . ba-lañ.

gūha salya . . . *ox year*.

guhāme . . . *wound* . . . Skt. kṣata.

gūmalyāñā . . . to be smeared . . . bskus-te (vi-mard-).

Ptc. ggumālstu. E 22, 11.

gūra . . . vine . . . rgun.

gūrūtca . . . a brew of grapes . . .

gūraka . . . uvula . . . Icehu chuñ-ba.

gurmā, gūrmā, gaurmā . . . pea . . . sran-ma, Skt. kalāya.

gūysna- . . . deer . . . Skt. ruru. E 14, 77,

ggūysnā (Av. gavasna).

gvachāme . . . digestion . . . (vi-pak-).

gvāchā . . . digesting.

garkha gvāchā . . . heavy to digest.

gvachāñāka . . . making digest . . . hjug-par byed-pa.

gvaysde, 3 Sg. . . cracks . . . hgas-pa (vi-vaz-).

So E 5, 116, gvaysdā 3 Sg.

gvehaiškye jsa . . . with spoon . . . thur-ma.

gvihā, adj. . . cow's, passim.

gvihaiyā, gvahaiyi . . . pain . . . zug-rāu.

gvīr- . . . say, report . . . Pret. gūda.

brrū haḍai pūhyai pyatsa gūda he related it early in the morning to the purohita.

2 Sg. fem. guḍā, 3 plur. guḍāda. Pres. 3 Sg. gviḍa. Imperat.

2 Sg. gvera. Ptc. pres. gvīradā. Cf. E 24, 141, gvīranda ; E 23, 330, gverīndi ; E 5, 22, gviḍe. So read in Ṣacū Document 55, kyī hva hva gvīraci.

gyasta- . . . cleaned . . . See gyeh-.

So translate in E 25, 490, cu ne gyastu iṣyā what is not cleaned.

hugyastu gyehāña ysā^ṣhāñu, Skt. suśodhayitavyam to be well cleaned.

gyeh-, jeh- . . . to cleanse, to heal . . . Skt. śodhaya-, cikitsā, Tib. gso-ba.

gyehāña . . . to be cleaned.

jehāte, Pres. 3 Sg., cleans ; jatte is healed ; 3 pl. jehāre, jihāri are healed, jehāme, jihāme, jehūme, jahāme, jihūme, jihāme. Skt. cikitsā ; Tib. gso-ba healing.

jehuṇa to be healed.

haḍāmjsya . . . lasting one day.

ttye jsī pajsā haḍāmjsya from there five days' journey.

hahālsandau aysmū . . . dad-par gyur-bas . . . believing (to hahalj-), but Chinese version has 大歡喜.

hajse	<i>insects</i>	Skt. kṣudra.
hālā, adj. . . .	<i>half</i>	phyed.
hālā aṃgā	<i>half the limb.</i>	
hālai, adj. . . .	<i>half.</i>	
hālai kamalā	<i>half the head.</i>	
halinai	<i>crosswise</i>	yo-bar
halirai, pl. halirā	<i>myrobalan</i>	a-ru-ra (Skt. haritakī, NPers. halīla, ihlīlaj; Kuchean arirāk).

So translate E 14, 102, halirau.

hāma, hauma	<i>raw</i>	rjen-pa (Skt. āma, Balōči hāmag).
hāmai	<i>barley meal</i>	pag-zan.
hāmīnā		phag phye.

hamarā, gen. pl. hama- rāp, loc. pl. hamarvā	<i>joint</i>	ts'igs.
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(ham-ar-). A wrong etymology is given, BSOS. vi, 66.

To this base ham-ar-, the partic. is hamīḍa.

hambaṃjsya	<i>general</i>	spyihi.
hambārāṣce	<i>filling</i>	Skt. paripūraṇa.
hambica jsa	Skt. samāsa. . . .	a putting together

See hambrih-.

hambīṭhe, 3 Sg. . . .	<i>makes retain.</i>	sri-bar byed.
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hambīṭhāka, hambīṭhākā.

hambrāṃme	<i>healing (of a wound)</i>	gso-ba.
hambrāṇāka	<i>healing</i>	sel-to, Skt. ropaṇa.
hambrāṇāñā	<i>to be mixed</i>	sbyar.
hambrīhāñā	<i>to be put together</i>	sbyar.

Partic. hambirsta, hambairca, hambica. Pret. 3 pl.
hambistāmdā.

hambusaṃ	<i>proper</i>	hos-pa.
ahambusana	<i>improper.</i>	
handajāñātemā	<i>I perfected</i>	yoñs-su smin-par byas-so.
hamdevāka	<i>ripening</i>	smin-par byed-pa.
hamdrāṃjāñā	<i>to be kept</i>	bsruñ (ham-drang-).
hamgārāñā	<i>to be pulled out</i>	drañs-te, drañ-ba.
hamgrihāñā	<i>to be bent</i>	dgug.
hamgūjīnde	<i>*they fear; hamgvāmdūm *they feared; to hamggūjsa- fear, hjigs-pa.</i>	
hamgūñāñā	<i>to be covered</i>	g-yog-par byaho (gund-).

hamīḍa	<i>joined</i>	See hamarā.
hajsaro acc. sg. . . .	<i>sphere</i>	Skt. gocara. Cf. E 24, 51, hamjsārro.
hamjsūlyākā : dai ham- jsūlyākā	<i>producing heat</i>	drod skyed-par byed- do.

3 Sg. hamjsūli.

hamjvāme	<i>chewing</i>	mur žin (NPers. žāvi- dan).
hamphājāñā	<i>to be wrapped</i>	phur-te.
hamphīšāñā	<i>to be put together</i>	sbyar.
hamthrajāñā	<i>to be pressed</i>	btsor-ba.
hamthrištā	<i>suffers</i>	ñam-thag-ba.
hamtrāñāre	<i>they make fall out</i> (used of the hair)	hbyi-bar byed-do.
haraysde	<i>extends to</i>	hjug-par hgyur-ro.
hargā	<i>easy</i>	bde-bar.
hariysāme	<i>sdañs-pa</i>	angry.
haryāsa, hīrāsa, bīryāsa	<i>black</i>	nag-po.
haryāsaurga	<i>blackish</i>	Skt. kṛṣṇābha.
haṣkalakā	<i>a cloth</i>	ras
haṣparekṣa <ṣṭ> ā	<i>sixty-eight</i> .	
haṣtūsā	<i>eighteenth</i> .	
hasu, haśā	<i>a swelling</i>	skrañ-ba.

hasvīmdā *they swell*; hasvāme *swelling*; hasvaca, pres.
ptc., *swelling* (Skt. śvay-, Av. spay-, Oss. rāsuyun).

hatcyadā	<i>crippled</i>	grum žin.
hatcyāve	<i>it breaks</i>	chag.
haugā, hoga	<i>soft</i>	hjam-po. Opposite to strihā.
hausā, hośā	<i>finger</i>	sor. E 14, 71, hausū.
hausde	<i>it dries up</i>	bskams-nas.
hauvana	<i>strong</i>	stobs che-ba.
hauvīmdā	<i>are ground to frag- ments</i> .	khram-khrom-du btags-ba.
hinai, hainai, henai; pl. hīnā, hēnā; fem. hemja, hija, heje, hija, himja.	<i>red</i>	dmar, Skt. aruṇa. E hātānai, hātīgya.

hīrāṇā	condition . . .	sturā hīrāṇe, Skt. sthauḷya.
hirtha, hirtha, hairtha	sudden . . .	glo-bur.
hīsam, hīsā . . .	iron . . .	lcags (*aśuānya-).
Adj. hīṣanai, hīṣanije, hīṣanīmje.		
hīṣinakū jsa . . .	with the iron . .	lcags-kyis.
hīṣime : gvīhye hīṣime,	cow's teat . . .	bahi nu-sor.
hīysamām	coriander . . .	hosu, Skt. dhānyaka.
hūjīnim, hūjija, adj. .	with blood . . .	
humjuḍa, adj. . . .	with blood . . .	khrag.
hurā ; loc. pl. hurāvuā,	thigh . . .	brla. So E 23, 168,
hurāvā.		hurā.
hvaihu:ia	*Uighurs.	
hvaiñāñā	to be dried . . .	skams-pa.
hvarā	sweet . . .	mñar. Konow Suv.
hvarra.		
hvarīme	eating . . .	Skt. sevana.
hvāri	*become dry . . .	ca amga hvāri when
the limbs become dry.		
hvāṣā	vegetation . . .	ldum-bu. E 2, 14,
hvāṣṣā.		
hvi	woman . . .	bud-med.
ihaṣṭā, ḥharṣṭā, ahaṣṭā	regularly . . .	rgyun-tu.
iñakai, iñakā . . .	adjacent . . .	ñen-bskor.
īrhva	citron . . .	Skt. mātuluṅga, Tib.
kha-luñ.		
īrū	the plant karavīrai.	
karavīrai, ṣṭ īrū hīya bāta karavīra, that is, the root of īrū.		
īśākā	returning . . .	Skt. pratinivartaka.
jaste	part of eye.	
haryāsyē jaste bimḍā	on the black part . .	Skt. kṛṣṇa-bhāge.
śīyē jaste bimḍā . .	on the white part . .	Skt. śukla-bhāge.
jīṣṭa	boiled . . .	See jṣāñ-. (Av. yaēš-, etc.).
jṣāñidā	they boil . . .	skol.
jṣāñīme	boiling.	
jṣāñāñā	to be boiled.	
jṣihārā, jṣahira, jṣahera,	stomach, inside . .	pho-ba, khoñ-na, kho-
jsehera.		ra.

- kaba . . . *a measure of quantity.*
 dva kaba gvīha rrūm *two kaba of butter.*
- kahai . . . *itch* . . . g-yah, Skt. kaṇḍū.
 kahaitte, kihaitte, 3 pl. *itch* . . . g-yah-ba.
 kyihāre, kyahāri.
- kaḱā, kekā . . . *powder, ointment* . . . phye-ma, lde-gu, (cf. Skt. kalka).
- kamā, kāmā . . . *wound* . . . rma.
 kamga, kamgo, kamgyi, *skin* . . . šun-lpags, pags-pa. E 2, 12, kamgo.
 kamge.
- kampilai, kampile, ka- *name of a tree* . . . Skt. kampilya (kam-pilla, kampillaka, etc.).
 pilye, kampilye.
- kapūri . . . *camphor* . . . Skt. karpūra (Sogd. kp'wr, West Mid. Iran. k'pwr, NPers. kāfūr, Tib. ga-bur).
- karā . . . *the outside* . . . phyi-rol, ñen-skor.
 karā teimañām, mig-gi phyi-rol *the part lying around the eyes* (connection with Av. čaxra-, as proposed by Konow, is unlikely).
 karvīnā, karvīnā, karvīnām adj. ñen-skor.
- kārṣā . . . *(magic) circle* . . . Skt. maṇḍalaka.
 kaś- . . . *be obstructed, fail.*
 3 Pl. dyākyai kašāre u gvā *sight and ears fail* mig ldoñs-šīn hon-par hgyur-ba.
 3 Sg. kašte, kašti. E 24, 99, kaššīru, 2 pl. kašāma *obstruction* hgag-pa.
- kašā, kaše jsa, loc. sg. *decoction* . . . khu-ba (cf. Skt. kašāya *decoction*).
 kašāña.
- kayacā . . . *at night* . . . Skt. niśithe, dinānte.
 khaiyai, khaiye, kheyā *illness* . . . na-ba (cf. Mid. Pers. xyndg *ill*).
 jsa.
- khaiyuḱā . . . *painful* . . . zug-ciñ.
 khāje . . . *mud* . . . rdzab, hdam.
 E 9, 90 (loc. sg.) khārja, E 20, 53, khārggu.
- khariña adj. . . gla-ba . . . musk-deer.
 khāše . . . *spice* . . . spod.
 khaus- . . . *move, change* . . . g-yo-ba.
 khausāma, khausāma verbal noun. khoysamḍā pres. ptc. khausde 3 sg. hgyur-bar. akhaustā *unmoved*, Skt. acala. khausāña *to be agitated* bsgul žiñ. Cf. askhausya,

ttuhoštāndi (E 23, 308). (Possibly related to Armen. (if Iranian loanword) *χoyz*, *χuzem seek*).

khavā *foam* sbu-ba (Munjānī *χaf*, Skt. *kapha*, NPers. *kaf*). E p. 351, line 9, khavā, E 7, 53, samu kho khavā o kho marīca.

khāysānya, khāysāna *intestines* loñ-ka.

loc. sg.

khaysma *abscess* phol-mig, hbrum-ba.

khinḍā, khenḍī, khainḍe *like* lta-bu, bzin-du, hdra-ba, hdra-ho.

khīysarā *filament* ze-ba (from Skt. *kesara*).

khunā, khunā, khune, *hole* sbubs, khuñ-bu, bu-gen. pl. khunām, khunām.

khuśī *rot* rul-ba.

kīśānā, kīśāngye, kiś-*emja*, kīseja, kīśiña. *filled* Skt. *ākīrṇa*.

korakā, kaurakā. . . . *wood-pigeon* thi-ba, Skt. *kapotaka*.

kralo *tin* Skt. *trapus*.

krrimga-rūvai *anus* Skt. *guda*, Tib. *gzañ*.

krrimgiñe āha *fowl's eggs* khyim-bahi sgo-ña.

kšārmā *shame* skyeñs-pa (in E 25, 495).

kšārma hamya *he was ashamed*. E 2, 126, kšārmañe. (Av. *fšarəma*, Sogd. *šβ'r*, *šβ'rm'k*, Oss. *āfsārm*, West Mid. Iran., NPers. *šarm*.)

kšauštā, kšostā *serum* chu-ser.

ysū kšostā *pus and serum* rnag dañ chu-ser. E 9, 33, nom. sg. kšustā, E 9, 32, acc. sg. kšustu.

kširinau *ninety-six*.

kšitā *exhausted* Skt. *kṣayatām vra-jete*.

kuham thau jsa *with a cloth* ras, ras-ma.

kumbā *flax* zar-ma, Skt. *ataśī*.

kumjī *yeast* rtsabs.

kurkum, kūrķūm, *saffron* gur-kum.

kūrķām.

(Sogd. *kwrkwnph*, Kuchean *kurkam*, Mid. West Iran. *kwrkwmm*, NPers. *kurkum*.)

kūšemate . . . search yōhs-su btsal-ba.

In E *passim*. E 6, 10, 12, 3 Sg. Pres. kūšāte, E 6, 9, 112,
3 Sg. pret. kūysde. 3 Plur. kūysdauda.

kūṭāñā . . . to be ground . . . btags (cf. Skt.
kuṭṭh-).

kvāysā, loc. sg. kvāśa, side of body . . . rtsib-log.

loc. pl. kvāysvā,

kveysvā, kvīysvā.

dvyā kveysvā vī in both sides.

-laka, suffix in bakalaka, naukalaka, śikalaka, śikalaka.

lākṣa . . . lac rgya-skyegs.

liha Skt. leha . . . sman-gyi lde-gu.

likā, loc. sg. likaṇa, in adjectival function after participles, *passim*.

jiṣṭa lika kaṣṭa boiled decoction.

lodrrai, lodrrre, lādrri . . . hunter Skt. lubdaka.

lokṣa, lokṣā . . . rough rtsub-pa.

mācāṃga a measure of quantity žo, Skt. karṣa.

mahairṣṇā . . . buffalo's mahe (from Skt. ma-

hiṣa, cf. Tocharian A mahirṣṇā buffaloes).

makala monkey.

makala salya monkey year ; makalā re king of the monkeys.

(Sogd. mkr', Krorain Kharoṣṭhī makaḍ'a, Skt. markṭa.)

makṣāma smearing bsku-ba.

makṣāñā to be smeared.

māṃgā pea mon-sran.

māṃgārā lasting a long time rñiñ riñ-du.

māstā 1. intoxicated Skt. matta.

2. beṣi māstā, dar-ma butter-milk.

amāstā ñye, žo ma-lañs-pa. (Mid. West Iran., NPers.

mast, māst.)

mau intoxicant chañ, Skt. surā

(mada-).

māye intoxication Skt. mada (mad-).

mijṣe woman bud-med.

mijṣe vī tsūma coition ñal-po ; mijṣi mirāre his wives die.

miñā, adj. of sheep lug-gi.

mārāhya, mīrāhe pearls Skt. mukta-.

E 23, 254, mrāhe.

muḍā saṃgā, mūḍā saṃgā, spañs-ma blue vitriol.

Cf. NPers. murdāsang lūharge.

murāñā	to be rubbed	. mñes te, brdzis-pa.
murāsā	peacock	rma-bya.
muyi	tiger (in the twelve- year cycle).	

nālā vīraṃ, nālā viram.	fistula	Skt. nāḍi-vraṇa.
namva, namve, nimva, nemve	salt lan-ts'va ; adj. namvije (Mid. West Iran., NPers. namak, etc.).	

nāra, gen. sg. naira	woman	(Av. nāirī.)
naṣapā, naiṣapā	porridge	ho-thug.
naṣpaṣṭame	bringing out	hbyin-pa.

3 Sg. naṣpaṣṭe.

naṣphaśdākā	making come out	hbyuñ-ba byed-do.
naṣphūstā	thrown	Skt. kṣipta.
naṣphustā ida, phyur-la.		
naṣṭausai	dryness	skem-pa, Skt. śoṣa.

Cf. E 6, 28 naṣṭosāte.

naṣṭvāñā	to be poured out	dbo-ba.
naṣā	portion	cha.
nateciphāka, nateciphāki	subduing	hjoms-par byed.

3 Sg. nateciphē, niteciphā.

natu	deep	Skt. gambhīra.
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natālsto tsīndi, Skt. heṣṭa-gāmī.

nauhā	point	rtse.
naukā	fine	žib-tu.
naukalakā	soft	hjam-po.
nausā	nineteenth.	

nehā, gen. sg. . . .	navel	lte-bahi phyogs.
nehā ttausāma	heating of the navel.	

nestā padimāñā	to be removed	med-par byaho.
nihejāka, nihi jāki	removing	sel-to.

3 Sg. niheje, 3 plur. nehejidā to ni-halj-.

nihujsāmato acc. sg. Skt. nirvāṇa. Partic. nihutā	entered nirvāṇa.	
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E. 15, 10, nāhuta, E. 15, 27, nāhutā, E. 15, 27, nihujsandā.

niraustā	burst out	brdol-pa, Skt. bhinna.
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niraustā 3 Sg. brdol-pa.

nirūjāñā	to be burst	rtol-te.
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nirūjākye	bursting.	
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nerau	a bursting out	brnags-nas rdol-ba.
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nirasam dai pres. part. inchoat. . . .		rdol-ba.
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niṣkeca, naiṣkaica	section	bye-brag (= Skt.
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viśeṣa). Cf. niṣkici in the Śacū document. Similarly piṣkici section bye-brag.

niṣpaśdāñā . . . to be brought out . . . byuñ-ba.

Cf. naṣphaśdākā.

nauṣṭaraḡ jsa . . . cutting instrument . . . mts'on.

nvaštā . . . easy . . . sla-ba, bde-bar.

See anvašta.

nvathāññā . . . to be cleansed . . . sbyaṇs-la.

Cf. E 13, 6, nvamthāre. E 25, 423, nvamthāre. E 25, 117, nuvamthātā. E 21, 14, nuvamthāndā. E 21, 14; 24, 30 nvamtte.

ñye, ñi . . . curds . . . zo, Skt. dadhi.

ñyetucā, ñetucā, ñyevucā, ñivūtca, zo kha chu, a brew of curds.

ñaša . . . reduced, humble.

cū buijāša ñaša śira padimi when the voice is reduced, it restores it.

ñaša bīsa . . . humble servants.

ñašikā . . . weak . . . zan-pa. Cf. niyaśša-,

nyaśša-.

ñuṣṭyāñā . . . to be wrapped . . . phur-la.

ñuṣṭāñā, ñuṣṭāñā. Partic. ñuṣṭye, ñuṣṭai (ni-pašta-, iya > yū).

ñuska . . . accustomed . . . goms-pa.

añuta . . . unaccustomed . . . Cf. nyūta-. (ni-yaug-).

pā . . . then . . . = pātā passim.

pāchai . . . to be cooked . . . btsos-te.

pachāre . . . they cook . . . ts'os-par byed-do.

Cf. pajs-.

padajsāme . . . burning . . . bsreg-pa.

padaśda . . . it destroys . . . hjig-par byeddo.

E 12, 36, padaśdā.

padausīdi: cū hīyāra padausīdi. *when the fruits are ripe.

paha, pahā; zu-ba chyme, khu-ba liquid, kha nas chu spittle.

paherāñā . . . to be steeped . . . sbañ žiñ.

pahāštāna . . . removed . . . Skt. vivarjita.

E 7, 10, 27, pahāštā.

? cf. pihisāme . . . obstruction . . . hgags-pa.

pāja- . . . special.

pājām dharmām. Skt. guṇa-prabheda the (64) special properties.

dharma pāja *the* (18) *exclusive properties*. Skt. aṇḍika-dharma.

pajarrūṣṭāda, 3 plur. Pret. *they surrounded*. Skt. parallel text veṣṭita.

3 plur. Pres. : brre garśa mīrāḥe pajarrūṣṭida *the pearls encircle the beloved neck*.

pajs- to cook (Av. pak-, etc.).

pašte is cooked.

pajsāma, verbal noun. brtso-ba.

pajsāka, adj. partic.

pajsāñā, partic. necess. Cf. pachāre.

pajsā, pajse, pejsi . . . greatly, passim . . . cher, śin-tu.

pajukīnai, adj. . . . having a lid . . . (gund-, cf. pa-justa).

pajukīnai bājam, snod kha.

pajukaustā bājam . . . a vessel with a lid.

pajūṣṭa finger-ring . . . Skt. aṅguli-mudrā.

pāka- *foot. . . . Cf. puka-.

dī pākā under the feet.

pākvā orga honouring the feet.

pākām aurga honouring the feet.

pamūhi, pamvaha . . . clothing or equipment (< *pati-mauṣṣa- ;

pati-mauk- to put on, cf. vimūha deliverance). Cf. E 25, 277,

pamātu. E 25, 406, pamātāndā.

panīysau urinary organs . . . chu-so.

pārahā, pārihā . . . base, foundation . . . gzi.

avārahe without base, to pārautta supported.

pāramgā decrease . . . hbri. E 24, 109,

pāramggu.

pāramjsāñā to be lessened . . . phri-ste.

paramjsa vaṣṭidā . . . they come back . . . log ciñ. Cf. E 13, 45,

paramjsā.

parchiysde it sinks . . . Skt. vilambiṣyati.

parchuta destroyed . . . Skt. upahata. (Cf.

Mid. West Iran. patkōft). Cf. the -chus- of E 15, 54, pachusindā.

E 6, 41, pachuštā.

parehāñā to be kept . . . bsruñ ziñ.

pāriśāme decreasing . . . dbri-ba. See pāramjs-.

pariysma urine . . . gcin.

pārka top . . . Skt. śirṣa.

pārvā behind . . . rtiñ-pa las.

pārivī āna rtiñ-pa nas.

parvašte . . . is ripened . . . smin ciñ. Cf. par-
vacha. (pari-pak-)

pārysa, pārysyau . . . servant . . . Skt. guhyaka.

gyastā hiya pārysā āmāca hamīḍa *servants and ministers*
of the king (god = Skt. deva) together. Cf. E 2, 50, parvsa.

paškosā, paškausā . . . Skt. ānāha . . . lto sbo-ba.

pašojāñā . . . to be washed . . . béal žiñ.

pašā hālai . . . evening . . . nub-mo.

pašāmjsya rva . . . autumn . . . Skt. śarad.

pāši, pāša . . . pig . . . phag. Probably also
pyaša.

pasausde . . . is obstructed . . . hgag ciñ.

paskyūštā . . . again . . . phyr.

pastištā . . . produces . . . bskyed ciñ.

pastrisāme . . . stiffness . . . reñs-pa.

paṭhāñā . . . to be burnt.

Pret. 3 pl. paṭhutāndā, bsregs-so. Partic. paṭhutu.

patāraho acc. sg. . . object . . . gnas, Chinese 事.

E 21, 69, patārahvā, Konow Suv. patārahe.

patārottā . . . supported . . . Skt. samśṛta.

Cf. pārautta.

paṁtsāñā . . . to be avoided . . . spañ-bar bya-ho.

paysaṇu . . . side . . . hgram-logs.

paysāta, paysāva . . . *cognate.

pura paysāta . . . *own son.

paysāvyē hvārakyi . . . *own sister's son.

pūrai.

perai, pl. perā . . . plague . . . bla-gñan.

perai āvaṁdū āchai.

phaja, loc. sg. phajiña . . . oven . . . me-mar-mur.

phānai : paštā phānai rkan gyi phug *innermost part of the palate.*

phara, loc. sg. pharaña . . . water-pot . . . Skt. ghaṭa.

phīšāñā . . . to be avoided . . . spañ-ba.

phiysgām, loc. sg. . . urinary organs . . . chu-so.

phīysgāña.

pī . . . fat . . . žag.

pāgajsa, adj. . . having power . . . stobs can.

pīhisāme . . . obstruction . . . hgags-par hgyur-ba.

3 Sg. pīhištā . . . it stops.

pīla . . . calamity . . . Skt. pīḍā.

pira, pīra, gen. pl. *insect* srin-bu, hbu.
 pirānām.

pīrūḍa, adj. *having worms* srin-bu dañ.

pīraurāka, pīrorāka *removing* bsal-ba.

3 Sg. pīreḍa. Pret. E 21, 32, puraude.

piškelyāme *removing* bsal-ba.

piškalyāñā *to be removed.*

Pres. 3 pl. pāṣkalindā E 15, 36.

Partic. piškici, peškece, piškistā, bye-brag section.

pisalyāñā *to be smeared* bskus-na.

pisalyāma, verbal noun.

pīteiyi *spoon* thur-ma.

prahauyāñā *to be put on* Skt. prāvṛtya, prā-
 varitavyāni. See Konow Suv. s.v. prahoṣ-.

prara, prrara *nature* rañ-bzin.

bīna-vrrarā *having nature of wind* rluñ gi rañ-bzin can.

prisama-, presama *suitable* hphrod-pa.

priharaṃ *knife* gri (Skt. praharaṇa).

pr rūyi *a measure of quantity.*

dvī dvī pr rūya *two pr rūya each.*

pūhī, gen. sg. pūhya *purohita.*

puṇvāñā *to be put into* brdzañs-la.

pūrām, loc. sg. purāñā *womb* mñal.

purittā *ill* na-ba dañ.

pvāta, pvāva *cool* bsil-ba.

pverāme *removal* bsal-ba.

pviṣāñā *to be covered* g-yogs-pa.

pviṣta *covered* g-yogs-pa.

pviysakā *a wrap* phur-te.

pyaḍa

pyaḍai jsāte *comes back.*

pyaḍa-tsūkā *turned aside* log-par soñ-ba, Skt.
 unmārgī.

pyaḍa-gāryau sānyau *with enemies whose acts are perverse.

pyaḍa-vadī *walking on perverse course.

Cf. E 18, 19, pyaḍa : kho ju māstā hastā pyaḍa.

pyahāñā *to be broken* bcaḍ-pa. Partic. pya-
 hasta, pihasta.

pyāma, pyāmā *covering* g-yogs. (to pa-tam-).

rraga *side, bank.

- ttāja hye raga bidi . *on the river's bank.*
 bavaña raga vi bāṣa . *in the garden beside the palace.*
 rāhā pain na-ba.
 rrai E 2, 13 *plain (Sogd. rāy πεδιον,
 Mid. West Iran., NPers. rāy meadow).
 E 7, 52 ; 10, 8 rrau ; E 15, 49, rrā ; adj. E 20, 7 rracye.
 E 10, 8, o ttarrā rrau vātā āska . *or thirsty deer on the plain.*
 rajsina decrease.
 rajsina padīme, hbri-bar byed-do.
 rrapphai jsa fighting Skt. yuddhe, Tib.
 stobs hgyed-pa.
 rrāṣāñā to be straightened . . . srañ zīñ.
 rrāṣa green-grey sño-skyā, Skt. śyāva.
 rrīma, loc. sg. rrīmañā faces dri-ma.
 rrīne chief queen Skt. agra-mahiṣī.
 riśā appetite yi-ga.
 riyai anus rkub.
 rrāysduirā Skt. rājāduhitar-. Cf. Konow Suv. rrāysduirānu.
 rriysī *trembling.
 ysirā rriysī trembling of heart.
 rriysūtā brew of rice hbras bskus-pa.
 rriysva, adj. of rice hbras kyī.
 rūjai belching sgregs-pa.
 rauštā breaks out rdol ciñ.
 See nirūj-.
 rrūṇā, rrūṇu, rrūṇ oil, fat, passim.
 gvīhā rrūṇā butter mar. E 2, 16, rrūṇā.
 In Saṃghāṭa Sūtra 14a, 4, read gvīhu *rrūṇu o kujsatīnau *butter*
 or sesame oil.
 kumjsatīnai rrūṇu sesame oil hbru mar.
 (Av. raoyna ; Sogd. γāw-rōyn, Mid. West Iran. rōyn.)
 rrūnai, rrūnai madder btsod (Mid. West Iran.
 rōḍin, Balōči rōdan, NPers. rūyan, rūnās).
 rrūsa, rrusa gen. sg. barley nas. E 14, 91, rrusa,
 rruše, rruši 14, 90, 93 rruso.
 rrūsāḍā barley flour nas rjen-par btags-
 pahi phye-ma. See āḍā flour.
 rrustira the plant arka Tib. arka.
 adj. rrustarine.
 rrustirāṃ hīye ysice perā *yellow leaves of the arka.*

rrutām jsa . . . *intestines* . . . rgyu-ma. (Av. uruθ-wan-, Balōči rōθ, Mid. West Iran. rwtyk, NPers. rūda.)

śā . . . *copper* . . . zañs.

adj. śāvīṇe, śāvīṇa, fem. śāvīmje.

śālai . . . *the one side* . . . (śā-(h)ālai).

śālanāṣṭa . . . *to the one side* . . . phyogs gcig-tu.

śśandrāmata . . . *name of goddess* . . . Skt. śrī.

śaṃgā . . . *shell* . . . duñ.

śasvām . . . *mustard* . . . yuñs.

adj. śasvānīnai.

śolākyā, śālākyi . . . *absorbent* . . . hjib-pa.

śaulāñā . . . *to be absorbed.*

śī, śīyi, śīye . . . *white* . . . dkar-la, skya-ba.

śīyaurga . . . *whitish.*

śīkarā . . . *sugar* . . . kha-ra.

śśāliṣmā . . . *phlegm* . . . Skt. śleṣma-.

śīmuṣai . . . *spoon* . . . thur-ma.

śiṃga . . . *half a prastha.*

śśīphīsa . . . *yellow* . . . Skt. pāṇḍura.

śūḍasi . . . *eleven.*

śūhīmā . . . *I make* . . . Skt. prayojayāmi.

śūhyāme . . . *verbal noun.*

śūhyāñā . . . *to be made* . . . byas-de.

śva . . . *half* . . . phyed.

mau u śva utca . . . *wine and half water.*

ṣaukala . . . *rheum* . . . rñu-ma.

ṣemāṃgye . . . *slimy* . . . Skt. piccha.

ṣikalaka . . . *young* . . . Skt. bāla.

ṣiṣḍā . . . *takes hold* . . . bdo-bar byed extends.

Ptc. ṣiṣṭa (sraiṣ-).

ṣāṣgye yādāndā . . . *they did homage* . . . rim gro bskyed-nas.

E 24, 28, ṣṣāṣje.

ṣkala . . . * *blow* . . . Cf. E 24, 160, ṣkalu.

gvañā ṣkala . . . * *a blow on the ears.*

ṣtukā . . . *being* . . . gnas-pa.

ṣu . . . *horn* . . . rva (Av. sru-, etc.).

adj. ṣvīnai.

ṣunāñā . . . *to be put in* . . . smyugs (= Skt. nik-ṣipta).

ṣūṇā, loc. pl. ṣūṇvā . . . loins Skt. kaṭi (Av. sraoni, etc.). E 21, 45, ṣṣuṇi.

ṣura saline lan-ts'va.

(Mid. West Iran. swr, NPers. šūr.)

ṣvaka, ṣvake pastil reñ-bu.

ṣvidā milk ho-ma (Av. xšvīpta,

Mid. Parth. šyft, Zāzā šit.)

adj. ṣvidīnai, ṣvidaustā. Cf. Ṣacū Doc. 57.

ṣyāṇāṇā to be poured bluga-na.

sāḍā cold grañ-ba (Av. sarəta).

samānakā correct ran-par.

sambajātu may he prosper Skt. samṛdhyatu.

3 Plur. sambajāndu. Skt. samṛdhyantu.

3 Sg. opt. sabajiyā.

sameyāñā to be mixed sbyar-ro.

samidā they agree mthun-te. E 7, 16,

samīndi. E 13, 123, samāte.

sānā, sṇā a medicinal herb la-la-phud, Skt. yavāni.

sani, ṣanā excrements phyi-sa.

sanaidā luxuriant snum-pa.

tcampjsai sanaidā his hair is luxuriant.

samdvainā jsa in combination hdus-pa (corresponds

to the Skt. medical term sannipāta). Cf. E 23, 217, samdvātā.

samgā stone rdehu.

samṣkalānu gen. pl. dharmas chos, Chinese 法.

soyāñā, sauyāñā to be rubbed, ground bdar-te.

sibištā nimble-tongued lce bde-ba.

sijāṣcye accomplishment hgrub-pa, Skt. siddhi.

serā, saira a measure of quantity srañ, Skt. pala.

sīravātīnaina suhāna with love Skt. prīti.

sairkhā retention sri-ba, bsdus-pa.

sīvāme enjoying zos-nas, Skt. sevita.

siyānu rre king of siya-birds ṇaṇ-pahi rgyal-po

鴈王 (Skt. haṃsa-rāja.) Also syānā rre.

skarā coals Skt. aṅgāra (Pašto

skōr, NPers. sikār.)

taudā skarā me mdag glowing embers

spaju alum kha ru ts'a.

strajāñāka retaining sri, hgag.

strajāka 3 Sg. straji mi hbyuñ-ba.

strihā, strehā, straha . *hard, vehement, excessive* passim, drag-po, bdo-ba, to strang- in straj- and strīs-, pastrīs-. (A wrong etymology is proposed, BSOS. vi, 60, note 1.) E 23, 146 strāhā dumei *his tail is stiff* (Cf. Munjānī trōj: trāyd- *to fasten*, NPers. taranjidan *to compress*.)

strisāme . . . *stiffening* . . . reñs-pa.

strisāññā, causative.

strisīḍa, strisīdi, 3 plur. . . . reñs-pa. Inchoative to strang-.

sūli, pl. sūlya . . . **man of Sūli* (Tibet. Su-lig = Kāṣyar).

surai, sura, acc. sg. surau, instr. sg. suraina, inst. pl. suryo, loc. sg. suraṇa, suṇa, plur. surā, fem. acc. sg. surgyo (and surjo Konow Saka Studies, s.v.) *clean*, Skt. śuci, Tib. gtsaṇ, dag-pa. Cf. asurai *not clean*. E 23, 126; 25, 219. (Av. suḫra- *red*, Skt. śukra- *white*.)

surakā, loc. sg. surakaṇa *clean* . . . gtsaṇ-ma.

suttā . . . *acid* . . . ts'va, Skt. śukta.

svana gīrai . . . *red ochre* . . . btsag.

tṭaga . . . *tree* . . . śiṇ.

tṭāgūtta, tṭāgūttau, tṭāgūtto, tṭāgūttām, tṭāguttām, tṭāguttayau jsa
**of such, of the same*.

paṇe hvaṃdye tṭāguttām haudi śemgām *for each man, of these, seven śimḡa in quantity*.

tṭāhirai . . . *correct* . . . yañ-dag (= Skt. samyak).

tṭāhirā . . . *excellent* . . . des-par.

tṭāja . . . **river*.

nva tṭāje mista katha gīḍagītti nāmi *along the river is a great city called Gilgīt* (the identification of Gīḍagītti is due to Professor F. W. Thomas).

tṭamga . . . *thin* . . . sraḥ-pa (Mid. West Iran, NPers. tang *narrow*, tanuk *thin*).

tṭanvāme . . . *tantra* . . . rgyud (Av. tan-, etc.).

tṭarā . . . *partridge* . . . sreg-pa. (Cf. Sogd.

ttr'w, NPers. taḍarv, "Median" τέραπος).

tṭaṣṭa 3 Sg. . . *flows* . . . hdzag-pa (Av. tak).

tṭaṣṭa u byaṣḍe . . . *flows and dissolves*.

tṭaurā, tṭorā, tṭurai . . . *mouth* . . . kha.

tṭausāma . . . *heat* . . . ts'a-ba.

tṭausace, pres. ptc. E 24, 123, tṭausai.

ttavamdyā	bile	mkhris-pa, Skt. pitta.
ttavamdyūḍa	arising from bile	mkhris-pahi.
ttavāre, ttevāre	are hot	ts'a-ba.
ttavai	fever	rims Skt. jvara.
tcāḍa	*beside.	

śūka vara ṇaista sūdana tcāḍa vīysājai *alone there sat Sudhana beside the pool.*

So translate Śacū Document 62 tcāḍi mahāsamāṇḍrri *beside the ocean.*

tcaulasā	fourteenth.	
tcōhoruvaretcohōlūvq,	loc. pl., forty-four.	
tcalcā-, mahāsamudrā	tcalcānu, Skt. samudra-paryantam.	Cf.
E 7, 7, tcalco.	E 7, 9, 32, 43, tcalca.	

tcamjsā	hair	skra.
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E 23, 146, tcamjsi kādā mulysgā *his hair very short.*

tcāta*kva loc.	a well	lteñ-ka, Skt. tādāga
	(Av. čāt, Sogd. čāt).	

tcījsa, loc. pl. tcījsvā	breasts	nu-ma.
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tcījsvā švidā	milk in the breasts	nu-žo.
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thamjāñā	to be brought out	phyuñ-ba.
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thyauta	formerly	sña-ma.
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ttīrā	sour, bitter	skyur-ba, kha-ba.
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(The six tastes are : dajsamḍai, ttīrā, byamjsā, āhvarai, šurā, hvarā). Konow Suv. ttīra, Skt. tiktaḥ *bitter*. (Cf. Mid. West. Iran. thl *taχl, NPers. talχ, Pašto trīχ; Skt. takra *buttermilk*, details in Morgenstierne, *Etymological Vocabulary of Pashto*, p. 83.)

trihe, ttrehe, ttrahām	radish	la-phug.
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ttrīkša, ttrakša, trekšām	harsh, sharp	rno-ba.
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ttrolā	turbith (ipomoea turpethum)	Skt. trivṛt.
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(ttrolā? < *travula, cf. Skt. tripuṭa, Tib. dur-byid, NPers. turbid).

trūysa	gourd	Skt. trapuṣa.
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tsīšī	a tile, cf. Tib. ts'i-ši, JRAS. 1927, 817.	
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ttungare	ginger	bcah-sga, Kuchean
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twāñkaro.

tvaḍa, tvaḍare	more	lḥag.
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tvāñe	produces	skye-bar byed ciñ.
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tvāñāka, verbal adj.

ula, aulā, ūla	camel	(Cf. Krorain
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Kharoṣṭhī uṭa.)

adj. uliña . . .	camel's . . .	rña-mohi, Skt. auṣṭra.
uskāṭṭa . . .	above . . .	sñar.
cu uskāṭṭa hva . . .	as stated above.	
ustamjāṇa . . .	to be uttered . . .	Skt. uccārayitavya-
ūvi . . .	mind . . .	blo.
ūysna . . .	breath . . .	dbugs.
uysānām plur. . .	nature . . .	rañ-bžin.
uysdimāṇā . . .	to be cooled . . .	bsgrañs-pa.

Cf. aysdem- (dam- to blow).

vaha . . .	pastry . . .	mes btsos-pa.
rruṇa vaha, snum khur	pastry cooked with suet.	
vahajāṇā . . .	to be given . . .	dbul-lo.
vahāṣṭa . . .	descended.	

āysanyau vahāṣṭa. Skt. utthāya āsanebhyah.

vahaiysana utca . . .	falling water . . .	bab-pahi chu.
vameysāṇā . . .	to be twisted together	dril-ba.
vāśārūp, vāserū . . .	gout . . .	dreg, Skt. vātaśonita.
vasāṇā . . .	method . . .	thabs.
vaskalyāma . . .	moment . . .	Skt. nimeṣa.
vatcāṣṭe . . .	sprinkled . . .	Skt. sikta. So in E

23, 140, vatciṣṭe he sprinkles.

vāthamjāṇā . . .	to be left over . . .	lus-pa, hdug-pa.
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Pret. vāthīye.

vaṭhānarā . . .	nurse . . .	nad g-yog.
vaṭhavāṇā . . .	to be placed . . .	Skt. utthāpya.
vaṣamḍai . . .	swooning . . .	myos-pa.
vausai . . .	swooning . . .	myos-pa, Skt.

mūrccā.

vihilai . . .	terminalia bellerica . . .	skyu-ru-ra. (Skt. vib-
hītaki, vabheḍa, Chinese	毗梨勒	modern pronunciation
p'i-li-lo, NPers. balila.)		

vijsyāme . . .	seeing . . .	mthoñ.
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3 Sg. vijsyāte.

vilakā, valakām . . .	little . . .	chuñ.
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So translate vilaki, velaka. See Konow Saka Studies. The etymology, BSOS. vi, 61, is wrong.

vina, vīna . . .	illness . . .	na-ba. Cf. vīyane, Saka Studies.
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vinaustā, vinosta . . .	ill . . .	na-ba, ñam-thag-pa.
vitkavije, adj. . .	of children . . .	Skt. kumāra.

viysāmjavā loc. pl. . ponds.
 viysāmjavā bisā utca water of ponds . rdziñ-buhi chu, Skt.
 vāpya.

viysama . . . improper . . . mi hphrod-pa.
 vrrī . . . emema . . . Skt. vireka.
 vyach- . . . remove.

vyachīdi harabiśa pile *They get rid of all calamities.
 pīla harbaśa vyachai, Skt. parallel text vidhūta-pāpa.
 khvā jsa vyachīmdā kṣīra āchā pile.

yāmdā . . . continually . . . rtag-tu, Skt. muhuḥ.
 ysaiysā . . . bile . . . mkhris-pa.
 ysālva . . . curcuma . . . skyer-pa.
 ysāṇu, ysāṇve . . . knee . . . pus-mo.
 ysambasta, ysambāste white garlic . . . sgog skya.
 ysara . . . partridge . . . sreg-pa, Skt.

kapiñjala.

ysauttā . . . flows . . . zags-pa, hdzag-pa.

Cf. E 4, 142, ysotta. E 25, 206, ysautta.

ysīdai . . . yellow . . . Skt. pāṇḍu, Tib.
 ser-ba.

ysīdaurga . . . yellowish. Fem. ysica, ysīcaurga (Av. zarita).
 ysīnāhāñā . . . to be washed . . . khrus bya-ba.
 ysīrā, yserai . . . ochre . . . ldoñ-ros.
 ysīrā, ysīrrā . . . rough . . . rtsub-pa.
 ysīrai, ysairai . . . arsenic . . . ba-bla, Skt. śilā.
 ysīta aysmuva . . . žum-pa. . . dread
 ysū, ysu . . . pus . . . rnag.

ysū u ysīca utca. Cf. ysū kṣōstā. E 9, 32, ysū.

ysuma, ysūmi . . . broth . . . śa-khu.
 ysunakā, ysuḥakā, cap . . . ts'ags.

ysunā, ysve.

ysunāñā . . . to be strained . . . btsags.
 ysunāmate . . . āśrava . . . zag-pa.
 ysūnamdai . . . flowing . . . Skt. -srāvī.
 ysvye . . . taste . . . ro.

loc. pl. ysvyañuvō.

ADDITIONAL NOTE

The interest of the words *saira* (*serā*, *siri*) and *ššandrāmata* is sufficient to justify two brief notes.

(1) *saira* translating Skt. *pala* (Tib. *srañ*) is for older Saka **saterā* with the usual loss of intervocalic *-t-* (cf. *sate*, *se*, *ssa* "100"). This is, of course, the well-known word attested in Arm. *sater*, Mid. West Iran. *styr* (to be read *satēr*, *JRAS.*, 1930, 17), Sogd. *styr*, NPers. *'styr*, Arab.-Pers. *'st'r*.

In meaning the nearest is the *sadera* of Krorain Kharoṣṭhī, in the prescription No. 702:—

suṣmela dhane 1 śakara sadera 4

'one *dānaka* of *sūkṣmailā*, four *sadera* of sugar'.

(2) *ššandrāmata* < **šandārmati-* < Old Iran. **šyantārmati-* (the metathesis similar to Saka *grāma* 'hot', Old Iran. *garma*) corresponds to Avestan *spəntā ārmaitiš*, and attests the word in the expected Saka form with *šš-* < *šy-*, beside the word *ššandai* < Old Iran. *šyantaka-*, discussed in *BSOS.*, vii, 288 seq. South-west. Iran. (Pers.) **santārmati* and this form in Saka show that the word existed outside the Zoroastrian (Avestan) texts where *sp* < *šy*. Hence either (1) the phrase and meaning (for which the most satisfactory original meaning is 'mighty foundation', the *ārmati-* being attested in Arm. *armat* 'basis') are pre-Zoroastrian, and of the Iranian period before *šy* became *sp-* in some dialects (a period to which the suggested meaning would suitably belong), or (2) the dialectal form of the Zoroastrian texts with *sp-* has been received as a compound from Zoroastrians, but replaced by the appropriate dialectal form, implying that the speakers knew the regular corresponding forms in their dialects with *šš* and *s* respectively. If the first alternative be preferred, **šyantā ārmaitiš* will be a designation of the earth in pre-Zoroastrian times. Then in the Gāthās this word has been by the usual method of popular etymology brought into connection with another word **aramati-* 'right thinking' unattested in Iranian texts (since the attempts to find it in Av. *ārmaitiš* are unconvincing), but in Vedic *arāmati*. The verbal form is found in Yasna 45, 11, *arəm mainyātā*, and this meaning in the later commentaries in *bavandak-mēnišnīh* 'perfect thinking'. The old, original, meaning of **šyantā ārmaitiš* (probably 'mighty foundation') then appears in Avestan texts outside the Gāthās, where *spəntā ārmaitiš* is used in invoking the earth.

A History of the Caliphate in the *Ḥayāt al-ḥayawān* of ad-Damirī

By JOSEPH DE SOMOGYI

I

OWING to the voluminousness of the great Arabic works on general history, from the fourth century A.H. onwards many abridgments were made from them by both the authors of the large works themselves and later hands. These concise works¹ contain a brief survey of the history of Islām as is seen in the *Kitāb duwal al-islām* of adh-Dhahabī or an enumeration of the illustrious persons of a longer period as is seen in the *Ṭabaqāt al-ḥuffāz* of the same author.

The great popularity of these compendious works can best be seen from the fact that in some cases, such as the *Murūj adh-dhahab wa ma'ādīn al-jawāhir* of al-Mas'ūdī and the two works of adh-Dhahabī mentioned above, they were known earlier in the Occident and are still more used in the Orient than the voluminous original works from which they were abridged. No doubt the necessity for such works accounts for the inclusion of a history of the Caliphate in one of the most remarkable encyclopædic works in Arabic literature, the *Ḥayāt al-ḥayawān* of the Egyptian Abul-Baqā Kamāladdin Muḥammad ibn Mūsā ad-Damirī (from 750/1349-50 or 742/1341-2 to 808/1405-6).² Even those who are accustomed to the compilative character of Arabic literature are likely to be astonished at the fact that such a work, a zoological lexicon as its title implies, contains a survey of the history of the Caliphate. Ad-Damirī's work, however, is not to be considered as a zoological reference-work in the modern sense of the word, for, treating as it does, in alphabetical order of all the animals known to the Arabs, it also includes plenty of traditions, Qur'ānic citations, and proverbs as well as excerpts from the works of Arabic historians, theologians, scientists, physicians, and interpreters of dreams, that is to say materials which are mostly connected very loosely with the

¹ For details see my paper "Ein arabisches Kompendium der Weltgeschichte. Das *Kitāb duwal al-islām* des adh-Dhahabī," *Islamica*, vol. v, pp. 334-353.

² See my "Index des sources de la *Ḥayāt al-ḥayawān* de ad-Damirī," *JA.*, juillet-septembre, 1928, pp. 5-12; and A. S. G. Jayakar, "Ad-Damirī's *Ḥayāt al-Ḥayawān* (A Zoological Lexicon), Translated from the Arabic," vol. i, Introduction, pp. i-xxx, London-Bombay, 1906.

animals in question : in many cases they are quoted simply because the name of a certain animal once occurs in them. Thus the *Ḥayāt al-ḥayawān* is a profuse and well-nigh inexhaustible treasury of Arabic folk-lore, the more so as it frequently contains references to authors or works who or which are not known to us from other sources that are in general use.¹

Small wonder, therefore, that ad-Damīrī's work also contains shorter or longer digressions on topics which are quite out of place in a zoological lexicon, among them a History of the Caliphate, which makes one-thirteenth of the whole *Ḥayāt al-ḥayawān*.² But even those who are accustomed to the many-sidedness of ad-Damīrī will probably note with astonishment that he relates the history of the Caliphate under the heading *al-ivazz* (the goose), and will ask why it is not treated of in the article *al-insān* (man) as would be more reasonable and plausible.

In the article *al-ivazz* ad-Damīrī, after giving a short biography of the poet Abū Nuwās and some short remarks on geese, relates,³ after the *Manāqib* of the Imām Aḥmad who had it on the authority of al-Ḥusayn ibn Kathīr and this latter on that of his father, that one day when 'Alī came out for the morning prayer the geese began to quack in his face. The people round him tried to drive them away, but 'Alī said : " Let them alone, because they are wailing ! " The Khārijite Ibn Muljam then stabbed him, and after al-Ḥusayn ibn Kathīr's suggestion that they should settle with the Yamanite tribe of Murād, he answered : " No, imprison the man ; if I die, kill him ; and if I live, there is ' for wounds retaliation ' . " ⁴ Then, with reference to Ibn Khallikān's *Biographical Dictionary* (*Wafayāt al-a'yān*), ad-Damīrī narrates the reasons and the circumstances of the act of Ibn Muljam and briefly quotes the different opinions about the situation of 'Alī's grave,⁵ of which subject he treats in more detail, and with reference to Ibn Khallikān, also in the article *al-fahd*.⁶ Then there follows a separate section under the title *Fā'idat ajnabiyya* (foreign, i.e. remarkable, information), in which ad-Damīrī states in four lines of rhymed prose ⁷ that " tradition has ramifications (i.e. is susceptible

¹ For the sources of the *Ḥayāt al-ḥayawān* see my " Index ", pp. 13-128.

² In the third edition of the *Ḥayāt al-ḥayawān al-kubrā*, Cairo, 1305 A.H., in vol. i, pp. 44-96.

³ See *Ḥayāt al-ḥayawān*, vol. i, p. 43, ll. 22-5.

⁴ *al-Qur'ān*, v, 49.

⁵ See *Ḥayāt al-ḥayawān*, vol. i, p. 43, l. 26, to p. 44, l. 19.

⁶ *Ibid.*, vol. ii, p. 196, l. 28, to p. 197, l. 9.

⁷ *Ibid.*, vol. i, p. 44, ll. 20-1.

of several interpretations [*shujūn*]), and the imparting of knowledge verifies to the seekers what they hope (to find), and renews for them what the wicked forget considering the hard times; I desire to mention here a strange information which historians have related", namely that every sixth person who reigned over the Muḥammadans abdicated or was deposed. To prove this assertion ad-Damīrī sets out to describe what historians have mentioned about the caliphs, to which he wishes to append a little "about the life of every one of them, his times, the cause of his death, the period of his reign and his life in order to complete that information and for (general) advantage and good".¹

After this introduction ad-Damīrī relates the history of the Caliphate beginning with the prophet Muḥammad and continuing with the first four caliphs, the Umayyads, the 'Abbāsids, and the Fāṭimids of Egypt, the author's country. A separate subchapter is devoted to every one of the caliphs, the title of which for the sixth one usually bears the indication *wa huwa 's-sādis wa khulī'a* (or *wa khulī'a wa qutīla*) *kamā sayatī* ("and he is the sixth one and was deposed", or "deposed and killed", as the case may be, "as follows").

The most characteristic feature of ad-Damīrī's History of the Caliphate is its brevity; he aims at conciseness in his narrative. In each chapter ad-Damīrī first relates the election of the caliph in question, then the chief events of his reign, then he describes his good or bad qualities, with special emphasis on whether he was a good Muslim or not, and finally he records how and when he died, and gives the number of years of his life and his reign, and relates his burial.

Among the events of Islām the religious struggles with the Khārijites and the Mu'tazilites are especially remembered. Political events are only briefly described. In writing of the prophet Muḥammad ad-Damīrī is content with enumerating his excellent qualities and stating that "the learned have composed many books regarding His life, His times, His mission, His campaigns, His qualities, His miracles, and His good and amiable deeds; if we desired to describe even a little of them, it would take several volumes: but that is not our purpose in this book."² About the military merits of 'Umar al-Fārūq he simply states that "he made vast conquests, took large provinces, and was the first to be styled 'the Commander of the Faithful'",³ and in the later part of his record he only briefly enumerates his conquests⁴

¹ Ibid., ll. 22-3.² Ibid., p. 45, ll. 4-6.³ Ibid., p. 46, ll. 15-6.⁴ Ibid., p. 48, ll. 5-12.

and also those of 'Uthmān ibn 'Affān in the subsequent chapter.¹ Writing on the caliphate of al-Walīd ibn 'Abdalmalik, he briefly mentions that "during his caliphate some important conquests were made, such as those of Sind, India, Spain, and other well-known places".² But all the more plentiful are the illustrative instances of the good or bad qualities of the caliphs which he always records in detail. And in order to prove his theory that every sixth imām either abdicated or was deposed by force and killed, ad-Damīrī also expounds the manner in which the caliphs, especially the sixth ones in the order, ended their reigns. Beginning with the prophet Muḥammad, the sixth caliph, al-Ḥasan (40-41/660-662), abdicated; counting from him onwards the sixth one was 'Abdallāh ibn Zubayr, the counter-caliph of al-Hijāz and 'Irāq (64-73/683-692), who was dethroned and slain, and the sixth one subsequent to him, al-Walīd ibn Yazīd ibn 'Abdalmalik (86-96/705-715), was also deposed. As, however, only three caliphs of the Banū Umayya succeeded him and there would, therefore, be a breach in the order of every sixth caliph abdicating or being deposed,³ he had to count the 'Abbāsids from their founder onwards. The sixth 'Abbāsīd caliph, Muḥammad al-Amin (193-198/808-814), was deposed and slain, the sixth one after him, Aḥmad al-Musta'in billāh (247-256/861-870), abdicated and was slain, likewise the sixth one after him, Abul-Faḍl Ja'far al-Muqtadir billāh (295-320/907-932), who was dethroned twice; the sixth after him was Abul-Faḍl al-Muṭī' billāh ibn al-Muqtadir (334-363/945-974), who abdicated, but if Ibn al-Mu'tazz who reigned only one day is not counted, the sixth one is his successor, Abū Bakr 'Abdalkarīm aṭ-Ṭā'ī billāh (363-381/973-992), who also abdicated. After him the sixth caliph was Abū Maṣṣūr Ja'far ar-Rāshid billāh (529-530/1134-6) if Ibn al-Mu'tazz is not counted, but if he is counted, then his predecessor, Abū Maṣṣūr al-Faḍl al-Mustarshid billāh ibn al-Mustaẓhir (511-529/1117-1135), was the sixth one; both were attacked and slain by the Assassins. This rule, however, cannot be maintained in the case of the last 'Abbāsīds, because neither al-Mustaẓhir billāh nor his father, aṣ-Ṣāḥib bi amr Allāh, who followed the two last-mentioned caliphs as sixth ones, were deposed or abdicated, but ad-Damīrī finds a rather ingenious explanation to carry his theory through: "... during their reign the power of the Tatars increased

¹ Ibid., p. 49, ll. 20-2.

² Ibid., p. 61, ll. 29-30.

³ Ibid., p. 68, ll. 28-31.

and their affairs took a serious turn: they conquered an extensive portion of the country of Islām. Jalāladdīn Khwārizmshāh was lost in the time of al-Mustanşir in a battle which was fought between him and the Tatars, and this (event) was a greater and more serious one than dethronement."¹ After these two caliphs the rule ceases to be applicable to them, they having been succeeded only by al-Musta'şim billāh whom the Tatars killed in 656/1258.

After the extinction of the 'Abbāsids there were no caliphs for three years until 659/1260-1, when the Egyptians took the oath of allegiance to al-Mustanşir billāh.

Among the rulers of the Egyptian Fātimid or 'Ubaydī dynasty ad-Damīrī observes the same rule: the sixth one in order, al-Ḥākīm, was killed by his sister, the twelfth one, az-Zāfir, was deposed and slain. Then there follows the dynasty of the Banū Ayyūb in Egypt; the sixth one of them, al-'Ādil aṣ-Ṣaghīr, was seized and deposed by the nobles; he was succeeded by only two members of the dynasty. The rulers of the 'Ubaydī and the following Turkish (Mamlūk) dynasty are recorded by ad-Damīrī twice: once on the authority of Ṣalāḥaddīn aṣ-Ṣafadī's *Sharḥ Lāmi'at al-'Ajam*, in which the Mamlūks are enumerated only as far as al-Manşūr Qalā'ūn al-Alifī,² and another time in a detailed account of the 'Ubaydī dynasty based on authorities different from Ṣalāḥaddīn aṣ-Ṣafadī's work, followed by a more complete list of the Mamlūks down to Sulṭān Murād.³ In this list, too, ad-Damīrī points out that every sixth ruler was deposed or slain, thus al-Muzaffar Quṭuz who was slain, then al-Qāhir Baydar who after remaining in power for only half a day was slain, then al-Ashraf Kujuk who was first deposed and then slain, then al-Malik aṣ-Ṣāliḥ Ṣāliḥ who was deposed and imprisoned, then Faraj who was deposed and slain; the succeeding rulers of the Turkish dynasty were nearly all deposed or slain.

Throughout his History of the Caliphate ad-Damīrī sets great store by recording how the caliphs, especially the sixth ones, ended their lives. In describing this he never fails to mention the cases in which the deaths of the caliphs were foreboded by evil omens. Thus, speaking of 'Umar al-Fārūq's death, he mentions in the article *ad-dīk* (the cock)⁴ that 'Umar once dreamt that he had been pecked by a cock. When he related his dream to Asmā bint Umayy she said that one of the foreigners would slay him, as, in fact, happened a few days later when

¹ Ibid., p. 90, ll. 25-6.

² Ibid., p. 94, ll. 23-32.

³ Ibid., p. 94, l. 32, to p. 96, l. 12.

⁴ Ibid., p. 313, ll. 23-31.

he was assassinated by Abū Lu'lu'a, a slave of al-Mughīra ibn Shu'ba.¹ Also the death of al-Ḥusayn was foreboded to the Prophet, as is referred to in the article *al-kalb* (the dog): The Prophet once dreamt that a particoloured dog had thrust its muzzle into his blood and lapped it, and he had explained it as meaning that a man would kill his daughter's son al-Ḥusayn. Now ash-Shāmir ibn dhil-Jawshan, the murderer of al-Ḥusayn, was the particoloured dog for he was leprous, and the dream thus remained to be accomplished fifty years after the Prophet.² Similarly we read in the biography of the founder of the 'Abbāsīd dynasty, Abul-'Abbās as-Saffāḥ³ on the authority of Ibn Khallikān that Abul-'Abbās one day heard a slave say to another slave: "The term between me and you is two months and five days," from which words he augured a bad omen, and he actually died of small-pox two months and five days later.

II

The History of the Caliphate in the article *al-iwazz* is a concise compendium on this subject written with the object of proving the theory that every sixth ruler of Islām was either deposed or abdicated. Ad-Damīrī apparently did not intend to extend his history, as is evident not only from his concluding statement: "We have certainly expatiated upon that (i.e. upon the History of the Caliphate) but it is not devoid of benefit or benefits,"⁴ but also from the numerous references in his History to other articles of the *Ḥayāt al-ḥayawān*, in which he treats of a historical event or person in more detail. That zoology is but the frame of the work can best be seen from the fact that nearly every article of some length contains one or several digressions of historical or biographical concern. Leaving aside ad-Damīrī's very numerous biographies of scholars, theologians, and poets, and confining ourselves to the historical matter in the strict sense of the word, we find throughout the *Ḥayāt al-ḥayawān* frequent digressions of this sort, which supplement the historical material in the article *al-iwazz*. These digressions, to which references are in many cases made in the history of the Caliphate, extend over all periods of Islāmic history, and their connection with the subject-matter of the

¹ According to a saying of 'Ā'isha quoted in the article *as-sabandā* (a bold leopard, vol. ii, p. 14, ll. 26-7), the genii wailed for 'Umar three days before his death.

² See vol. i, p. 56, ll. 16-25, and vol. ii, p. 245, ll. 14-17.

³ *Ibid.*, vol. i., p. 69, ll. 5-10.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 96, l. 12.

articles in which they are included is as loose as that of the History of the Caliphate with the description of the goose.

As might be expected from an author so many-sided and so well versed in all branches of Arabic literature, ad-Damīrī drew on a number of reference-works for both his History of the Caliphate and his digressions in the other articles of the work. Many of his sources are well known by their printed editions, as is the case with his most frequently quoted reference-work for history and biography, Ibn Khallikān's *Kitāb wafayāt al-a'yān wa anbā'abnā' az-zamān*, which, by the English translation of MacGuckin de Slane, has been made accessible to the general reader also. Ad-Damīrī's constant references to this biographical dictionary account for the prevalence of the biographical over the purely historical matter in his work. Like so many of his illustrious predecessors, he also lays more stress on narrating the genealogy and the personal qualities of the rulers and the interesting episodes of their lives than on recording their wars and conquests.

The many-sided knowledge of ad-Damīrī and the principal feature of his *Hayāt al-ḥayawān* as well, may best be seen from a synoptic table showing (1) the authorities quoted in the History of the Caliphate, (2) the articles other than *al-iwazz* referring to the history of the caliphs, and indicating volume, page, and lines containing the narrative, (3) the authorities quoted in these latter.

Caliph.	Authorities sub al-iwazz.	Articles other than al-iwazz.	Authorities of these articles.
(1) THE PRE-ISLAMIC PERIOD			
Destruction of the dam of Ma'rib.		<i>al-khuld</i> (the mole- rat), i, 270, 26, to 272, 4.	Ibn 'Abbās, Wabb ibn Munabbih, Ibn al-Jauzī, Qatāda, as- Suhaylī, al- Mas'ūdī, ash- Sha'bī, Abū Sabra and Nakha'ī.
Expedition of Abraha, King of Ethiopia.		<i>al-fīl</i> (the ele- phant), ii, 200, 16, to 202, 31.	<i>Sunan as-Sahāḥ</i> of Abū 'Alī ibn as-Sakan, <i>Sīra</i> of Ibn Hishām, as-Suhaylī, <i>Sahīḥ</i> of al- Bukhārī, <i>Sunan</i> of Abū Dā'ud and an-Nasā'ī, Abū Walid al- Azraqī, a poem by ad-Damīrī from the <i>Kitāb</i> <i>as-siyar</i> , part i.

Caliph.	Authorities sub al-iwazz.	Articles other than al-iwazz.	Authorities of these articles.
Story of Jadhīma al-Abrash, King of al-Hīra, and az-Zabbā', daughter to Mulayh ibn al- Farā'.		<i>al-'uqāb</i> (the eagle), ii, 113, 35, to 117, 15.	Ibn Hishām, Ibn al-Kalbī, Ibn al-Jauzī, the commentator of <i>Ad-Duray- diyya</i> , at-Ṭa- barī, Ibn as- Sikkīt.

(2) MUḤAMMAD AND HIS SUCCESSORS

Muḥammad.		<i>al-Burāq</i> , i, 108, 7, to 109, 11. <i>al-'atīq</i> (the young of birds), ii, 95, 25, to 96, 2. <i>al-araḍa</i> (the wood-fretter), i, 19, 4-16. <i>ash-shī'rā</i> (species of flies), ii, 45, 3, to 46, 17.	
(Battle of Uḥud.)			<i>Mu'jam</i> of Ibn Qānī. The two <i>Ṣaḥīḥs</i> , Ibn Sa'd, <i>Sunan</i> of Ibn Māja. <i>Sīra</i> of Ibn Hishām.
Abū Bakr. 'Umar.	Ibn Qutayba. al-Faḍā'il.	<i>al-birdhaun</i> (the jade), i, 109, 31, to 110, 4.	<i>Kāmil</i> (of Ibn al- Athīr?).
'Uthmān.	Ibn Qutayba, the Imām Aḥmad, at-Tirmidhī, Ibn Maḥdī, al- Madā'inī, al- Maḥdawī, al- Wāqidi, Zubayr ibn Bakkār, Ibn Ishāq.		
'Alī.	<i>Manāqib</i> of the Imām Aḥmad, <i>Durrat al-ghaw- wās</i> , ¹ at-Ṭabarī.	<i>al-jamal</i> (the camel), i, 180, 24, to 181, 27.	Ibn al-Athīr, ad- Dabbī, Ibn Khallikān, al- Hākim, Ibn abī Shayba, Ibn Dihya.
al-Ḥasan. Zayn al-'Ābidīn, grandson of 'Alī.	ash-Sha'bī.	<i>al-baḡhl</i> (the mule), i, 127, 4, to 128, 4.	<i>Kāmil</i> of al-Mu- barrad, <i>Rabī' al- abrār</i> of az- Zamakhsharī, Ibn 'Asākir, az- Zuhri, al- Aṣma'ī, Ibn al- Fallās, al- Madā'inī.

(3) THE Umayyads

Mu'āwiya.	<i>al-ḥimār al-ahlī</i> (the domestic ass), i, 224, 14, to 225, 1.	Ibn Khallikān and others.
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¹ By either al-Ghazālī or al-Ḥarīrī: both the works were consulted by ad-Damīrī. See my "Index", Nos. 295 (al-Ghazālī) and 432 (al-Ḥarīrī).

<i>Caliph.</i>	<i>Authorities sub al-iwazz.</i>	<i>Articles other than al-iwazz.</i>	<i>Authorities of these articles.</i>
Yazīd ibn Mu- 'āwīya.	<i>Al-akhbār at-tiwāl</i> of Abū Ḥanīfa.	<i>ash-shāt</i> (the sheep or goat), ii, 37, 16, to 38, 7.	Ibn Khallikān.
Marwān ibn al- Ḥakam.	<i>Al-mustadrak 'alā</i> <i>'s-ṣaḥīḥayn</i> of al-Ḥākim.		
'Abdalmalik ibn Marwān.	<i>Kitāb al-maḥāsin</i> <i>wal-masāwī</i> of Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad al- Bayhaqī, <i>Al-</i> <i>akhbār at-tiwāl</i> of Abū Ḥanīfa.	<i>al-fahd</i> (the lynx), ii, 195, 35, to 196, 21.	al-Kiyā al-Ḥar- rāsī, al-Ghazālī.
(Ḥajjāj.)		<i>at-tays</i> (the male of the goat kind), i, 153, 3, to 156, 25.	<i>Murūj adh-dhahab</i> of al-Mas'ūdī, <i>Sharḥ as-Sira</i> of Qutbaddīn, <i>Ta'rikh</i> of Ibn Khallikān, and others.
		<i>al-labu'a</i> (the lion- ess), ii, 273, 34 to 275, 24.	'Aun ibn Shaddād.
al-Walīd ibn 'Abdalmalik.	Ibrāhīm ibn abī 'Abī, Ibn 'Asā- kir, 'Alqama ibn Ṣafwān.		
(Mūsā ibn Nuṣayr.)		<i>at-fā'ir</i> (the bird), ii, 80, 12-27.	Ibn Khallikān.
Sulaymān ibn 'Abdalmalik.	<i>Kāmil</i> of al-Mu- barrad, Muḥam- mad ibn Sirīn, <i>Al-mufaḍḍal</i> .	<i>ad-dajjāj</i> (the hen), i, 299, 35, to 300, 11.	<i>Ta'rikh</i> of Ibn 'Asākir.
'Umar ibn 'Ab- dal'azīz.	the Imām Ahmad, <i>Tabaqāt</i> of Ibn Sa'd, Muḥam- mad al-Mar- wazī, Rajā ibn Ḥayāt, Ibn 'Asākir, <i>Sirat al-</i> <i>'Umarayn</i> , <i>Al-</i> <i>ḥilya</i> , <i>ash-Shā-</i> <i>fi'i</i> .	<i>al-jarād</i> (the locust), i, 170, 26, to 171, 1.	<i>Sunan</i> of Abū Dā'ud, Ibn 'Asākir.
Yazīd ibn 'Ab- dalmalik.	Ibn 'Asākir.		
Hishām ibn 'Ab- dalmalik.	Muṣ'ab az-Zu- bayrī.		
al-Walīd ibn Yazīd.	Ibn 'Asākir, <i>Kitāb</i> <i>adab ad-dīn wa</i> <i>d-dunyā</i> of al- Māwardī.		
Yazīd ibn al- Walīd.	<i>ash-Shāfi'i</i> .		
Marwān ibn Mu- hammad.		<i>al-hirr</i> (the cat), ii, 335, 3-16.	
(4) THE 'ABBĀSIDS			
Abul-'Abbās as- Saffāḥ.	Ibn al-Jauzī.	<i>al-birdhaun</i> (the jade), i, 110, 27, to 111, 21.	<i>Kitāb al-adhkiyā</i> of Ibn al-Jauzī.
(Abū Muṣlim al-Khurāsānī.)		<i>al-asad</i> (the lion), i, 7, 5, to 8, 14.	Ibn Khallikān and others.

<i>Caliph.</i>	<i>Authorities sub al-iwazz.</i>	<i>Articles other than al-iwazz.</i>	<i>Authorities of these articles.</i>
Ja'far al-Manšūr.		<i>al-bāzī</i> (the hawk), i, 101, 18, to 102, 6.	<i>Naḥw</i> of Siba- wayh.
Muḥammad al- Mahdī.		<i>al-baghīl</i> (the mule), i, 132, 5, to 133, 31.	<i>Kitāb al-adhkiyā</i> of Ibn al-Jauzī.
Hārūn ar-Rashīd.	Ibn al-Athīr, Mu- hammad ibn Zafar.	<i>al-bāzī</i> (the hawk), i, 99, 26, to 100, 10. <i>al-ba'īr</i> (the camel), i, 123, 22, to 125, 17. <i>al-baghīl</i> (the mule), i, 129, 11, to 130, 14. <i>al-'uqāb</i> (the eagle), ii, 111, 23, to 113, 12. <i>al-faras</i> (the mare), ii, 187, 22, to 188, 33. <i>al-fahd</i> (the lynx), ii, 196, 28, to 197, 4.	Ibn Khallikān. <i>Sirāj al-mulūk</i> of aṭ-Turtūshī, Ibn Balbān, <i>Sharḥ</i> <i>al-asmā al-</i> <i>ḥusnā</i> of al- Maqdisī, and others. <i>Ta'rikh Baghdād</i> , Ibn Khallikān. Ibn Khallikān, <i>Ta-</i> <i>'rikh Ṣāhib Ḥa-</i> <i>māt</i> , and others. Ibn Balbān, al- Ghazālī, and others. Ibn Khallikān.
Muḥammad al- Amin.	<i>Al-akhbār aṭ-ṭiwāl</i> of Abū Ḥanīfa, al-Asma'i, <i>Uyūn at-ta-</i> <i>wārikh</i> (of al- Kutubī).		
'Abdallāh al-Ma'- mūn.	<i>Al-akhbār aṭ-ṭiwāl</i> of Abū Ḥanīfa.	<i>al-birdhaun</i> (the jade), i, 110, 4- 27.	Ibn Khallikān.
al-Mu'taṣim.	<i>Majma'al-akhbār</i> of al-'Irāqī, ash- Shāfi'i, al-Jā'iza, Ibrāhīm al- Ḥarbī, Aḥmad ibn Sinān, 'Abd- allāh ibn al- Ward, <i>Tahdhīb</i> <i>al-asmā wal-</i> <i>lughāt</i> of an- Nawawī, Mu- hammad ibn Khuzayma.		
Hārūn al-Wāthiq billāh.	<i>Duwal al-islām</i> of adh-Dhahabī, <i>Ḥilya al-anbiyā</i> <i>wa tabaqāt al-</i> <i>aṣfiyā</i> of Abū Nu'aym.		
Ja'far al-Muḥ- tadī billāh ibn Hārūn.	Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Abdallāh al- Baghdādī.		

Caliph.	Authorities sub al-iwazz.	Articles other than al-iwazz.	Authorities of these articles.
al-Muktafi billāh ibn al-Mu'ta- did. Abul-Faql Ja'far al-Muqtadir billāh. (al-Ḥallāj.)	the books of adh- Dhahabī. ¹ <i>An-nashcūn</i> of at-Tanūkhī.	<i>al-ḥimār al-ahlī</i> (the domestic ass), i, 223, 14, to 224, 14.	Ibn Khallikān, <i>Mafātīḥ al- kunūz</i> of al- Maqdisī, <i>Mieḥ- qāt al-anwār wa mieḡāt al-asrār</i> of al-Ghazālī, and others.
Muḥammad al- Qāhīr billāh. 'Abdalkarīm aṭ- Ṭā'ī billāh. 'Abdallāh al-Qā- 'im bi amr Allāh. <i>Būyids</i> :— (a) 'Imād ad- daula ibn Bu- wayh. (b) Rukn ad- daula. (c) 'Aḍud ad- daula.	<i>Ta'riḫ</i> of Ibn al- Bīṭriq. <i>Ra's māl an-nadīm</i> of Ibn al-Bīṭriq, Ibn al-Anbārī. <i>Ta'riḫ</i> of Ibn al- Bīṭriq.	<i>al-ḥayya</i> (the ser- pent), i, 256, 6-20. <i>ad-dābba</i> (the beast), i, 287, 26, to 288, 3. <i>al-fahd</i> (the lynx), ii, 197, 1-9.	Ibn Khallikān from the <i>Ta'- riḫ</i> of Abū Mu- hammad Hārūn ibn al-'Abbās al- Ma'mūnī. Ibn Khallikān. Ibn Khallikān.

(5) THE LATER DYNASTIES

The whole dynasty of the Fātimids.	<i>Sharḥ Lāmi'at al- 'ajam</i> of Ṣalā- haddīn aṣ-Ṣa- fādī.	<i>al-ḥimār al-ahlī</i> (the domestic ass), i, 227, 29, to 228, 18.	
al-Ḥākim al- 'Ubaydī.		<i>al-baṭṭ</i> (the duck), i, 114, 8, to 116, 19.	Ibn Khallikān, Ibn al-Athīr.
Nūraddīn.			

¹ How much adh-Dhahabī's works were appreciated by our author is evident from his record on the caliphate of Muḥammad al-Muqtafi li amr Allāh: that according to "our friend the Ḥāfiẓ Ṣalāhaddīn Khalīl ibn Muḥammad al-Aqfaḥsī" this caliph was followed by a certain al-Mustazhir but, not knowing this, he does not mention him, the more so as adh-Dhahabī mentions the caliphs in the order as he gives them (see i, 89, 4-6). A similar discordant view of adh-Dhahabī is also mentioned concerning al-Ḥākim bi amr Allāh Aḥmad ibn al-Mustakfi billāh who, according to al-Ḥusaynī in his *Dhayl 'alā l-'Ibar*, followed his father al-Mustakfi billāh, whereas adh-Dhahabī asserts at the end of his *Dhayl* that he was followed by his brother Ibrāhīm (see vol. i, p. 91, ll. 30-4).

Caliph.	<i>Authorities sub al-iwazz.</i>	<i>Articles other than al-iwazz.</i>	<i>Authorities of these articles.</i>
Abul-'Abbās Ah- mad ibn Ṭūlūn.		<i>ad-dajjāj</i> (the fowl), i, 299, 19- 35.	<i>Kitāb al-adhkiyā</i> of Ibn al-Jauzī, Ibn Khallikān.
Malikshāh as- Saljūqī.		<i>al-baqar al-ahlī</i> (the domestic cow), i, 137, 1- 20.	Ibn Khallikān.
Maḥmūd ibn Se- buktekīn.		<i>al-qumrī</i> (the ring- dove), ii, 225, 7-27.	Ibn Khallikān, Ibn al-Athīr.

The names mentioned in the above table do not exhaust all the authorities consulted by ad-Damīrī, because in many cases he gives such general statements as "historians relate" or "so men say" or "others say". But even from the sources mentioned by him we may infer that he made use of practically all the sources available for him. Thus the *Ḥayāt al-ḥayawān* is also a good guide to the Arabic authorities on general history.

The History of the Caliphate, itself a digression in the article *al-iwazz*, also contains two digressions. The one is inserted into the subchapter on the caliphate of 'Alī and, under the title of *Fā'ida laṭīfa* ("an agreeable item of information"),¹ contains a list of the names of the prophets, the nine persons who used to write for the Prophet, the nine collectors of the Qur'ān in His time, the four executioners in His time, His five bodyguards and fourteen companions, the seven *tābi's* of al-Madīna whose legal decisions were final, the four persons who, according to tradition, talked in their cradles, the four persons who, according to tradition, talked after their deaths, the four persons whom their mothers carried in their wombs beyond the usual period of pregnancy, the six Nimrods, the three Pharaohs mentioned in tradition, the founders of the five religious schools (*malḥabs*)² and the dates on which they died on the authority of an-Nawawī's *Kitāb 'ulūm al-ḥadīth*, the six relaters of trustworthy traditions³ and the dates on which they died. This list testifies to ad-Damīrī's fondness of curiosities, and his intention of collecting in his book information of various kinds which might be useful to a Muslim reader. The second digression is inserted in the sub-chapter on the caliphate of al-Musta'in billāh,⁴ and gives

¹ Vol. i, p. 51, l. 18, to p. 52, l. 24.

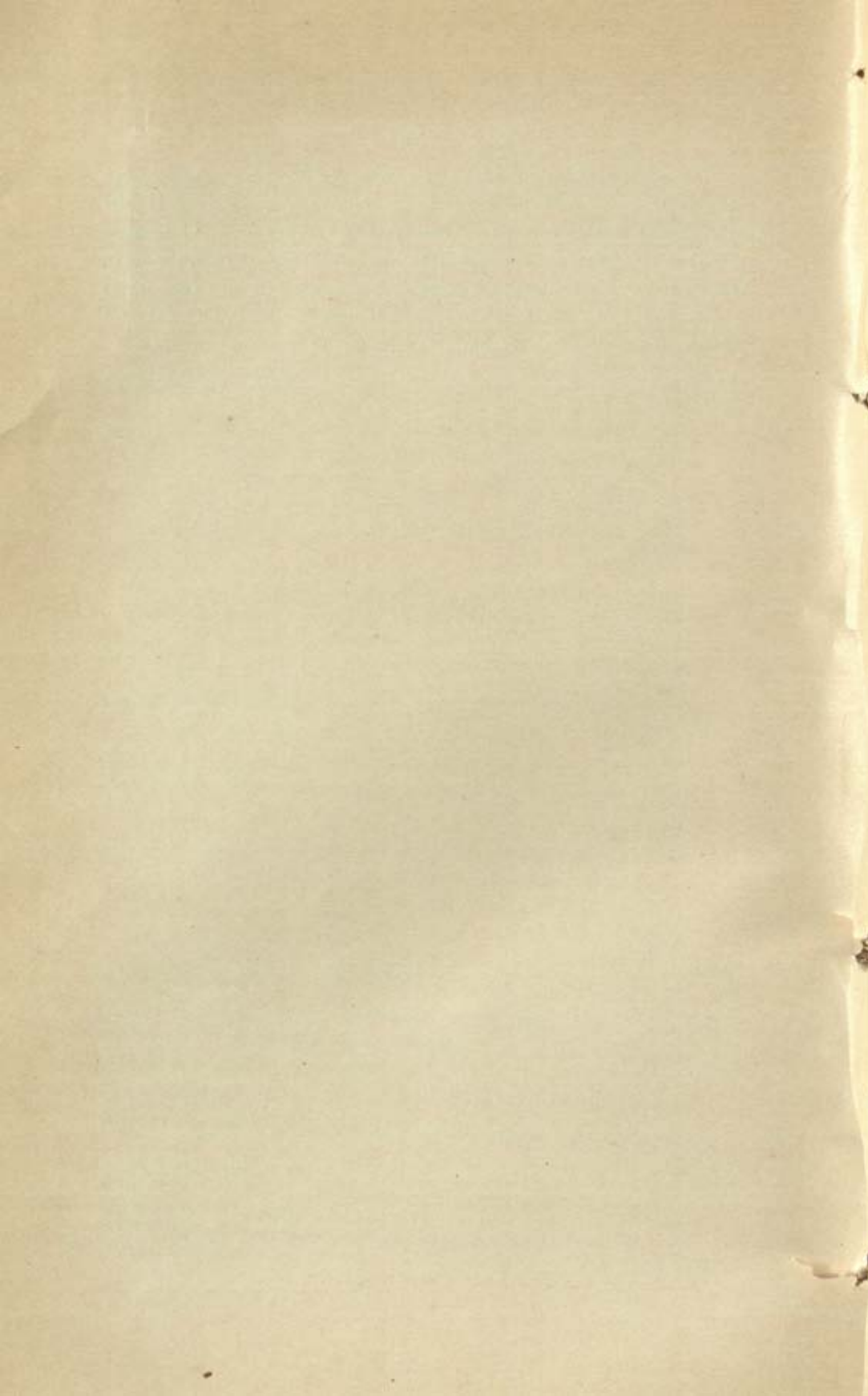
² In addition to the four orthodox schools that of Sufyān ath-Thaurī (lived in the eighth century A.D.) is also mentioned by ad-Damīrī.

³ Instead of Ibn Māja, ad-Damīrī quotes ad-Dāraquṭnī as the sixth one.

⁴ Vol. i, p. 93, l. 3, to p. 94, l. 14.

maxims on the right conduct to be observed by persons who have intercourse with caliphs, kings, and sultāns, and expounds the principles of morality and the good qualities of people. The treatise is full of proverbs and parallelisms like all works of instruction in Arabic, and Oriental literature in general, and refers to such authorities as Iflāṭūn (Plato), ash-Sha'bī, al-Faḍl ibn ar-Rabī', Khālīd ibn Ṣafwān, *ash-Shi'b* of al-Bayhaqī, the Imām Aḥmad, and others.¹

¹ For a similar treatise on polite manners see also the article *aṣ-ṣaqr* (the hawk), vol. ii, p. 58, l. 2, to p. 59, l. 14.



Nādir Shāh's Campaigns in 'Omān, 1737-1744

By LAURENCE LOCKHART

MIRZĀ MAHDĪ, the biographer of Nādir Shāh, gives but little information on the subject of the Iranian campaigns in 'Omān during the period 1737 to 1744, probably because 'Omān was, relatively speaking, merely a secondary theatre of war and because Nādir did not go there in person. Fasā'ī, in his *Fārsnāma-yi-Nāṣirī*, also devotes but little space to the subject, notwithstanding the fact that Muḥammad Taqī Khān Shīrāzī, the Beglarbegi of Fārs, played a prominent part in the campaigns.

Arabic and European sources, on the other hand, provide a considerable amount of data. Of the contemporary authorities, the most important are the records of the representatives of the East India Company in the Persian Gulf; these records have not, so far as I am aware, yet been utilized at all by anyone who has written an account of the campaigns. J. Otter, who was stationed at Baṣra for part of the period, makes some reference to the expeditions in his *Voyage en Turquie et en Perse*,¹ but his information is neither very full nor very accurate; of decidedly more value is Carsten Niebuhr's account of the geography and history of 'Omān in his *Beschreibung von Arabien*,² but Niebuhr was not, strictly speaking, a contemporary.

In 1856 appeared Charles Guillain's³ *Documents sur l'Histoire, la Géographie et le Commerce de l'Afrique Orientale*, in which, in the section relating to the 'Omānī connection with East Africa, some valuable information is given; this information is derived mainly from the Arabic manuscript of a certain Shaikh Abu Sulaimān Muḥammad ibn Amīr ibn Rashīd. In the same year, No. xxiv of the *Bombay Government Selections* was published, which contained, *inter alia*, Captain Robert Taylor's "Extracts from Brief Notes containing Historical and other Information respecting the Province of 'Oman" and Francis Warden's "Brief Notes relating to the Province of 'Oman"; neither of these writers gives any data of value respecting

¹ Published in Paris in 1748.

² The references to this work which are given below are to the Copenhagen edition of 1772.

³ Guillain, a French naval officer, visited Zanzibar in 1846.

the 'Omān campaigns, but some of Captain Taylor's geographical notes on Khor Fakkān and Julfār (Rasu'l-Khaima) are of interest.

The principal work in English on this subject is *The History of the Imāms and Seyyids of 'Omān*", which the Rev. G. P. Badger translated from the Arabic of Salil ibn Razīq; this work was published by the Hakluyt Society in 1871. Salil ibn Razīq gives in great detail the history of the Iranian operations in 'Omān, but his statements must be accepted with reserve, because he was much addicted to exaggeration; moreover, but little reliance can be placed upon his chronology.

Of more recent writers, mention may be made of:—

(1) Lieut.-Colonel E. C. Ross, whose "Outlines of the History of 'Oman from 1728-1883" was included in his *Report on the Administration of the Persian Gulf Residency and Muscat Political Agency*, 1882-3; this article is based on Salil ibn Razīq's history.

(2) Colonel S. B. Miles, whose book, *The Countries and Tribes of the Persian Gulf*, was published in 1919; as regards the Iranian campaign, Colonel Miles relates nothing which is not in Badger's translation of Salil ibn Razīq.

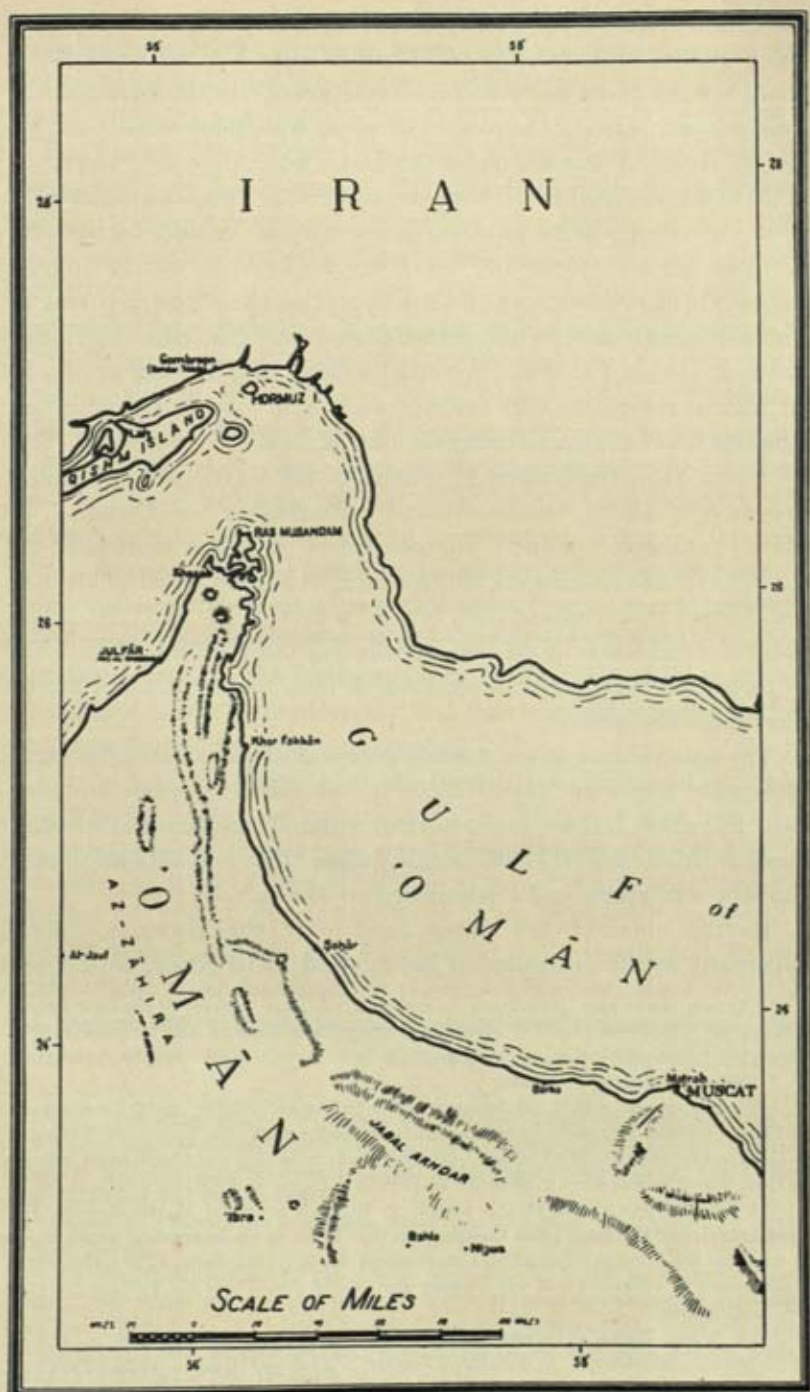
(3) Clement Huart, in his *Histoire des Arabes*, gives a brief outline of the 'Omān campaigns, but his account is merely a paraphrase of Salil ibn Razīq.

(4) A. Grohmann makes a brief reference to these campaigns in his article "Maskāt" in volume iii of the *Encyclopædia of Islam*. He appears to have relied mainly on Salil ibn Razīq, and his chronology consequently needs revision.

(5) R. Said-Ruete. Though this writer's special study is the Al-Bu Sa'id Dynasty,¹ he has also written of the immediately preceding period in 'Omān, and gives in detail the story of how Aḥmad ibn Sa'id rose to power. He has made a careful study of the authorities available, with the exception of the records of the East India Company (of the existence of which he does not seem to have been aware).

It is the purpose of the present writer to attempt to correlate the information contained in the records of the East India Company's representatives with the data given by Salil ibn Razīq, Otter, Niebuhr, Guillain, and certain other authorities.

¹ See his *Said Bin Sultan, 1791-1856*, London 1929, and *The Al-bu-Said Dynasty in Arabia and East Africa* in the *Journal of the Central Asian Society*, vol. xvi, part iv.



In the reign of the gentle, but incapable, Shāh Sultān Ḥusain (1694–1722), Iranian prestige and influence in the Persian Gulf suffered greatly, while there was a corresponding growth in the power of the Arab tribes inhabiting the coastal strips on both sides of the Gulf.

The Arabs of Muscat, under the Imām Sultān ibn Saif II (1711–1718) had a powerful fleet,¹ with the aid of which they made, in 1717 or the following year,² a successful descent upon the Bahraīn Islands; these islands had, for nearly a century formed part of the Iranian Empire. The ‘Omānī Arabs do not appear to have remained long in Bahraīn which, on their departure, passed into the hands of Shaikh Jabbāra, the chief of the powerful Huwala Arabs. Though nominally an Iranian subject, Shaikh Jabbāra was, to all intents and purposes, independent of the weak Government at Iṣfahān.

When Nādir Shāh assumed control of the Government of Irān,³ the state of affairs which he found prevailing in the Persian Gulf proved intolerable to him. He took active measures to reduce the coastal Arabs to submission, but this task, as he soon found to his cost, could never be completed until he had a fleet of his own. Nādir set about the formation of his fleet by effecting the purchase (more often by forced sale than not) of several vessels from the English and Dutch East India Companies.

The first venture of the nascent fleet was an unsuccessful attempt to capture Baṣra in May, 1735.⁴ In the following year, however, Laṭīf Khān, the Iranian Daria-Begī, or Admiral, succeeded in wresting Bahraīn from the Huwala Arabs, when the redoubtable Shaikh Jabbāra was absent on a pilgrimage to Mecca.⁵

Having obtained the upper hand over the Huwalas, Nādir, apparently at the suggestion of his Admiral, Laṭīf Khān, determined

¹ Captain Alexander Hamilton, in his work, *A New Account of the East Indies*, Edinburgh, 1727, vol. i, p. 74, gives interesting particulars of the formidable fleet which the Imām of ‘Omān possessed in 1715.

² The exact date is uncertain.

³ Strictly speaking, it is not correct to refer to him as “Nādir” until his accession in 1736. He was originally known as Nadr or Nadhr Quli Beg; in 1726 Ṭahmāsp Shāh gave him the title of Ṭahmāsp Quli Khān, which he held until he became Regent in 1732, when he was known officially as Wakīlu’l-Daula and Nā’ibu’l-Saltāna.

⁴ A detailed description of this attack on Baṣra is given by Martin French, the representative of the East India Company in that town, in an interesting letter which he wrote to the London office of his Company on the 5th/16th June, 1735; this letter is contained in volume xv of the *Factory Records of Persia and the Persian Gulf*, in the India Office.

⁵ See Mirzā Mahdī’s *Tā’rikh-i-Nādirī*, Bombay, 1849, p. 172, and p. 113 of *At-Tuhfat-u’l-Nabḥāniyya fi Tā’rikhī’l-Jazīratī’l-‘Arabiyya* (Cairo, 1929–1930), by Muḥammad ibnu’l-Shaikh Khalifa.

to carry out a more ambitious project, namely the conquest of 'Omān. Nādir doubtless felt that, until Muscat and the other ports on the Arabian coast were in his hands, he could not hope to establish and maintain Iranian supremacy in the Gulf.

Fortunately for Nādir, events in 'Omān took, in 1736, an unexpectedly favourable turn. The licentious ways of the Imām Saif ibn Sulṭān having aroused the fierce resentment of the more rigidly orthodox of his subjects, a serious revolt broke out in 1736. Saif tried in vain to stem the growing tide of opposition by importing mercenaries from Makrān.¹ Faced with defeat and deposition, Saif, in despair, turned to Nādir Shāh for aid. Although already in the throes of preparation for his onslaught on the Ghilza'i Afghans, Nādir was quick to seize his opportunity. He sent prompt orders to Muḥammad Taqī Khān Shīrāzī, the Beglarbegi of Fārs, to equip a fleet and landing force, and to go to 'Omān ostensibly to help the hard-pressed Imām but in reality to take possession of his country. When, in January, 1737, a report of Nādir's intention to send an expeditionary force to 'Omān reached the Agent of the East India Company at Gombroon, he informed the London office that he hoped that the Shāh was not intending to deceive the Imām and seize his country; he feared that the attempt would be unsuccessful and that it would merely result in the Imām taking retaliatory measures.²

On the 3rd/14th March, 1737, the Iranian fleet arrived at Gombroon from Bushire, under the command of Laṭīf Khān, "who hoists his flag, being a white ground with a red Persian Sword in the middle."³ The fleet consisted of four ships, two "grabs",⁴ and some smaller vessels.

Laṭīf Khān's flagship, the *Fath-i-Shāh*, had formerly been known as the *Cowan*; the Iranians had purchased her from the East India Company in the previous December. Another of his large vessels, the *Northumberland*, had also been British; she had been acquired by

¹ See p. 132 of the Rev. G. P. Badger's translation of Salīl ibn Rāzīq's history.

² See the letter from the Agent of the East India Company at Gombroon to London, dated the 28th January/8th February, 1737; this letter is in vol. xv of the *Factory Records, Persia and the Persian Gulf*.

³ Letter from Gombroon to London, dated 6th/17th May, 1737, in vol. xv of the *Factory Records*.

⁴ An English corruption of the Arabic word *ghurāb*, which means ordinarily a "crow", but which was also used to denote a type of vessel much in use by the Arabs. Olaf Torén, in his book, *A Voyage to Surat, China, etc.* (London, 1771), p. 205, describes a "grab" as a two- or three-masted vessel, rigged in the European manner, with a low and sharp prow, like that of a galley.

forced sale at Bushire nearly a year before.¹ The captain (named Cook) and the mate of a British vessel, who had entered the Iranian service, each commanded an Iranian ship. The crews consisted entirely of Huwalas and other Arabs from the Gulf Coast.

Having embarked 5,000 men and 1,500 horses, the fleet sailed from Gombroon on the 1st/12th April² and reached Khor Fakkān, 74 miles south of Ras Musandam, four days later.³ Laṭīf Khān landed some of his Iranian troops at Khor Fakkān and then sailed back northwards, rounded Ras Musandam, and anchored in the harbour of Julfār; Laṭīf Khān here met the Imām Saif ibn Sulṭān who, it is said, made the Admiral a present of 2,000 toman (some £4,400).⁴ After receiving the submission of Shaikh Rāma, the chief of the local (Huwala) Arabs, and leaving a garrison in Julfār, Laṭīf Khān and his forces, accompanied by Saif and his adherents, marched inland to meet Bal'arab ibn Ḥimyar Al-Ya'riba who, although a relative of the Imām's, was the leader of the opposing faction. Bal'arab, for his part, was advancing northwards from Nizwa. A battle took place at Falju's-Samīnī, near Biraimi, which resulted in a decisive victory for the allies,⁵ who thereupon occupied successively Al-Jauf and 'Ibra.⁶ The advance was not continued, however, because dissension had broken out between Laṭīf Khān and the Imām; it appears that the former was already acting as though the Iranians had conquered the whole country, and was not disposed to treat Saif with any deference.⁷ In consequence, the alliance between the Imām and the Iranians was, for a time, dissolved; in July Laṭīf Khān returned to Gombroon, where the town was illuminated and feasts were held in his honour.⁸

¹ This vessel did not, apparently, belong to the East India Company.

² See the Gombroon letter to London of the 6th/17th May, to which reference has already been made. See also J. A. Saldanha's *Selections from State Papers, Bombay, regarding the East India Company's connection with the Persian Gulf with a summary of events, 1600-1800*, Calcutta, 1908, p. 53.

³ Guillain, in vol. i, p. 529, of his *Documents*, gives (on the authority of Shaikh Abu Sulaimān) the date of the arrival of this force at Khor Fakkān as the 14th Dhu'l-Hijja, 1149 (16th April, 1737); Sabīl ibn Razīq gives the date as the 17th Dhu'l-Hijja (see Badger, p. 138); as Shaikh Abu Sulaimān's chronology is far more accurate than that of Sabīl, I have adopted the former's date, which, moreover, fits in better with the date of departure of the fleet as given by the Gombroon Diary.

⁴ See the entry, dated 15th/26th May, in the diary of the Agent-in-Council of the East India Company at Gombroon, in vol. iv of the *Factory Records*.

⁵ See Guillain (again on the authority of Shaikh Abu Sulaimān), vol. i, p. 529, and Badger, p. 141.

⁶ Sabīl says (see Badger, pp. 141 and 142) that the Iranians behaved in a most barbarous manner to the inhabitants of 'Ibra.

⁷ Guillain, vol. i, p. 529.

⁸ Gombroon Diary, 21st July/1st August, 1737.

Taqī Khān, the Beglarbegi of Fārs, who had previously arrived at Gombroon, took over the supreme command from Laṭīf Khān, and by his parsimony caused much discontent amongst the seamen. Being unpaid and half-starved, the seamen complained bitterly to the Admiral, who promised to redress their grievances as soon as the Beglarbegi departed. Operations were not resumed during the summer and autumn, and in November the Iranian fleet underwent repairs and refitting at Gombroon. It appears that at about this time Nādir Shāh¹ sent the Beglarbegi peremptory orders to prosecute the 'Omān campaign with vigour, and upbraided him for not leading the expeditionary force in person in the previous April.

Spurred to action by his sovereign's censure, Taqī Khān proceeded to commandeer all the English and Dutch trankeys at Gombroon, and importuned both the Companies for the loan of a large vessel to supplement his fleet. By means of a heavy bribe, the Agent of the English Company managed to avoid lending him a ship which was already loaded with goods and on the point of sailing for India.² The Beglarbegi then concentrated on the Dutch, with whom he had a violent quarrel; it is not, apparently, recorded whether in the end he obtained one of their ships.³

In January, 1738, Taqī Khān, in company with Laṭīf Khān and the Khān of Lār, sailed for Julfār with some 6,000 men. In the following month word was received at Gombroon that "the Beglerbeggy, who imagined that He should cajole the Imaum into his Power and by that means make himself Master of Muscatt, has quarrelled with Lettif Cawn for advising the King of this Enterprise, in which he begins to fear he shall meet with no great success, being himself no Soldier . . ." ⁴ The Beglarbegi and Admiral, nevertheless, smoothed over their differences for a time, and joined forces with the Imām, whose lack of success against his rebellious subjects had forced him once more to seek the aid of the Iranians. In March, 1738, the combined forces again defeated Bal'arab ibn Ḥimyar and occupied the towns of Bahla and Nizwa⁵; they then advanced to Muscat,

¹ Letter from Gombroon to London, dated 15th/26th December, 1737 (in vol. xv of *Factory Records*).

² Gombroon Diary, 14th/25th December, 1737.

³ I have had no opportunity of consulting the records of the Dutch East India Company.

⁴ Gombroon Diary, 2nd/13th February, 1738.

⁵ According to Salil ibn Raziq (Badger, p. 142), the Iranians captured Bahla on the 14th March and Nizwa eight days later; the news reached Gombroon on the 8th/19th April, when celebrations were held in honour of the occasion. See also

which they occupied without difficulty, but the Iranians were unable to secure possession of the eastern and western ports (known respectively as Jalālī and Marānī),¹ although they are said to have besieged them for five weeks.² Soon after the occupation of the town of Muscat, Taqī Khān quarrelled with the Imām Saif, with the result that the latter withdrew with his fleet to Barka, whence he proceeded into the interior and entered into negotiations with his rival, Bal'arab ibn Ḥimyar. Bal'arab not only agreed to renounce all claim to the Imāmate, but promised to assist Saif against the Iranians.³

As Taqī Khān was unable to capture the Muscat forts, he raised the siege of them on the 25th May, 1738, and went with his army to Barka where, as at Muscat, the forts successfully resisted him. Here dissensions once more broke out between Taqī Khān and Laṭīf Khān, in consequence of which the former poisoned the luckless Admiral.⁴ It seems that Taqī Khān was then reduced to great straits, and that he was compelled to retreat to Julfār.⁵ He was able, however, to detach a portion of his force to besiege the town of Ṣoḥār; meanwhile, disaster had overtaken the Iranian garrison at Bahla, which was besieged and forced to surrender after the majority had been killed.⁶ Later the Iranians besieging Ṣoḥār were forced to give up their investment of that place and to retire to Julfār.

Whilst the Iranians in 'Omān were sustaining these reverses, dissatisfaction was rapidly increasing amongst the personnel of their fleet, owing to lack of pay and insufficient rations; in consequence, many of the men deserted, and those who remained were in no mood loyally to fight for the Iranians. The natural result was that the Huwala Arabs and the 'Omānis regained the command of the Gulf, and piracy became rife. Supplies for the Iranian garrison at Julfār

Guillain, vol. i, p. 529. When Wellsted was at Nizwa in November, 1835, he went over the fort there which, he said (see his *Travels in Arabia*, London, 1838, p. 121), "in the estimation of all the surrounding country, is impregnable". He found in the fort "a few old guns . . . one bearing the name of Imām Saaf, and another that of Kouli Khan, the Persian General who took Maskat" (*sic*). The Iranian gun may have borne Nadir's former title of Tahmāsp Qulī Khān.

¹ These forts which were built by the Portuguese in the sixteenth century, were also known as the Qal'atu'sh-Sharqiyya and the Qal'atu'l-Gharbiyya respectively; A. W. Stiffe gives a description of them in an article in the *Geographical Journal*, vol. x, 1897, pp. 609-612. See also Curzon's *Persia*, vol. ii, p. 440.

² Badger, p. 143.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ Gombroon Diary, 26th June/7th July, 1738.

⁵ Gombroon Diary, 13th/24th July, 1738.

⁶ Badger, p. 144.

had, for a time, to be conveyed across the Gulf by English vessels. In August, 1738, the East India Company's galley *Rose* was captured by two Arab "grabs", and the officers and men were threatened with death if they carried any more provisions for the Iranians.¹ Almost simultaneously the Arabs descended in force upon Basidu, on Qishm Island, plundered the town, and slaughtered all the Iranians there. Bad news was also received in Gombroon from Bahrain, where, it was reported, the Arabs were besieging the Iranians in the castle.² Later in the year the Arabs, as usual, fell out amongst themselves, and were in consequence much weakened, and in January, 1739, the Iranian fleet defeated the Arabs, whose Admiral was killed by an explosion.³

In March, 1739, Taqī Khān returned to Gombroon armed with full powers to carry on the war against the Arabs and with "positive orders to level Muscatt to the ground".⁴ No operations could, however, be carried out in 'Omān because, in the first place, Taqī Khān was called away from Gombroon before he could sail, in order to suppress a revolt in the Kūhgilū country,⁵ and, later in the year, when that revolt had been quelled, he received orders from Nādir to proceed with his land and sea forces to Sind.⁶ The disastrous ending of this expedition resulted in Nādir summoning Taqī Khān to Nādirābād to account for his conduct.⁷

For the next two years nothing could be accomplished on the Arabian shore, beyond retaining a precarious hold on Julfār. A serious mutiny in the Iranian navy in August, 1740, ended in the vessels being taken away by their crews, some going to the Arabian shore and others to the island of Qais, which was held by the Huwala Arabs.⁸ It was not until early in 1742 that the Iranians obtained the mastery over the mutineers and rebel Arabs, some more large vessels having by then been obtained from Surat, through the East India Company. The

¹ Gombroon Diary, 26th July/6th August.

² Ibid.

³ Letter from Gombroon to London, dated 31st March/11th April, 1739 (in vol. xv of the *Factory Records*).

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Letter from Gombroon to London, dated 15th/26th May, it was stated: "We shall be glad if this or some other Accident prevents his (the Beglarbegi's) return to carry on the Expedition against Muscatt which must quite ruin this miserable place."

⁶ *Tā'rikh-i-Nādirī*, p. 211; see also Otter, vol. ii, p. 87.

⁷ According to the Gombroon Diary, 5th/16th April, 1739, "the greatest want of Conduct imaginable appeared in this expedition." See also the *Tā'rikh-i-Nādirī*, p. 214, in which, however, but little information is given of this expedition.

⁸ There are numerous entries in the Gombroon Diary respecting this mutiny and its consequences.

mutineers, for their part, had suffered a serious loss when two of their vessels were driven ashore in a gale.

Events in 'Omān now once more favoured Iranian intervention. Saif ibn Sulṭān had again estranged many of his subjects by his mode of living and his disregard for the precepts of the Qu'rān, and in February, 1742, his opponents broke into open revolt. On the 16th of that month they were strong enough to secure his deposition and to bring about the election of his cousin Sulṭān ibn Murshīd.¹ Saif, as before, turned to the Iranians for aid, and Taqī Khān sent a favourable reply.

The Huwala Arabs, who had not submitted to the Iranians, ranged themselves on the side of Sulṭān ibn Murshīd and his supporters, but the Julfār garrison marched out and in April decisively defeated the Arabs at Khasab, killing Shaikh Rāma and taking over 500 prisoners.² The Julfār garrison was strongly reinforced in June, but it was not until the following November that Kalb 'Alī Khān,³ Nādir's brother-in-law, who had been appointed Sardār of the Garmsirāt, or Commander-in-Chief of the Hot Countries, crossed over to the Arabian shore. He was followed three weeks later by Taqī Khān himself.⁴ At this time the Iranian fleet was strengthened by the arrival of four new ships from Surat; later it received a further increase in strength when Saif handed over two vessels to his allies; further, another vessel was obtained from the French, by a forced sale.⁵

The Beglarbegi, on meeting Saif ibn Sulṭān at Julfār, concluded a treaty with the ex-Imām whereby he undertook to restore him to the Imāmate on condition that he (Saif) would then recognize the

¹ Shaikh Abu Sulaimān (see Guillaín, vol. i, p. 535) gives this date as the 10th Khu'l-Hijja, 1154, the equivalent of the 16th February, 1742. Saif ibn Razīq is obviously wrong in saying (see Badger, p. 145) that this event took place in A.H. 1151 (A.D. 1738-9). It is clear from the Gombroon Diary that the revolution took place in 1742, because the Agent received a letter at the beginning of April in that year from the Beglarbegi asking for ships to take troops across to Arabia to assist Saif ibn Sulṭān, "who has been driven out by rebels."

² Gombroon Diary, 19th/30th April, Otter, vol. ii, p. 169. Taqī Khān, on hearing of this victory, sent an order to Gombroon for 1,000 tomans to be raised from the local *Baniāns*, which sum was to be given to the Julfār troops as a bonus. The *Baniāns* were so dissatisfied at this high-handed measure that they threatened to leave Gombroon (Gombroon Diary, 23rd July/3rd August).

³ Kalb 'Alī Khān's father was Bābā 'Alī Beg, of Abivard, one of whose daughters was Nādir's first wife and was the mother of Riḍā Qulī Mirzā; after the death of this wife, Nādir married another daughter of Bābā 'Alī Beg's, Gauhar Shād by name, who was the mother of Naṣru'llah Mirzā and Imām Qulī Mirzā.

⁴ Gombroon Diary, 20th November/1st December.

⁵ For particulars of the sale of this French vessel, see Otter, vol. ii, pp. 166-8.

suzerainty of Irān.¹ The allies then advanced against Sultān ibn Murshīd and his adherents.

While Kalb 'Alī Khān, with a portion of the Iranian troops, laid siege to Ṣoḥār, Taqī Khān and Saif ibn Sultān proceeded by sea to Muscat, which was held by partisans of the ex-Imām. On landing, Taqī Khān found, to his annoyance, that although his men were allowed to wander freely about the town, they were denied access to the Jalālī and Marānī forts. Taqī Khān, however, was a resourceful man, and he had, it appears, expected some such behaviour on the part of Saif ibn Sultān. Knowing the ex-Imām's addiction to drink, Taqī Khān had, it is said,² brought a cask of Shīrāz wine in his flagship. When Saif invited Taqī Khān and some of his officers to a banquet in the Marānī fort, the Beglarbegi presented his host with the cask of wine, with the result that Saif, as well as his principal officers, became completely drunk. While Saif and his officers were lying insensible, Taqī Khān obtained possession of the fort without difficulty or bloodshed. There still remained the other fort before the Beglarbegi could claim that Muscat was completely in his power. Taqī Khān thereupon stole Saif's seal and affixed it to an order which he had written, in the ex-Imām's name, to the Commander of the Jalālī fort, charging him to admit the Iranian troops. The Arab commander, believing, as was natural, that Saif himself had written the order and affixed his seal to it, opened the gates to Taqī Khān. When Saif ibn Sultān recovered his senses he found, to his dismay, that his allies were masters of Muscat.³

It being useless to attempt to oust the Iranians from the forts, Saif decided to continue his alliance with them until the overthrow of the Imām Sultān ibn Murshīd could be accomplished.

All this time the siege of Ṣoḥār had been in progress; the defence was carried on with great vigour and ability by the Governor, Aḥmad ibn Sa'īd by name, who, as will be seen below, later founded the Al-Bu Sa'īd dynasty.

Taqī Khān and Saif ibn Sultān advanced against Sultān ibn

¹ Guillaín, vol. i, p. 536; Otter, vol. ii, p. 163.

² Niebuhr's *Beschreibung von Arabien*, p. 300.

³ Niebuhr's *Beschreibung von Arabien*, pp. 300 and 301. Guillaín (vol. i, p. 537) gives a slightly different version. The Agent of the East India Company at Gombroon received word from the Iranian Government on the 18th February/1st March, 1743, that the Beglarbegi had captured Muscat. Doubts whether Taqī Khān had taken Muscat by orthodox methods were held, for the Agent added that it was supposed that the place had been taken "by dealing underhandedly with the Imaum's slaves to deliver him the Forts".

Murshīd, who was then marching to the relief of Ṣoḥār. It appears that Sulṭān ibn Murshīd succeeded in making his way through the lines of the besiegers and in joining Aḥmad ibn Saʿīd. The Imām was, however, killed almost immediately after, when leading a sortie.¹ Saif ibn Sulṭān was, it is said, much affected by the death of Sulṭān ibn Murshīd; overcome with remorse for his conduct, which had brought so much trouble upon his country, Saif abandoned his Iranian allies and retired to Rastāq, where he died not long afterwards.²

Notwithstanding the death of Sulṭān ibn Murshīd, Aḥmad ibn Saʿīd continued to resist bravely. In March the hopes of the besieged were raised by a serious reverse which the Iranians sustained. Two thousand of their men, when returning laden with booty from a marauding expedition, camped in a valley for the night. No proper guards were set, and an Arab force was therefore able to take them by surprise; only a few wounded men escaped to tell Kalb ʿAlī Khān of the disaster.³

Some five weeks later reports reached Gombroon of a further and even more serious reverse, but these were later contradicted.⁴

By July Aḥmad found his supplies were nearly exhausted, and, as he had no hope of relief, he deemed it expedient to capitulate on honourable terms to his powerful opponents. Ṣoḥār thus passed into the hands of the Iranians, but it had held out for seven or eight months and had cost the lives of 3,000 of their men.⁵

Aḥmad ibn Saʿīd proved himself as capable a diplomat as he was a fighter, and managed to ingratiate himself with Taqī Khān to such an extent that he not only got himself confirmed as Governor of Ṣoḥār, but also secured his appointment as Governor of Barka.⁶

It is stated in the Gombroon Diary that 3,500 recruits were to be sent over to Arabia to replace those men who had fallen at Ṣoḥār and elsewhere, "the King having ordered that when they were Masters of the Sea Shore to march inland, and it is supposed his Designs

¹ Guillain, vol. i, p. 538. Some uncertainty exists as to whether Sulṭān ibn Murshīd was killed in this manner or whether he perished when trying to force his way into Ṣoḥār through the Iranian lines. Salil ibn Raziq's story of this fighting seems to be most inaccurate.

² Guillain, vol. i, p. 538; Salil ibn Raziq (Badger), p. 150.

³ Gombroon Diary, 2nd/13th April, 1743.

⁴ Ibid., 8th/19th May. It was probably this rumour which misled Otter and caused him to state that the Iranians had had to raise the siege (vol. ii, p. 181). It is to be noted that Otter left Basra on his return journey to France on the 9th/20th May, 1743.

⁵ Gombroon Diary, 21st July/1st August.

⁶ Niebuhr's *Beschreibung*, p. 301; Guillain, vol. i, p. 538. Salil ibn Raziq (Badger), pp. 149 and 150.

are to conquer the whole Country, but while he is doing this he is destroying his Own, and Nothing but Misery, Tyranny, and Oppression are to be seen or heard in these Parts, the People being daily tax'd that before Time is given for collecting one Another is laid on." ¹

In the meantime war had broken out at last between Iran and Turkey. Nevertheless, Nādir did not abandon his designs on 'Omān, and, except for the withdrawal of some of his fleet from Ṣoḥār in August, 1743, ² he took no steps to reduce his forces in Arabia in order to strengthen his army in Mesopotamia.

For some time past there had been serious friction in 'Omān between Taqī Khān and Kalb 'Alī Khān, and each sent to Nādir accusations against the other. The consequence was that Nādir issued orders for the recall of Kalb 'Alī and appointed Muḥammad Ḥusain Khān Qirqlū as Sardār in his place. ³ It appears that the Shāh soon afterwards also ordered the Beglarbegi to return. ⁴

The new Sardār reached Gombroon in October and left at once for Ṣoḥār via Julfār. Early in December, Taqī Khān, followed a few days later by Kalb 'Alī, arrived at Gombroon. A month later the Beglarbegi revolted, and left the coast for Shiraz; before leaving, he ordered Kalb 'Alī to be strangled and had his body thrown down a well because the ex-Sardār had refused to join in the revolt. ⁵

It seems that Taqī Khān's ultimate success in capturing Muscat served to turn his head. ⁶ He thought that, with his influence in Fārs and (as he wrongly imagined) the control of the fleet in his hands, he could defy Nādir; such a belief, as he found to his cost, was mistaken. It is beyond the scope of this article to describe Taqī Khān's rebellion; all that is relevant in connection with it is that it effectively diverted Nādir's attention from 'Omān for a time. Then, when the revolt was

¹ Gombroon Diary, 21st July/1st August.

² Gombroon Diary, 24th August/4th September, 1743. Nādir's object was to strengthen his fleet at Bushire which was then being organized for an attack upon Baṣra in conjunction with land forces. The vessels from Ṣoḥār must have arrived too late to participate in the united operations, in which the Iranian navy seems to have played but little part.

³ Autobiography of Mirzā Muḥammad Shirāzī, p. 16. (Professor Sa'id Naficy, of Tehran, possesses a MS. of this autobiography, of which he has very kindly sent me a typewritten copy.) See also the *Tā'rīkh-i-Nādirī*, p. 249.

⁴ See the *Tā'rīkh-i-Nādirī*, p. 249. There are numerous entries in the Gombroon Diary between September, 1743, and January, 1744, regarding the suspicious conduct of Taqī Khān; his recall was reported in Gombroon early in September.

⁵ Gombroon Diary, 30th December, 1743/10th January, 1744. See also *Fārsnāma*, p. 194.

⁶ Niebuhr's *Beschreibung*, p. 301.

suppressed, Nādir became engrossed with the Turkish war and had no energy or resources to spare for side ventures. In consequence, the Iranian garrisons in 'Omān, though not withdrawn, were not reinforced.

The astute Aḥmad ibn Sa'īd was not slow to profit by these developments.

One of the conditions of Aḥmad's settlement with Taqī Khān was that the former should pay tribute regularly to the Iranian authorities at Muscat. After the departure of Taqī Khān, however, Aḥmad failed to make the payment of tribute on the appointed date, alleging that he had no means of sending the money to Muscat. The consequence was that the Iranian commanders at Muscat ran short of funds and were unable to pay their troops, many of whom deserted.¹ Aḥmad's next step was to invite the Iranian commanders to Barka, on the pretext of conferring with them as to the manner in which the tribute could be paid. The Iranian commanders, accompanied by only a small escort, went to Barka, where Aḥmad seized them; he then proceeded to Muscat and called upon the Iranian garrison to surrender, offering them money if they yielded of their own free will, with the alternative of imprisonment if they did not. The Iranians, bereft of their leaders, short of provisions and money, and having no hope of succour from Iran, freely surrendered for the most part. Aḥmad, it is said, put some of the Iranians to death, but allowed the others to return to their own country.²

In this way Aḥmad became master of the coast from Ṣoḥār to Muscat; before long he extended his sway over the whole of 'Omān with the exception of Julfār, which the Iranians managed to retain for some years.³

Having delivered his country from the invaders, Aḥmad claimed his reward; on summoning the chief Qāḍī of 'Omān, he had no difficulty in persuading the latter to arrange for his election to the Imāmate. This election is said to have taken place in the latter part of 1744.⁴

So far as Iran was concerned the 'Omān campaigns had proved a costly failure; many men were killed in action, but many more died

¹ Niebuhr's *Beschreibung*, p. 302.

² Niebuhr's *Beschreibung*, p. 303. See also Gullain, vol. i, p. 540, and Salīl ibn Raziq (Badger, pp. 153 and 154). Salīl's account of Aḥmad's treachery to the Iranians and his subsequent massacre of them seems much exaggerated.

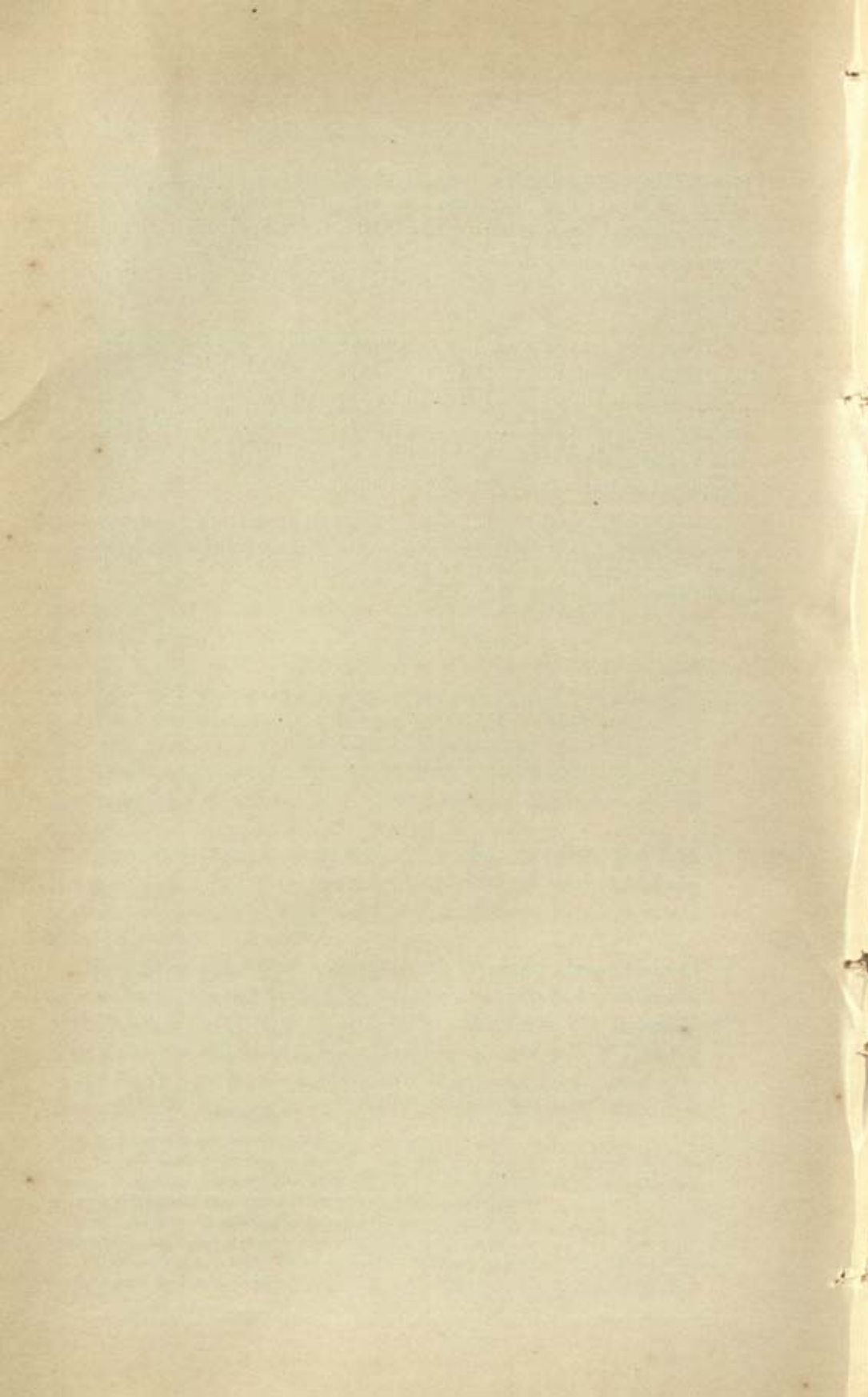
³ Entries in the Gombroon Diary show that, as late as 1748, ships carrying men and provisions were being sent over to Julfār from time to time.

⁴ Guillaín, vol. i, p. 542; Otto Kersten's "Tabellarisch Uebersicht der Geschichte Ostafrikas" (in Baron von der Decken's *Reisen in Ost-Afrika*, Leipzig, 1879), p. 18.

of starvation and disease ; it is probable that the total casualties amounted to some 20,000 men. This heavy sacrifice brought no advantage whatever to Iran ; for 'Omān, too, the campaigns occasioned much loss and suffering, but they led in the end to the supersession of the decadent Ya'riba dynasty by that of the Al-bu Sa'ids, which rules Muscat to the present day.¹

The reason for Nādir's failure in 'Omān was his giving the supreme command to Taqī Khān, who was corrupt as an administrator and inefficient as a military leader. Had he appointed instead some commander of proved military capacity and integrity, like Ṭahmāsp Khān Jalāyir, there is no doubt that 'Omān would have been quickly conquered and at a far lower cost in human lives.

¹ R. Said-Ruete, in his article "The Al-bu-Said Dynasty in Arabia and East Africa" (*Journal of the Central Asian Society*, vol. xvi, part iv, p. 419), points out that as the Ya'riba Dynasty attained power by expelling the Portuguese, so the Al-bu-Sa'id attained it by driving out the Iranians.



The Arabic Theatre in Egypt

By NEVILL BARBOUR

PART I

THE BEGINNINGS¹

THE establishment of the theatre in Egypt, like many other Western innovations, was aided by the initiative of the Khedive Ismail. The Suez Canal was completed in the year 1869; to celebrate its opening the Khedive decided to form the Ezbekia Gardens and to build the Opera House which still exists beside them. This building, in whose fabric wood occupies a dangerously large part, was erected in a great hurry and inaugurated in November, 1869. The opera *Aida* which Verdi was composing for the occasion in return for a fee of 150,000 francs, on a libretto originally arranged by Mariette Pasha,² was not completed in time for the opening, and a performance of *Rigoletto* was given instead.

About the same date, a second theatre, the Comedia, was built within the area of the Gardens. These two theatres were, of course, court-theatres, supported by funds supplied by the Khedive and a few notables, and in no sense dependent on popular support. One European company alone is said to have received from the Khedive, in salaries and gifts, no less than 120,000 guineas for one winter's season.

The first Arabic productions of which we have a record were pieces composed by the Egyptian Jew Ya'qūb ibn Rafā'il Sanū', commonly known as ash-Shaikh Sānū Abū Naḍḍāra. Abū Naḍḍāra was a man of distinguished appearance who, having studied in Italy, taught European languages in an Egyptian school and made himself useful

¹ (a) Ta'rikh Ādāb al-Lughat al-'Arabiyya. Jurjī Zaidān. 2nd edition, Cairo, 1924. Part iv, pp. 152-7.

(b) Ta'rikh Miṣr fi 'ahd Ismā'il. Ilyās Ayyūb.

(c) Ḥayātuna at Tamthīliyya. Muḥammad Taimūr. (Part ii—Mu'allafāt Muḥammad Taimūr. Cairo, 1922.)

(d) Iḥsān. Aḥmad Zakī Abū Shādī. Cairo, 1927 (Appendices).

(e) Arzatu Libnān. Bairūt, 1869. (Contains three plays of Mārūn an-Naqqāsh and 28 pp. introduction.)

(f) Ta'rikh al-Masrah al Miṣrī. Taufiq Ḥabīb. (MS. 160 pp. and appendices.)

(g) As-Sitār (Weekly Paper), Nos. 5-16 (31st October, 1927-16th January, 1928), containing articles by Taufiq Ḥabīb about early actors and authors.

² *Egyptian Gazette*, 27th July, 1933, p. 2.

in various ways as an intermediary between Egypt and Europe. In his spare time he composed plays in Italian and Arabic, some of which were produced in the Opera about 1870 and gave great pleasure to the Khedive, who named their author the Egyptian Molière. One of his Arabic pieces, entitled *Mūlyir Miṣr wa mā yuqāsīh*, was printed in Bairūt in 1912¹; it is pleasantly written in rhymed prose in an educated form of Egyptian colloquial, and treats of the actors in Cairo and of their mode of life. The author is described on the title-page as "the King's poet, founder of the Arabic theatre in the Valley of the Nile". Later he displeased the Khedive and was banished from Egypt for some years, with the consent of the Italian Government of whom he was a protected subject. He died in 1912.

We next hear of theatrical performances in Arabic in 1876. The cultural impulse was again Italian, though this time it reached Egypt through the mediation of Syria. As early as 1848 Mārūn an-Naqqāsh, a Maronite Christian from Sidon, who had spent a couple of years in Italy, wrote a play called *al-Bakhīl*, which he produced with success in his house at Bairūt before an audience of local notabilities. This encouraged him to build a theatre where he produced other pieces of his own composition, notably *Abū Ḥasan al-Mughaffil* (also called *Hārūn ar-Rashīd*) and *al-Ḥasūd*. These were musical farces, partly in classical Arabic, partly in Syrian dialect, and have been collected and printed in *Arzatu Libnān*. Mārūn an-Naqqāsh, whose character commanded universal respect, died in 1855, at the age of 38; his theatre, in accordance with instructions in his will, was transformed into a church. This activity preceded by a quarter of a century the establishment of the Jesuit and American Universities at Bairūt, though the Jesuits had an establishment at the village of Ghazir, some 20 miles to the north of Bairūt, from 1843. In 1876 Salim an-Naqqāsh, a nephew of Mārūn, with his friend Adīb Ishāq and a company of actors including Yūsuf al-Khayyāt, famous it is said for his skill in female parts, visited Alexandria and gave a season at the Théâtre Zizinia. The pieces presented were translations of European plays, including *Andromache*, *Charlemagne*, *Phèdre*, *Horace* and *Zenobia*, adapted by an-Naqqāsh and Adīb Ishāq and enlivened with songs. The season not proving a success, the two authors abandoned the theatre for journalism. In 1878 al-Khayyāt, after touring Zagazig and Damietta, transferred his company to Cairo, where he was well received by the Khedive and given permission to perform in the Opera.

¹ *Mūlyir Miṣr wa mā yuqāsīh*. Bairūt, 1912, pp. 40.

Unfortunately he chose for performance a piece called *aṣ-Ṣalūm* ("The Tyrant"); the Khedive took offence at allusions and situations which he thought that his critics might apply to himself, closed the Opera, and banished al-Khayyāt from the country.

The same year, 1878, was noteworthy for the production in Bairūt of an Arabic verse drama entitled *Al-Murū' a wal-Wafā'*, by Khalil al-Yāziji.¹ This piece, containing about 1,700 lines, is in three acts preceded by a 40-line verse prologue (*Khuṭba*) which classifies plays as historical and imaginative and describes the qualities necessary in them, such as naturalness of exits and entrances. The theme is the conversion of Nu'mān, King of al-Ḥīra, to Christianity as the result of the nobility of a Christian Arab who duly surrenders himself to be killed, after being released on parole, on account of an unfortunate oath which the king had sworn like Jephtha in the Bible. A subplot deals with the love of the king's daughter for the hostage who had made himself responsible for the other man's return. The play, which ends happily, is naïve, but its declamations in honour of virtue and duty are agreeable.

In 1882 the new Khedive, Taufiq, allowed the Opera to be used by a troupe organized by the Syrian Sulaimān al-Qurdāhī out of the remains of the troupe of al-Khayyāt with the addition of new members, amongst whom was *Shaiḫ* Salāma Ḥijāzī. Al-Qurdāhī introduced women, in the first place his wife, in the female parts, hitherto exclusively taken by men, and added a female singer called Laila to the company. The season of 1882 was followed by the rising of 'Arābī Pasha; another season was given in the Opera in 1884 during which large audiences came to hear the singing of Salāma Ḥijāzī; the company later toured the provinces and for some time gave performances in a wooden theatre at Cairo. The pieces played were those of their predecessors, with some new adaptations such as *Othello* and *Télémaque*. It was in the time of this company that the work of the well-known translator Najīb al-Ḥaddād began.

An interesting feature of this period was the effort of the Egyptian patriot and keen Muslim 'Abdullah Nadīm to use dramatic writing as a means of educating the youth of Egypt. For this purpose he composed two pieces, *al-Watan* and *al-'Arab*, which were performed in a school at Alexandria. The Khedive marked his approval by a present of a hundred guineas to the school concerned. These pieces

¹ *Al Murū' a wal Wafā'* au *al-Farāḥ ba'd aḍ-Ḍiḳ*. Khalil al Yāziji. Bairūt, 1884. *al-Maṭba'at al-Adabiyya*.

are written in straightforward colloquial Egyptian prose with occasional odes in the grammatical language. Though of little artistic value they are notable for their patriotic sentiment and practical interest in the life of the people.¹

The next troupe of note was that of Abū Khalīl al-Qabbānī, a native of Damascus who had established a theatre in that city with some success, until it was forbidden as the result of the complaints of notables of the city to the authorities in Istanbul.² Al Qabbānī then came to Cairo and set up in a wooden theatre near al 'Ataba al-Khadra'.³ He introduced into his productions further elements of operette and ballet.

About 1886 was formed the company of another Damascene, Iskandar Farah, originally one of al-Qabbānī's actors, which included Shaikh Salāma Hījāzī and was supplied with plays by the translators Najīb and Amin al-Haddād, Tānyūs 'Abdū, and Ilyās Fayyād. This company dominated the Egyptian theatre for eighteen years until Shaikh Salāma broke away and formed a company of his own in 1904-5, building the theatre called the Dār at-Tamthīl al-'Arabī near the Wajh al-Birka street. During the long supremacy of Iskandar Farah actors and public made slow progress; existing pieces and traditions were taken over, singing played the chief part, and Farah himself regarded the theatre primarily as a commercial institution. The highest salary paid in his company was thirty guineas a month; the fee to translator or author varied from twenty to sixty guineas.⁴ The best pieces of this period were, in the opinion of Taufiq Ḥabīb, *al-Burj al-Hā'il* of Farah Antūn and *Ghāniyat al-Andalus* of Khalīl Mirshāq. After the departure of Hījāzī, Iskandar Farah formed a fresh company which attempted to produce plays without music; this innovation found little favour with the public. Costumes, scenes, and production of the period were not of a high order.

From this date it is easiest to consider the development of the theatre in connection with the lives of the outstanding personalities connected with it.

¹ Specimens in As-Sitār, No. 10.

² Objection was taken to the representation of the Khalifa Hārūn ar-Rashīd in *Abū Ḥasan al-Mughaffil* by an-Naqqāsh in the character in which he is portrayed in the *Alf Laila wa-laila*. To this day Hārūn ar-Rashīd is the first theme to which Arabic dramatists turn, e.g. *al-'Abbāsa* in Cairo in 1931, a piece called *Ar-Rashīd wal-Barāmika* given in Tangier, Morocco, in 1929, and another with the same title by Father Antūn Rabūt al-Yasū'ī (Bairūt, 1924); and his portrayal as other than a strictly orthodox and pious Muslim still arouses protest.

³ Where now stands the Cinema Olympia in Shāri 'Abd al-'Azīz.

⁴ MS. Taufiq Ḥabīb.

Shaikh Salāma Hijāzī was a poor man's son, born in Alexandria; having a good voice he found employment as a muezzin and in private houses as a reciter of the Qur'ān. From childhood he was attracted to the theatre; as a young man he visited European theatrical performances in his native city in the company of friends of similar tastes amongst the educated Syrians of Alexandria. His first appearance in Cairo was with al-Qurdāhī; then followed his eighteen years with Iskandar Farah. He seems himself to have desired fame as an actor rather than as a singer; but in the judgment of the public he was only one actor among many, while as a composer and singer he has had no rival among Eastern musicians in modern times. The long dependence on Iskandar Farah is held to have been prejudicial to *Shaikh Salāma*. Though an uneducated man, he apparently had more artistic sensibility and more desire to serve artistic ends than his employer. When in 1904-5 he opened a theatre of his own beside the Ezbekia Gardens his productions marked a notable advance in scenery and costume. After an interruption due to illness, *Shaikh Salāma* returned to the stage; in 1910 he performed in Tunis, in a theatre in the Bey's palace. From 1914 to 1916 he was associated with Jūrj Abyad. His death occurred in October, 1917. His best known performances in romance were in *Shuhadā' al-Gharām* (*Romeo and Juliet*), *as-Sayyid*, and *Salāh ad-Dīn*; in tragedy, in *Hamlet*; in comedy, in *Sidq al-Ikhā'* and *Uns al-Jalīs*. His most successful compositions were said to be the operettes *'Aida* and *'Izat al-Mulūk*.

The brothers 'Ukāsha. These were three brothers, 'Abdullah, 'Abdul-Hamid, and Zakī. The period of their greatest activity extended from 1910 to 1925. They were actor-managers and were the promoters of the theatrical society which in 1924, with the aid of Tal'at Bey (now Pasha) Harb, in connection with the Société Miṣr, built the existing handsome theatre in the Ezbekia Gardens, of which Zakī 'Ukāsha is now lessee. From the artistic point of view the theatrical activity of the three brothers has been harshly judged and it has been said that they neither knew nor wished to know anything of art or artistic principles.

'Abdurrahmān Rushdī is an actor of personality, of the same period, who has enjoyed considerable success in romantic roles. He has at various times formed companies of his own and still occasionally appears in Cairo and the provinces.

'Azīz 'Id is a veteran of the Egyptian stage and is at present, 1932-3, producer and artistic director in the company of his wife,

Fāṭima Rushdī. Syrian by birth, his connection with the stage goes back some thirty years, in which time he has been concerned in many theatrical ventures. It is said that his fame was first made in a piece in which he represented an Omda from the provinces, drinking in a bar in the company of the European women who frequented it. He is considered to have originated on the Egyptian stage the form of buffoonery known as Franco-Arab revue (الريفو الفرانكو أراب)¹ which is now successfully exploited by ar-Rihānī and 'Alī al-Kassār. There is no doubt that 'Azīz 'Id possesses real artistic sensibility and in comic character parts is an actor of the first class. It was he who was responsible, in collaboration with the well-known musician and singer, the late Sayyid Darwīsh, for the successful production in 1920 of Muḥammad Taimūr's operette *The Ten of Diamonds*.

Jūrj Abyaḍ is a Syrian who entered the service of the Egyptian Government and became station-master at Sidi Gābir, Alexandria. In his spare time he took part in theatrical performances; his acting having on one occasion attracted the attention of the Khedive 'Abbās II, the latter sent him to Paris to study dramatic art. This he did under the well-known actor Sylvain.

Great expectations were aroused on his return in the year 1910, and were largely fulfilled when, having collected a company, he produced *Oedipus*, *Louis IX*, *Othello*, and other pieces. The end of the season, however, was not so successful as the beginning. The subsequent history of Jūrj Abyaḍ's theatrical ventures was largely a repetition of the same cycle of events.² He did not possess the determination necessary to carry a company through moments of discouragement, nor originality enough to create new parts. Nevertheless in those parts which were modelled on the performances of Sylvain he achieved something approaching perfection; and the standard of acting and production which he set marked an epoch in Egyptian theatrical history. During the Great War and the consequent absence of visiting European companies, Jūrj Abyaḍ gave a successful series of performances in French in the Opera House at Cairo. In 1920 he toured North Africa. In Algeria he reported Arabic culture to be dying and the Arabic language hardly understood. In Tunis, on the other hand, he was heartily welcomed; as also in Tripoli, where he was agreeably surprised by the number of Italian officers who attended

¹ Thus in الشب newspaper, 12th August, 1933.

² Ḥayātuna at Tamthiliyya, pp. 131-142.

his performances in spite of their being given in a language of which they could understand very little.¹

Jam 'iatu Anṣār at-Tamthīl. In March, 1914, a society with this title was formed to further the interests of "an independent and national theatre". The founder was Muḥammad 'Abdurrahīm, who had studied in England; this seems to be almost the only example of English influence on the Egyptian theatre, practically all the actors having learnt their technique in France or Italy, as a glance at the list of theatrical terms at the end of the third part of this article will show. In spite of the War and the founder's early death, the society has performed a certain amount of useful work and in a modified form still exists to-day.

Muḥammad Taimūr, though not himself an actor, exerted a most beneficent influence on the Egyptian theatre from his return from Berlin and Paris in 1914 to his untimely death in 1921. Equally gifted as playwright and critic, endowed with a charming personality and a high social position, his death when still less than thirty years old was a quite irreparable loss to the Egyptian stage, for whose emancipation from commercialism he was an ardent champion.

In concluding this summary of the early history of the theatre in Egypt, we cannot do better than utilize Muḥammad Taimūr's classification² and divide the first fifty years of the Egyptian theatre into four periods. During the first, from 1870 to 1880, the theatre depended for its appeal upon its novelty; in the second, from 1880 to 1904 (Iskandar Farah), upon the singing which, strictly speaking, was an irrelevancy; in the third, from 1904 to 1910, upon the singing aided by competent scenery and good costumes; while in the fourth period, which begins with Jūrj Abyaḍ, the Egyptian theatre, though still in its infancy, may claim to be sufficiently advanced to be judged by the artistic standards of the countries in which the drama is an old-established institution.

PART II

Present Conditions (1932-1933)

The theatres at present existing in Cairo are the following:—

Opera House	Midān al-Opera.
Ezbekia Theatre	Ezbekia Gardens.
Dār at-Tamthīl al-'Arabī ³	" "

¹ Newspaper cutting attached to MS. Taufiq Ḥabīb.

² *Ḥayātuna at Tamthīliyya*, pp. 22-6.

³ Now used, occasionally only, by inferior revue companies.

Ramses Theatre ¹	Shāri' 'Imād ad-Dīn.
Ar-Rihānī Theatre	" "
Printania Theatre ²	" "
Majestic Theatre ³	" "
Bosphore Theatre ⁴	Midān Bāb al-Ḥadīd.

There are in addition a number of Ṣālas or Music-halls, the best known being that of Badī'a Maṣabnī, the wife of ar-Rihānī, also in Shāri' 'Imād ad-Dīn.

From June to September the theatrical quarter of Cairo is deserted, the companies moving either to Alexandria or to open-air theatres at popular resorts in the suburbs of Cairo. Outside Cairo there is no regularly established theatrical company. Alexandria and the provincial towns are dependent entirely on visits of touring companies at irregular intervals and on local amateur dramatic societies. The municipality of Damanhūr has recently built a handsome municipal theatre.

Companies. Two companies have given regular annual seasons of serious drama in Cairo for the last seven years; these are the Ramses Company of Yūsuf Wahbī and that of Madame Fāṭima Rushdī. Both these companies are run on the actor-manager and repertory system.

Yūsuf Wahbī is the son of a well-to-do Pasha of Turkish origin though the family has long been settled in Egypt. Attracted by the theatre, he spent some years in Italy, where he acquired a good knowledge of theatrical art. Returning to Egypt, he founded the Ramses Theatre in 1923 in conjunction with 'Azīz 'Id; since that date the Ramses Company has been recognized as the leading Egyptian company, distinguished by the general high standard of the actors and by the excellence of their Arabic diction. Yūsuf Wahbī himself is a capable actor who knows how to dominate the stage; he is, however, criticized for a tendency to melodramatic over-emphasis. There are also heard about him the complaints which are made about actor-managers in all countries; it is, indeed, obvious that the difficulties of such a position are likely to be considerable in a country where there is only one alternative company to which an actor can transfer. Yūsuf Wahbī is a man of American energy. He is a remarkably good linguist and is

¹ Built by Yūsuf Wahbī in 1923.

² Of Greek ownership and used often by visiting Greek companies, but occasionally also by Arabic companies (e.g. in the winter of 1932-3 by Fāṭima Rushdī).

³ Used by 'Alī al-Kassār.

⁴ Under reconstruction.

capable of acting in English and Italian as well as in Arabic. The leading lady of the Ramses Company is Amīna Rizq, a young and attractive actress who excels in the role of the unsophisticated heroine; her declamation of classical Arabic is very pleasing. Amongst the other members of the company, Aḥmad 'Allām has distinguished himself by his performance of Qais in Shauqī's *Majnūn Laila*. 'Umar Waṣfī, a competent comedian, is a veteran of the Egyptian stage; Istafān Rustī, of Italian origin, in addition to acting, adapts European pieces for the Egyptian stage.

The second company is that of Madame Fāṭima Rushdī. This actress was originally a member of the Ramses Company, which she left after three years, with her husband, 'Azīz 'Id, to form a company of her own. Her training has been entirely in Egypt, and she does not speak any foreign language. She has not built herself a theatre, but hires one of the existing Cairo theatres as required. She is very youthful, unaffected in manner, gay and unsophisticated—characteristics which won her the title "*Ṣādiqat at-Ṭalba*". She is at her best in Muslim costume parts, such as Najaf, the beggar's daughter in *A Night from the Thousand Nights*; but she is versatile and has played to the satisfaction of the public such diverse roles as Cleopatra in Shauqī's *Maṣra' Kliyūpātra*, l'Aiglon in Rostand's play of that name, Mark Antony in a translation from Shakespeare, and Tūtū, the boy hero of a vaudeville. The production of the plays of this company is undertaken by 'Azīz 'Id. The ensemble of Fāṭima Rushdī's company is generally held to be inferior to that of the Ramses, notably in their mastery of classical Arabic. It is, however, favourably contrasted with the former for not pandering so much to the popular taste for sensationalism.

Besides these two permanent companies, a certain number of other performances were given in Cairo during the season of 1932-3. Jūrj Abyaḍ, with a specially collected company, gave a few performances in the Opera House. These were, however, in French (*Le Père Lebonnard*, *Le Réveil*, *L'Arlésienne*) and were only noteworthy for the distinction of Jūrj Abyaḍ's own acting. 'Abdurrahmān Rushdī with a company gave a few performances in the Ezbekia Theatre, including *al-Badawīyya*, *al-Maut al-Madanī* (from the Italian) and *al-Bu'r al-Murakkhḥaṣa*.

A company led by Fiktūriyya Mūsa gave performances in the Opera of a piece called *Sihām* ("Maxim's") and of the old favourite *Ghāniyat al Andalus*.

Cairo is also the headquarters of two musical revue companies. The best known of the two is that of Najib ar-Rihānī ("Kish-Kish Bey"). This actor has been the most successful in his undertakings of any that Egypt has known, and his theatre is the only one regularly visited by a considerable number of Europeans. Indeed, the success of Franco-Arab revue is sometimes held to have debased the public taste and injured the position of the legitimate drama. The second company is that of 'Alī al-Kassār. This company caters for a popular audience. Al-Kassār himself is an amusing comedian, but the rest of the company are not up to his standard.

One other company, that of Madame Munīra al-Mahdiyya, also performed in the Ezbekia Theatre during the winter. This actress, who can claim to have been the first Egyptian actress, her predecessors being all Syrians, started her career as a singer; the theatrical pieces in which she appeared later were mostly romantic plays in which she generally took male roles, or farces with occasional songs. Sometimes the theme was historical, as in *Ṣalāḥ ad-Dīn*, an old favourite adapted from Sir Walter Scott's *Talisman*. In 1929-1930 Munīra al-Mahdiyya co-operated with the singer, 'Abd al Wahhāb, in producing an opera. *Tosca* was chosen, the plot and costumes of Puccini's opera being used, while the music was Egyptian. The piece was very short, lasting about an hour and a half. The experiment was interesting, but the music did not appeal to the public and the production was not a success. Another piece, *Antony and Cleopatra*, had a better reception, some of the music being by the popular composer, Shaikh Darwish.¹

Salaries. The highest salaries paid hitherto were in the revue company of Najib ar-Rihānī, amounting to some 100 guineas monthly. A leading actor in the existing dramatic companies is fortunate if he receives 30 to 40 guineas a month, or a leading lady 20 to 30 guineas.

The Government. The attitude of the Government towards the theatre is in general benevolent. As regards the censorship of plays, the theatre comes under the Ministry of the Interior, to whom copies of each play have to be submitted for sanction before production. The censorship is chiefly concerned with avoiding offences to morals or to Egyptian or foreign susceptibilities. Thus it is apparently not permissible to represent on the stage King Louis IX of France in

¹ A curiosity of Egyptian dramatic literature is the existence of six opera librettos composed by the versatile and indefatigable Dr. Aḥmad Zakī Abū Shādī. These are entitled "Ardashīr", "Az-Zabbā" (Zenobia), "Ihsān", "Akhnātūn", "Bint as-Sahṛā", "Al-Aliha". They have been printed, but have not yet found a producer.

captivity after his defeat at Manṣūra. In other respects the theatre comes under the section of Fine Arts of the Ministry of Education.

In 1924, as the result of a competition, Zakī Efendi Ṭulaimāt, secretary in the Zoological Gardens and an amateur of the theatre, was sent to Paris for four years' study at the Odeon. After his return to Egypt and on his recommendation, an Academy of Dramatic Art (*Ma'had fann at-Tamthīl*) was established by the Ministry of Education. This institution was planned on ambitious lines; in addition to courses on declamation, technique of the theatre, decoration, lighting and make-up, there were classes in dancing, physical culture, and the French language; while Dr. Ṭāhā Ḥusain lectured on the history of the drama and Dr. Aḥmad Ḍaif on Arabic literature. The Academy, under the management of Zakī Ṭulaimāt, opened in 1930 with forty pupils of both sexes; after one year a new Minister of Education, Ḥilmi 'Isa Pasha, decided to close it. Two reasons were given. The first, that the mixing of the sexes in an institution of this sort was a danger to morality and contrary to the precepts of Islam. In particular the classes in Eurythmics, participated in by young men and young women in the same room, roused opposition.¹ The second, that acting is a matter of natural talent, aided by practice, and that a Government institution of this sort would not achieve the purpose for which it was designed. The ensuing controversy filled many columns of the newspapers in midsummer 1931²; and the place of the defunct Academy was finally taken to some extent by the "Lecture Hall" (*Qā'at al-Muḥāḍarāt*), a room in the Ibrāhimiyya School, in which lectures are given in the afternoon for two hours, three times a week, on theatrical subjects. These lectures, which are given by Zakī Ṭulaimāt, Jūrj Abyaḍ, and others, are open to the public and are attended by some thirty pupils of various ages and stations in life. Girls may attend, but at different hours to the male students.³

¹ "The religion of Islam does not permit Muslim women to dance in the presence of men not of their family under any circumstances whatever. . . . It is a general principle of Islam that the prevention of corrupting influences precedes the bringing of improvement." Shaikh of al Azhar in the *Ahrām* newspaper, 21st August, 1931.

² e.g. *Al Ahrām*, 21st August, 1931 (interview with Shaikh of al Azhar). *Al Ahrām*, 22nd August, 1931 (interview with Minister of Education). *Wādī an Nil*, 28th July, 1931 (suggestion to replace the actors and more particularly the actresses by marionettes).

³ A Committee of foreign professors of literature was formed in 1930 to choose twelve plays suitable for translation into Arabic. The selected plays, when translated, were to be produced by Jūrj Abyaḍ. After the Committee had held several meetings the project seems to have been abandoned.

In 1925 and again in 1932 a competition for playwrights was held under the auspices of the Ministry. In that of 1932, no less than 143 plays were submitted.¹ A first prize of 100 guineas was awarded to a play of modern Egyptian life, entitled *Samīra*, by Muḥammad Rashād Hāfīz, and second prizes of seventy-five guineas each to *al-'Awāṭif* (modern Egyptian) by Muḥammad Khūrshid, *al-Hādī* (Abbasid historical) by 'Abdullah 'Afīfī, *Ibnat ash-Shams* (Ancient Egyptian) of Fransīs Shīftashī, and *Ahmus al-Awwal au Tard ar-Ru'āt* (the expulsion of the Hyksos) by 'Ādil al-Ghaddbān. These plays were all in the classical language, the colloquial being apparently excluded by the terms of the competition. The committee was strongly criticized as having judged entirely on linguistic and moral grounds and as having no practical experience of the theatre. This criticism was supported by the refusal of the theatrical managers to produce the winning piece. The author appealed to the Minister, who lent him the Opera House, and advanced him 40 guineas from the public funds, the author being debarred by the regulations from receiving the prize money until the piece had been produced. The public, however, in spite of clever producing by Zakī Ṭulaimāt, confirmed the opinion of the managers, only one scene appearing to possess any appreciable dramatic value. Nevertheless it cannot be doubted that the competition promoted an interest in play-writing.

The Ministry also seeks to help the theatre by annual grants to the theatrical managers and to individual actors. These grants naturally lead to a good deal of ill-feeling, especially as the distribution varies from year to year and is accompanied by unwelcome criticism, while the total sum distributed only amounted in 1933 to 1,048 guineas as opposed to the 8,000 guineas allotted to visiting foreign companies whose performances are attended almost exclusively by foreigners.² Of the 1,048 guineas, 200 went to the management and 140 to the members of the Ramses Company; 200 to the management and 90 to the members of Fāṭima Rushdī's Company—individual actors receiving 20 or 10 guineas each. The remainder was divided amongst four of the other companies above-mentioned,³ and amongst three dramatic societies.

Tours. The tours made by the different companies in various

¹ Al Ahrām, 20th January, 1933. Aṣ Ṣabāb, 27th January, 1933, p. 20.

² Aṣ Ṣabāb, 5th May, 1933, p. 24.

³ Rihānī's Company were not given a share as, being abroad, they were held to have escaped the observation of the Government.

parts of the Arabic-speaking world are an interesting feature of Egyptian theatrical life. The Ramses Company is well known in Palestine and Syria, and in the year 1928 Yūsuf Wahbī took them across the Atlantic for the benefit of the thousands of Syrians living in the Argentine Republic, giving a series of performances in Arabic in Buenos Aires. The company appealed to local taste and the Syrians were occasionally crowded out of the theatre by the wealthy Spanish-Argentinian aristocracy. Madame Fāṭima Ruṣḍī has taken her company to Palestine, Syria, and Iraq, and in the summer of 1932 her company made a very successful tour through Tunisia, Algeria, and Morocco. In the winter of 1932-3 Najīb ar Rihānī and his company followed the same route through North Africa. The journey was not an entire success; debts were contracted by an impressario in Tunis, and there was a misunderstanding with the inhabitants, afterwards rectified. In Algeria the conduct of some of the chorus girls led to their being sent back to Egypt. Moreover the greater orthodoxy of the local Muslims compelled, it is said, the company to observe Ramadan in Algeria with a strictness that they did not observe at home.¹ In Marrakesh, according to the correspondent of aṣ Ṣabāḥ, they were received by the Governor, at-Tihāmī al-Jilāwī, at his house. After laudatory odes delivered in the host's honour, such as—

مرّاكش اخلفت بغداد قبلًا

و اورث لك هارون التهامي

the Governor presented 10,000 francs to ar Rihānī himself, and envelopes containing 1,000 francs to each member of the company.

Criticism and Theatrical News. There is a scarcity of writers who have had sufficient experience of the European theatre to form a sound dramatic judgment. Thus the criticism which is frequently found in the daily and weekly papers consists largely of the description of plots, criticism of the language and personalities.

The theatres only advertise in the daily papers intermittently and incompletely; the public rely on posters displayed in various parts of the town. There is, however, one weekly paper, aṣ Ṣabāḥ, of some eighty pages, which occupies itself primarily with the theatre. In it can be found announcements of all important theatrical events, summaries of plots of new plays, together with a variety of informa-

¹ Aṣ Ṣabāḥ, 31st March, 1933.

tion concerning the companies, actors, singers, and dancers. It is also supplied with theatrical information by correspondents in North Africa, Syria, and Iraq.

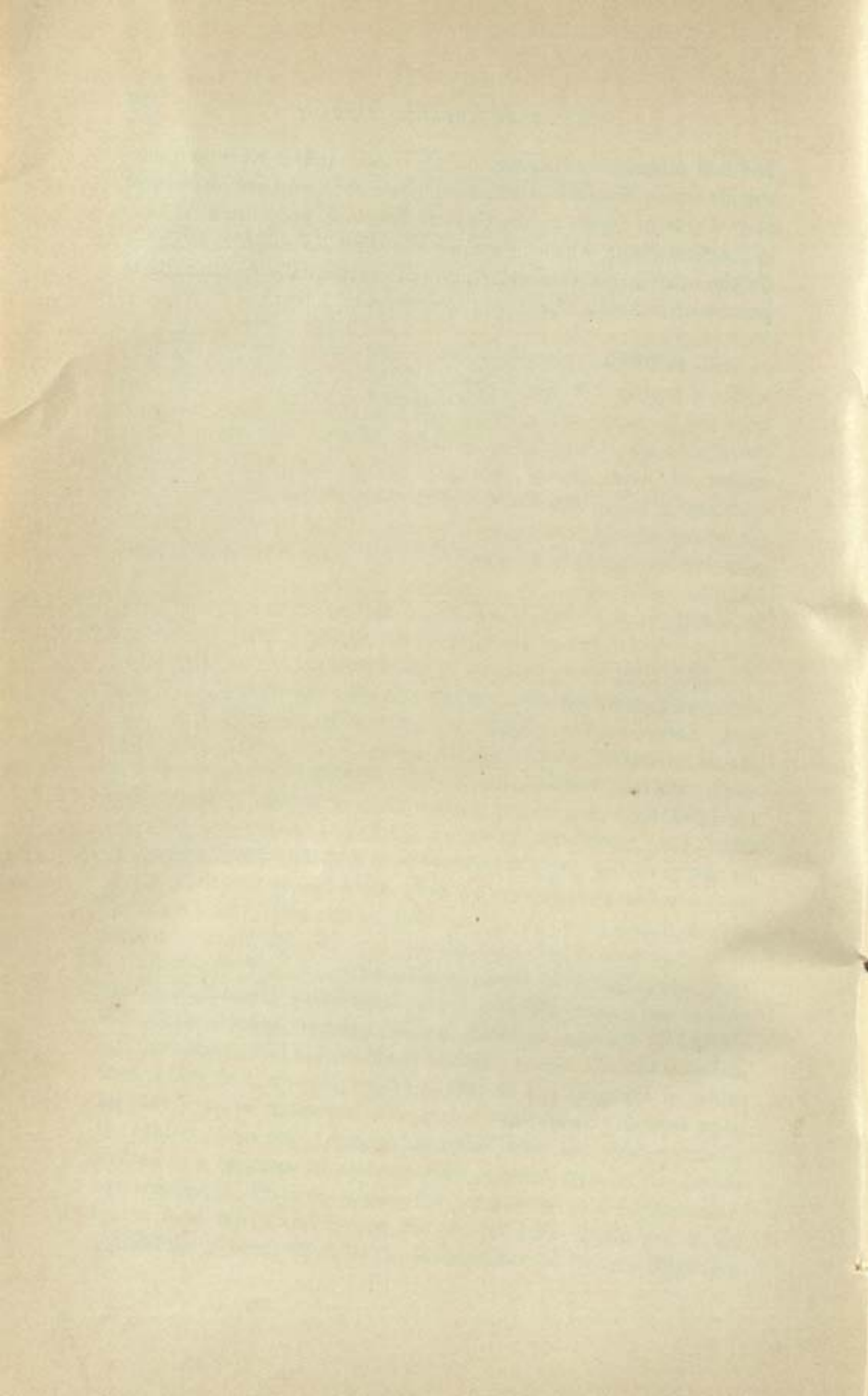
The Public. The Egyptian theatrical public is very limited. The religious leaders disapprove of the theatre because of the mingling of the sexes upon the stage. The aristocracy, for the most part educated in European schools, are apt to take an exaggeratedly "European" attitude towards the native theatre, and for that reason to neglect it. For the populace and the fellah the theatre is still a Frankish innovation. The theatrical public then must be provided chiefly out of the Government employees and small bourgeoisie whose secondary education has given them a certain taste for things European. It is only in Cairo that this public is sufficiently numerous to support a whole-time theatre; and this theatre must be run on the repertory system, it being impossible to find an audience for the same piece for more than a week consecutively. This public, like all unsophisticated publics, likes melodrama. But it is composed of Cairenes, a people famous for their facile gaiety, their incessant idiomatic repartee, and their love of their native music. Thus the Franco-Arab revue is sure of support. At the same time, they are Arabic-speaking and have an Arabic culture which goes very deep. They are, therefore, extraordinarily responsive to the unaided appeal of felicitous language on traditional Arabic lines. Further, their interest in their history creates an opportunity for historical plays dealing with the heroes of the Islamic past, while the growth of nationalism in recent years is bringing with it an interest in the Pharaonic period which gives an opening for another type of historical play. These characteristics of the Egyptian public seem to have determined the nature of the theatrical fare offered to it.

Language.—The spoken language of Egypt differs, of course, very widely in grammar, pronunciation, and vocabulary from the modern form of the classical language which is employed in nearly all lectures and newspapers, and in literary and scientific works. The first question, then, which faces the playwright is that of the language in which his play is to be composed. His choice will probably depend upon the subject of his play. Serious historical pieces are most naturally written in a language as near the high classical style as the author can command. Plays of modern life tend to be in the vernacular, as are most farces and revues, though the latter make use of the possibilities of comic effect by the juxtaposition of the two languages.

The late Muḥammad Taimūr, far the most vital of Egyptian playwrights up to the present time, composed the first draft of his first play *ʿUṣfūr fil Qafaṣ*, in the classical language, and then rewrote it in the vernacular, which he employed for all his subsequent pieces. On the other hand, vernacular plays are occasionally translated into grammatical Arabic for production outside Egypt.¹

¹ e.g. "al Wuḥūḍ" by Maḥmūd Kāmil. See "al Jāmi'a", 11th May, 1933, p. 4.

(To be concluded.)



Grammatical Categories in the New Hebrides

(A Preliminary Study of Linguistic Psychology in Malekula)

By A. CAPELL

INTRODUCTORY

ALTHOUGH it is generally admitted that European and extra-European grammatical categories do not absolutely coincide, one very rarely sees the grammar of a native language worked out on the clear recognition of this fact. The following paper is intended to illustrate the differences in grammatical thought between English and one language of the New Hebrides. It is not intended to be a full study of that language, but only to indicate what seems to be the mental outlook of the people who speak it. The language in question is that of Achin, one of a group of small islands off the north-eastern coast of Malekula in the northern New Hebrides. The material which has formed the basis of this study I owe to the kindness of Pastor A. G. Stewart, of the Seventh Day Adventist Mission. Nothing grammatical has yet been published concerning the language; that of the neighbouring island of Uripiv, however, resembles it closely, and an outline grammar of that language may be seen in S. H. Ray's *Melanesian Island Languages* (Cambridge University Press, 1926), pp. 284-293. While, however, the Uripiv language does to some extent exhibit the phenomena peculiar to this region, it does not seem to do so as thoroughly as Achin, and the peculiarities themselves are not brought out in Ray's sketch. Of the languages of the other islands, Wala and Rano, I have no information, but Pastor Stewart informs me that there is considerable resemblance between Achin and Matanavat, on the opposite mainland, and then a considerable cleavage between that and the country of the Big Nambus, inland. Southwards, the peculiar features of Achin and Uripiv do not reappear, except to a minor extent in Ambrim.

In European languages we are accustomed to divide our grammars into treatises on eight "parts of speech". Sapir, in his *Language*, clearly recognizes that such a division may not hold good for native languages; Jespersen, however, in the *Philosophy of Grammar* prefers to find them a fairly permanent feature of language in general. In

Achin it may be convenient for practical purposes to retain the division into eight parts of speech, but these eight must be rearranged again in two larger groups, which may be called "object-words" and "time-words". Object-words correspond to our nouns, pronouns, prepositions, and interjections; time-words include not only verbs, but also adjectives, adverbs, conjunctions, and numerals. It remains true, however, that adjectives and adverbs still have one foot in each division. The paper that follows will give examples of this arrangement of speech and try to suggest a line of explanation for some of the usages.

SPELLING

The spelling here followed is not that of the Mission, but that of the International Phonetic Association used in very broad transcript. The only serious departure from their system is the use of *d*, which indicates an *e*-sound that has arisen through Umlaut, i.e. the influence of a following *i* or less often *u*. Thus, when the article *na* is prefixed to the word *im*, house, the result is *nāim*, spelled by the missionaries *neim*; the word for "live", common in Oceanic languages as *mauri*, here becomes *māur*, spelled by the missionaries *meur*; *taŋ*, weep, with the transitive suffix becomes *tāŋsi*, weep for, for an older *taŋisi*. With *i* the Umlaut is invariable; with *u* there are exceptions—*vanu* and *vānu* (*venu*) are both written for "village". The Melanesian *g*, spelled in the Mission writings as *h*, is here written *ɣ*; while the velar nasal (*ŋ* in *sing*), spelled *g* by the missionaries, is here written *ŋ*. *C* indicates the palatal plosive heard differently by different observers as *ch* or *ts*, and spelled in the translations as *j*. It is the sound indicated by *c* in the I.P.A. Script.

1. GRAMMAR

It is not part of my purpose to give a full grammar of the language, which is sufficiently like Uripiv for the sketch of the latter given by Ray to be used in the reading of this paper. Achin is characterized by a considerable amount of abbreviation, e.g. the verbal pronoun of the 3rd person plural indefinite, Uripiv *ara*, is here *ar*. The pronouns, as far as we shall need them, are:

Sing. 1. <i>ina</i>	Plur. 1 incl. <i>ikir</i> ; 1 excl. <i>kiam</i>
2. <i>inik</i>	2. <i>kami</i>
3. <i>ini</i>	3. <i>inir</i> .

Suffixed pronouns show two series, as in Uripiv. They are :

1. With nouns and some prepositions, e.g.

Sing. 1. <i>tuak</i> , my brother	Plur. 1 incl. <i>tuar</i> ; excl. <i>tuamam</i>
2. <i>tuom</i>	2. <i>tuemi</i>
3. <i>tuan</i>	3. <i>tuar</i> .

In the suffixes to prepositions the *n* of the 3rd person singular is lost. With verbs, *a* replaces the *k* of the 1st person singular, *mu* the *mi* of the 2nd person plural. Curiously enough, the pronouns suffixed to the verb precede, instead of following, the transitive suffix *ni*: *wire-mu-ni*, say it to you ; *vise-nir-ni*, teach them it.

Another important element of Achin speech is the ligative article *ŋ* of Indonesia, found also in various other parts of Melanesia. Thus in the title of the Bikol (Philippines) Bible, the Spanish adjective *santo*, holy, receives the addition of the ligative article and we have *maŋa santŋ kasuratan*, the sacred writings. In Achin and Uripiv, however, what was originally an article, intervening between adjective and noun, becomes a conjunction by the use of the verbal particle after it and before the adjective. Thus *cinop ŋa mu cac*, a bad man. This *ŋa* is equivalent to the *wh-* of the English relatives who, which, where, so that the phrase just quoted might be rendered literally by "the man wh- he is bad". Ray's Uripiv example, *deluŋ ŋa mara māsi*, is literally "people wh- they are sick". This explains three uses of *ŋa*, all of which will be important for us in the following pages :

1. With adjectives, as in the examples just quoted, and also : *cinop ŋa mu nac*, another man (lit. "man wh- he is different").

2. With pronouns : *ini ŋa mi te niel*, he wh- he made the sun ; *nembe ini ŋa mi ara wor pi ve kiŋ ser mere Israel?* Where he wh- they bore shall become king their people Israel, i.e. where is he that is born to be king of Israel ? *Kami ŋa kam worsuri e wale wele ko ro*, you wh- you believe only little indeed, i.e. you of little faith ; *e pe ŋa mar mac pin*, *inir ŋa mar pecelei tipis wele ok po revci pini*, since they are dead who sought the young child to kill him.

3. With nouns : *Tayar semam ŋa pi māur tacer*, God our wh- he shall live for ever ; *nono ŋa nawinen e res* : thing wh- its scent good, i.e. a thing whose smell is sweet.

These notes do not fully explain the uses of *ŋa*, but give sufficient indication to make clear its occurrences in the examples that will be adduced in the next part of this paper.

In verbs, tense is indicated just as in Uripiv, except for abraded

forms. Ray (op. cit., pp. 288-9) finds in Uripiv three tense particles, *e*, *mi*, and *pi*. Of these, *e* is a perfectly indefinite particle, serving merely to mark the word it accompanies as a time-word. It is the same as the *e* that occurs in most Polynesian and a good many Melanesian languages. *Mi* is a particle with a variable vowel (examples of *mu* have already occurred in this article), and is common throughout the northern New Hebrides. Ray says: "It appears to indicate a more definite past or present than *e*, and is very commonly used after the ligature *ya*." This appears to be right: *e* marks a word as a time-word; *mi* draws attention to an action at a fairly well defined time. A complete past event may be shown by *cile* (all); *vacin* (over, cf. *Mota veta*), or *tua* (of old, a common Oceanic root), concluding the unit of expression, as in the following sentence: *Mare e tapar vacin pitevi*, the heaven was opened to him. *Pi* is definitely future and also has a variable vowel. Then there is a *ki* which Ray does not give for Uripiv, and which seems to vary between a future and a subjunctive. These three particles coalesce with the pronouns as follows:

	<i>Mi</i>	<i>Pi</i>	<i>Ki</i>
Sing. 1.	(no)	<i>pe</i>	<i>ke</i>
2.	(ko)	<i>po</i>	<i>ko</i>
3.	<i>mi, mu</i>	<i>pi, pu</i>	<i>ki</i>
Plur. 1 incl.	<i>ram</i>	<i>rap</i>	<i>rak</i>
1 excl.	<i>nam</i>	<i>nap</i>	<i>nak</i>
2.	<i>kam</i>	<i>kap, kop</i>	
3.	<i>mar</i>	<i>por</i>	<i>kar</i>

The *mi* form is slightly defective; the *e* may be replaced in the 3rd plural by *ar* and *or*. In addition the emphatic particle *ok* may follow the verbal pronoun, giving *mar ok*, without seeming to alter the idea to any great extent. These particles are phonetically somewhat different from those of Uripiv, but the general scheme of things is much the same.

ACHIN SYNTAX

We are now in a position to consider the special peculiarities of Achin syntax. As regards rules of accidentence, strictly so called, it is still possible for us to retain the European parts of speech, at any rate for our own convenience. It is rather in the field of syntax that the division into object-words and time-words becomes important, and even in these, Achin is simply carrying to its logical conclusion a tendency visible in more than one Melanesian language.

A. *Object-words*

By object-words are meant such as are not characterized by distinctions of tense. Under this heading are included our European nouns, pronouns, and most prepositions. Thus *cinop*, man, remains under all conditions *cinop*. Similarly the stems of the pronouns do not themselves change, though they may undergo modification through the verbal pronouns for person and tense. The cardinal pronouns belong to the category of object-words, the verbal pronouns to that of time-words. Some of the object-words, however, seem to be on the border line between objects and times, or rather, let us say, the Achin native seems to put under the heading of times ideas that we should put under that of object. Thus, *matur* = sleep, *maturporpor* = dream. These are both verb and noun in English, while in other European languages, if the two parts of speech are not identical, they are at least related, as for example French *rêve* and *rêver*, German *Traum* and *träumen*. In Achin, if it is needed to say "in a dream", then the expression is *reŋa mi maturporpor* for the 3rd singular, *reŋa mar maturporpor* for the 3rd plural, and so on. One would naturally translate such an expression as "while he dreamed", "while they dreamed", but then comes the difficulty that *reŋa* certainly means "in", e.g. *reŋa Rano*, in Rano. Clearly, what is for us a noun, "dream," is regarded by the Achin people as a time-experience rather than an object-experience. It is not that a "dream" is a thing which one may come upon, but an experience that one has in a certain time. And this is quite logical; a dream is not an object that occupies space.

Another example of a similar crossing of the barrier between object and time categories is seen in the expression for "they that dwell in great darkness", *inir ŋa mar lek reŋa mu ror e lep*, lit. "they wh- they dwell in it is dark it is great". The *e* of *e lep* is the particle of the indefinite tense, showing that the word *lep* (Fiji *levu*, 'great') is a time-word, but the time is continuous, and, in fact, not important for the idea. The darkness may change; it has the more definite particle *mu*, but as long as it is dark, the darkness is great, and so is expressed by the indefinite particle *e*. It hardly seems possible to translate *reŋa* here as anything else than "in", yet it is followed by the verb-form *mu ror*, it is dark. Psychologically, it is obvious that the idea "it is dark" occupies the native mind, not the abstraction "darkness". It is not that a something called "darkness" covers the people for a certain time, but that for a certain time they have an

experience of inability to see, because it is dark. In other words, it is again a time-experience, not an object-experience, to the native mind.

Another possibility is that the entire verbal expression may be treated as a sort of compound object-word. This is an extension of the phenomenon just dealt with. E.g. *reŋa kom viel le wor*, while you are going with him, lit. in you-go-with-him. I know of no other language where there is this continual tendency to translate the abstract into temporal forms. A gerund is common even in other parts of Melanesia, "in your going with him"; in other places again the abstract must be translated into the concrete. Yet, undoubtedly, to the native mind the darkness (to revert to the second example) is just the experience of a certain condition for a certain time, rather than a thing that covers a certain area. It is a combination of our ideas of "in the dark" and "while it was dark".

Most prepositions can be classed as object-words, because they are invariable for tense—and indeed it is hard for us to see how a "preposition" can vary for tense. The preposition shows a persistent relationship between things and is therefore independent of time. Thus, *ar ve jiyin*, they went to him: their movement towards him was permanent, not dependent on the moment, at any rate, as long as it lasted. Similarly in the expression *re vanu ser*, in country their, there is obviously no temporal change going on. The one exception to this is the preposition *pitevi*, for. Here *pi* is certainly the particle of the future tense. In Uripiv the preposition is *tevi*, and the same word seems to be seen in Eromangan *tovuni*. The reason for prefixing *pi* seems to be that until a person has a thing actually in his hands it is only "for" him, the possession is still future, and logic bids one indicate that future by the use of *pi*. This is perfectly clear when the entire sentence is future, but the feeling for a relative future can be noticed even when the main idea of the sentence is past, e.g. *ar lev naroni nono ŋa mu res pitevi*, they took freely thing wh— it good (to be) for him, i.e. they took a liberal supply of good things for him. He had not received them yet; they were still only "for" him. The preposition is then a sort of relative future even though the verb is past. On the other hand the particle *mu* with *res* shows concomitance: the things were already good when they took them. Other examples are: *Mare e tapar vacin pitevi*, the heaven was opened for him; *reŋen taronen mi mok rec pitevi*, during the time he was still speaking to them (these show a slight change in the meaning of *pitevi*, but only similar

to that of the classical dative). In all these examples Uripiv lacks the future prefix. So does English, and so do most languages; yet it cannot be denied that an event which has not yet occurred is still future!

B. *Time-words*

In the treatment of time-words, we shall find it convenient to retain the English nomenclature, viz., adjectives, adverbs, conjunctions, and numerals, in order to show how the treatment of each of these concepts in Achin syntax is such as to justify their being grouped together under the category "time-words".

(i) *Adjectives*

In a number of Melanesian languages the adjective is always or frequently verbalized; in nearly all it can be varied for person and tense if used predicatively. Only in Achin, so far as I know, does it vary systematically for number, person, and tense also, when used attributively. Such a sentence as *cinop ya mi res*, a good man, is fairly closely paralleled by the Mota *o tanun we wia*, where only the ligative particle is missing. But as we say "Everybody will like a good man", the Mota expression remains the same; the Achin phrase becomes *cinop ya pi res*, the "adjective" becoming future like a verb. There are in Achin three uses of adjectives:

1. *Attributively*. *Numbo toptap*, sacred song (*toptap* = common (*tapu*)). This use is not common, but extends to the numeral *sa* (Uripiv *san*), one, when used indefinitely, e.g. *cinop sa*, a certain man.

2. *In Indefinite Tense*: the particle *e* precedes the adjective and the ligative is not used: *wowon vanu e lep*, a big mountain. Change for person can be made in this form, by the substitution of other verbal pronouns for *e*: *No worsurim e pe ko res*: I believe-you that you are good (on *e pe* see under conjunctions). *Po res e pe nise* you shall be good like what? i.e. How will you benefit? This is chiefly a predicative usage.

3. *Other Tenses*: In other tenses according to the verb of the main clause. *Par lesi maciŋen sami pu res*: they shall see works your (shall be) good—"shall be" because you have not yet done them. *Rurpon po roye ralak pi mare*: (in the) morning you shall hear my voice (shall be) up above (but it is not there yet because I have not yet cried out). *Po kete lolomam pi ran*, make our hearts (shall be) clean (but they are not yet so).

In this last usage we see how the futurity of the main action is transferred to the adjective also: the quality cannot be present until the act which is to produce it is done. All this is perfectly logical, but Achin has carried out the logic thoroughly; the majority of languages do not.

(ii) *Adverbs*

The line of demarcation between adjective and adverb is not perfectly clear even in European languages, so that there should be no ground for surprise that in Achin the two are treated similarly. Take, for instance, a word that even in English is on the border line between verb and adverb, the word "over". In Achin this is *su*, a word common in Oceanic, and traceable back to Indonesia. Note how it is used in the future tense: *siveliŋ namboŋ sak pu su*: when my days shall be over (exactly the same logic of tense as in French, *quand mes jours seront passés*); *masaen e su*, the sickness is over; *masaen pu su*, the sickness will be over. Let this usage now be extended to words that cannot also be verbs (though some of them, of course, can be adjectives) and the variation for tense becomes logical:

1. *Kop lek pu res pi serser ini ŋa lolon e ɣar pitevim*: you shall be good immediately he wh- his heart is bitter towards you, i.e. make it up immediately with him who is angry with you.

There are several points of interest here. (a) *Pu res* is future because the main verb, *kop lek*, is future; (b) the action is to be taken *serser*, immediately, but the whole thing is still future, and therefore the action is viewed in the speaker's mind *pi serser*, future immediate. The "immediacy" is yet to come; (c) the prefix in *pitevim*, which we have already studied.

2. *Po roŋroŋres pi lep e pe ŋa ko lek pu res wor ne mare*: you shall rejoice greatly because you shall be good (i.e. happy) in heaven.

Here (a) the adverb *lep*, greatly, is thrown into the future because the main verb *roŋroŋres*, rejoice (lit. feel good), is future; it is a future-joy with a future-greatness; similarly (b) in the second clause *res*, good, is future because the being (*lek*) has not yet eventuated.

3. *Kop van pecelei pu res tipis ŋa mi ara wor*: go and seek well for the child wh- he is born.

They have not yet gone; therefore the goodness of the search is as future as the search itself, and the fact is indicated by the words *pu res*. On the other hand, the child is already born; hence the tense particle *mi*.

4. *Po laia pe viel pu res* : lead me (and) I shall go properly. The meaning here is : I want to go the right way : lead me (future serving as imperative), I shall go, and then it shall be good.

Just as there was an attributive use of the adjective, so there is a use of the adverb without verbal particles : *lolon e ar melker*, he was very angry. Again, there are border line uses with *e* : *e ro e cac*, he was troubled (lit. he felt bad), as compared with the noun *lolcac*, anger, ill-feeling. Similarly *mar tay e lep e lep*, they wept very greatly.

An interesting case of a somewhat similar nature occurs in the largely Polynesian language of Futuna in the southern New Hebrides, where the word *weiwaha*, immediately, is conjugated as a verb, "to be or do immediately." Thus : *āia ni weiwaha ni visau*, he spoke immediately, where the *ni* indicates the 3rd singular past tense. Thus the idea of overlapping parts of speech is not absolutely limited to northern Malekula (indeed it could be illustrated from Rotuma and Fiji and the Banks Islands and other parts of Oceania) and it would be interesting from the viewpoint of psychology to collect detailed examples from the syntax of other Island languages. In fact a comparative syntax of these languages is greatly to be desired.

(iii) Numerals

In regard to numerals, too, there is more than one use in various islands of Melanesia. We have already pointed out that the numeral *sa*, one, can be used attributively in the indefinite sense. But normally numerals are used, as in other languages, with the verbal particle *e* : *soponen e vac*, part four. Now, once Achin admits a verbal particle at all, it may bring in any verbal particle according to its sense of logic, and so we get : *pire cinop pi sa pi roye pu res ko pi visenini cinop e pe ok . . .* : if any man shall be satisfied (lit. feel well about) and shall teach men thus . . . Here the word *pire*, if, is followed by the future tense, just as it would be in Latin in the same sentence (why has French departed from this practice ?), and not be the hypothetical particle *ki*, apparently for the same reason as in Latin, viz. that the condition is possible of fulfilment. The whole idea is future ; not only is the feeling of satisfaction future, but so is the man—he has not yet come forward, and so the numeral is *pi sa*, "future-one." Note again the future tense of the adverb *pu res*.

S. H. Ray (op. cit., p. 292) gives a similar example in Uripiv : *pōra nik ku loli uasi nanu pi san*, if you can do anything (you have not yet done it, therefore it is *pi san*, a future-one thing). Again :

wəŋa sa pi konim kop van roni maili pi sa, kop van roni maili pi ɣeru: or if anyone makes you go with him one mile, you are to go with him two. You have not yet gone either the one or the two; hence, *pi sa, pi ɣeru*.

That this is simply a logical extension of the common Melanesian uses of numerals as verbs, is shown not only by the use of *e*, but also by the fact that the numeral can be used in the negative as well: *wowon vanu e se sa te*: there was not one mountain. There is another particle *ko*, used with numerals, but I am not certain of its meaning: *Nisel ŋa mu nac ko sa*, another way; *mar ma re moral ŋa mi lep ko sa*, they came to a big place.

(iv) Conjunctions

If conjunctions can vary for tense, the explanation is most naturally to be sought in the character of the words used as conjunctions. More than one "part of speech", even in English, can be used as a conjunction. Thus we can say "till he comes", or "till nightfall", making one word do duty as conjunction and preposition. This is true also of other languages, including Achin, with the result that in Achin the peculiarities of time-words are extended to these derived conjunctions. One therefore finds two classes of conjunctions:

1. Words that cannot serve any other purpose, or are object-words and so invariable. Such is *reŋa*, in, while, which we have already studied. Another such is *wəŋa*, or. We have also studied *pire*, if. Another instructive example of this last-mentioned word is: *pire pi sa pi cova, pu cac pu ro*: if there shall be anything further, it will be absolutely wrong. The correlation of tenses is worth noticing.

2. Conjunctions that are really other "parts of speech". A particularly important word of this sort is *pe*, like. It is normally used in a verbal form, *e pe ok*, like this, thus. As such it varies for tense: *pi pe ok*, it will be thus. Combined with the ligative *ŋa*, it serves all the purposes of the English "that" except its use in final clauses. Examples are: *Mar ok e pe ŋa parofit e wire tua*: these things are as the prophets said of old. *Po tikeir tipis wele ko miren e pe ŋa ini ki pecelei tipis wele ok pi revci pini*: he will seek the young child and his mother to kill him. *Reŋa Rama mar roŋe e pe ŋa mar tay e lep e lep*: in Rama they heard that they were crying very greatly; *e pe ŋa Recel e tängsi natun welek e se put mon te, e pe ŋa natun e cika vacin*: because Rachel was weeping for her children, because they were no more; *ini pi pe ŋa mere Nasareti ko sa*: He shall be as a person of Nazareth ("He shall be called a Nazarene"); *kap se kete te pi pe ok*:

don't do it like that (you have not yet done it; it is not yet "like that", hence *pi*); *po lai pitevi pi pe ŋa pi ŋoni*, give to him as he shall ask (he has not asked yet).

Sometimes, however, no conjunction at all is used in place of the English "that", as expressing either purpose or quotation: *Po kete pe terter*: Make I shall be strong, i.e. make me strong. *Kami ko sa e roywusoni pi kete turun po rav kele*: Does one of you know (how to) make his body taller again?

Mention must also be made of methods of dealing with the English relative "when". In the future there is the word *siveliŋ*, an example of which has already been given. In the past the word used is *van*, come, and this can also be used in the future, according to the time of the main verb. Thus: *mi van e rorom lomtoni nono'k*, when he was thinking privately about these things, lit. it came, he was thinking . . . *Pi van ko pi pep natun norman pi sa*: when she brings forth a male child, lit. it shall come (and) she shall bring forth (future)-one child male. Note that the child is still a future-one, like the bringing forth. Similarly, *kop van kap pecelei pu res tipis ŋa mi ara wor, pi van kom sesewei . . .*, go and seek well for the child that is born, and when you (shall) find him . . . So far they had neither gone nor found him; hence the future *pi van*, when. Incidentally this sentence shows the root meaning of *van* as well as the secondary meaning of the word.

C. *Parallels Elsewhere*

Sufficient examples have now been given to justify the assertion that the language of Achin requires the rearrangement of the parts of speech into two categories, object-words and time-words. The same could be said of Uripiv, though there the distinctions do not seem to be so rigidly made. In the Fanting dialect of Ambrim there are similar phenomena, as some of Ray's examples show. Thus on p. 338 of *Melanesian Island Languages* he says: "The adjective is very commonly used in a verbal form with the particles *me*, *mi*, *te*, or *be* (i.e. the verbal particles): *vantin me hakabo*, man bad; *rolon mi yah*, voice loud; *ul mo lolo*, clothes soft; *wobun be sul*, day (will be) third. Fanting has also the ligative in the form of *go*: *vantin go mi mer*: the dead man. One presumes that the same distinctions of tense are made in the first three examples as is specified in the fourth, though Ray does not state the fact, just as he does not bring out the distinctions in Uripiv. We do not, however, find the extension

of tense here to adverbs, conjunctions, and numerals, unless the numeral be used predicatively, as in the example above quoted. It is noteworthy that the southern half of Malekula does not possess any of these distinctive syntactic usages, though in both words and grammar the languages show considerable resemblance to those of the north.

Apart from Ambrim, one can only point to a tendency in many parts of Melanesia to use adjectives and numerals in a verbal form, but there is no agreement in tense with that of the main verb, as here in Achin and Fanting.

D. Interpretations

What conceptions of time and object lie behind Achin syntax? This is an interesting question, but to answer it means "thinking black", and that is a task which still remains for the white man to accomplish.

Certainly here as elsewhere the unit of speech is not the word but the sentence. We express in a sentence a thought that is already complete in our minds. Emphasis is laid on various parts of the thought in different languages. The Englishman is content to say "that man"; the Frenchman says *cet homme-là*, and the Swede says *den där mannen*, mentally pointing him out (though they each do it differently even here). Some languages emphasize the object of the action, some the time of the action, some the manner of the action, and some other features. The complications of the Amerindian languages show this variation of emphasis advanced to a fine art. There is not only a type of mind that is unable to generalize (and therefore has separate words for washing face, hands, feet, garments, etc.) and looks at things and actions as distinct from others that to us are really of the same kind, but there is also a type that having baulked at these generalizations proceeds to detail the exact circumstances of the particular act mentioned. Thus in such a sentence as "The man chased the boy round the tree", the form of the noun in Amerindian languages will tell a lot more about the man and boy than in English, even to stating whether the act took place in the speaker's sight or not.

In English we have simplified our statements to a very large extent; in the languages of the Far East, such as Tibetan and Chinese, they are simplified still further. When we come to Melanesia we find that although a considerable amount of simplification has taken place (and one need only refer to the "Papuan" languages and many of the tongues of western Indonesia in contrast), still

a good deal of definition is made that is not made in English. Still, that definition in most places tends to be definition of concrete things and acts. In the sentence given above, the Melanesian would tend to say "man that he chase him boy round tree"—i.e. the emphasis is not on the time of the action, but on the persons concerned. The act could be seen and the actors noted: when it happened was of less importance.

Now in Achin and Uripiv we find the reverse tendency at work. True, there is still the definition of the agent and the object—the verbal pronouns and demonstratives are still well in evidence—but the time of the action becomes almost a ruling concept. That, of course, is where the difficulty for the foreigner comes in. He has not only to learn native words and idioms, but has to reorientate his methods of thought along the lines of native methods. He has to throw the emphasis where the native would throw it. In the language we have been studying this emphasis is on the time element.

What is the effect of this emphasis on time, and what guides its application? In the first place, the only things independent of time relations are those that persist unchanged throughout all experience. The man who acts is the same before as after; so his name "man" is independent of time. The boy who is chased is still a boy afterwards, so his name "boy" is unchanged. If, now, we extend the sentence by adding the words "till he caught him", we add elements that can be affected by the time emphasis. "Till" is not the same in the given sentence as in the sentence "The man will chase the boy round the tree till he catches him"—to us, perhaps, it is, for all practical purposes, the same, but not to the native. In one case he says, "What happened?"—why, he chased him, "and it came he caught him"; in the other, "What will happen?"—why, he will chase him, "and it will come he will catch him."

Take another type of sentence. The Matthæan text "if thine eye be evil, thy whole body will be evil, and thou shalt be full of darkness" has been rendered into Achin as follows:

Pire metom pu cac
inik pu su pu cac
pu ror pi lep.

If thine eye shall be bad
thou (shalt be) all (shall be) bad
it (will be) dark (will be) great.

From the English point of view this means nothing, but in the native mind it must point to a definite analysis of the whole idea, made before the idea has been expressed. The idea is the connection between

mental and moral darkness. Granted, of course, that the idea itself is foreign to the native mind, how is it to be put into his mind by the missionary whose business it is to make him understand it? In the first place, the thing is certain, though it has not yet come to pass. But it can—it is merely future, not entirely hypothetical. The idea will require the use of the future particle (*pi*) not the hypothetical (*ki*). Now, what parts of the idea can be affected by this contingent futurity? Obviously not your eye—you have that already. But the badness is future, and so is the darkness that will result "if thine eye be evil". Then the evil is still future, as well. That is as far as the Classical Languages would go in the analysis, and farther than English and many other modern languages would press it. But the Achin native seems to say, "Well, if your eye is evil, will it affect the whole or part of your life?" If the whole, then that is part of the futurity, and we get *inik pu su*, you will be entire(ly), i.e. the whole of you will be evil. Then there is the darkness, *pu ror*, it will be dark; yes, but it is not yet dark, *ex hypothesi*. Then the greatness of the darkness is also a future affair, and we get it expressed in the future particle *pi lep*, it will be great. If it remains true that the unit of speech is the sentence, it seems true also that the sentence itself is not identical in every language (the Latin "periodic construction" and the English, say, of Macaulay is a case in point), and it would seem that to the Achin native each section of the idea becomes a separate sentence: *pire metom pu cac—inik pu su—pu ror—pi lep*. The words and phrases hang together (and this may be the psychological ground for the changeable vowel of the verbal particles), but all that connects the whole idea is the futurity of the matter. In fact, we have, not really an elaborate logic carrying the idea of futurity to its utmost possibility, so much as a very elementary thinking in disjointed ideas, each expressed separately, and only bound together by the future particle.

This is only a tentative suggestion of what may be the native outlook, and may be open to correction, but it is at least highly interesting as an unusual development of the time concept in native speech.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

Linguistica

By R. L. Turner

L'INDO-ARYEN DU VEDA AUX TEMPS MODERNES. By JULES BLOCH.
9 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 6 $\frac{1}{2}$, pp. 335. Paris, Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1934. Frs. 80.

The 'discovery' of Sanskrit by Europeans, and in particular by Sir William Jones, did more than any other single factor to stimulate and nourish scientific interest in that comparative and historical study of the Indo-European languages, which alone has formed the firm basis for the training of comparative linguists whether in that or other fields. All Indo-Europeanists have of necessity studied Sanskrit, which till the discovery of Hittite, presented the oldest documents of any Indo-European language: indeed in the first enthusiasm the earlier linguists painted a picture of the ancestral Indo-European language that was probably far too Sanskritic in its colouring. It is therefore curious that a language so important to the linguist should have had till quite recently so little attention paid to its subsequent developments. Yet these present views of the greatest interest to the comparative and historical linguist. From Sanskrit is descended the vast family of languages spoken by over 270 million people from the borders of Baluchistan to the Bay of Bengal, from the Hindu Kush to the 15th degree of latitude far south in the Deccan, and outside India by the Singhalese in the island of Ceylon and throughout Western Asia and Europe by the wandering and settled tribes of gypsies.

Several of these modern Sanskritic languages have long literary histories or are documented by early inscriptions: Bengali, Hindi, Gujarati, Marathi, Singhalese. A process of great importance in the history of language, namely the extension of a dominant language over other linguistic areas, can be observed taking place even now. The history of Sanskrit and its descendants can be traced from perhaps the middle of the second millennium B.C. to the present day, a period longer by nearly a 1,000 years than any similarly documented period in the history of any other language-group. Meillet in his incomparable *Aperçu de la langue grecque* and later in his *Esquisse d'une histoire de la langue latine* showed what interest for the general

reader and scientific profit for the student may be had when a master of linguistic science displays the main lines of the development of a single language-group and the chief influences in its history.

Nurtured in the linguistic school of Meillet, an Indianist trained by Sylvain Lévi, Professor Jules Bloch, himself the originator of the scientific comparative study of the modern Indo-Aryan languages in his famous *Formation de la langue marathe*,¹ has now in this long desired volume described with an astonishing conciseness, and yet with a great wealth of detail, the main developments of that Indo-European dialect, of which the first document is the R̥gveda and the present spoken forms are the modern Indo-Aryan languages. The whole book is informed with so personal an insight into the problems, so critical a linguistic sense, so just an appreciation of the different factors of development and throughout so scientific a spirit, that no linguist, whatever his particular field, can fail to profit by its reading, no Indianist, whether comparativist or not, can afford to be without it.

Many problems, both major and minor, as Bloch throughout his work points out, still await solution. There is for the earlier history of the modern languages a wealth of material still untouched by the linguist. Here are a few points. The apparent absence of a form corresponding to Skt. *t̥ṇa-* in Iranian is adduced to support the argument that Finno-Ugrian (with its Ostiak *tōrən*) borrowed some at least of its Aryan vocabulary from an Indo-Aryan rather than an Iranian source. Yet **t̥ṇa-* is attested for Iranian by Saka *ttarra* 'grass, straw' (Konow, *Saka Studies* p. 187).

It is often tempting to see survivals or archaisms in forms which can perhaps be better explained. Pa. *gahita-* (p. 14) in my opinion is more likely an analogical replacement of **gahita-* < Skt. *gr(b)hītā-* (given the exceeding frequency of the ending *-ita-*) than a survival of a Prim. IA. **grbhita-*. The assumption, with Helmer Smith, that *umha-* (p. 15) is a survival of an IE. form beginning with *u-*, not *yu-*, is unnecessary since (BSOS. V, p. 46) initial *y-* in pronominal forms is liable to disappear (Aśokan *a-* etc. < *yá-*) and the Yājñavalkya Śikṣā prescribes for the *v-* of *vaḥ* and *vām* a light pronunciation.

¹ The first and immediate success of this work has had one unfortunate result. Too many students have been led to think that despite inadequate material or preparation they could do the same for other modern Indian languages. May such in the future turn rather to the solution of the many problems which Professor Bloch suggests for study in the present volume.

It has been generally assumed that Pa. *vīsati* (p. 37) represents IE. **wī-* (Lat. *vīginti*, etc.). But is it necessary to go beyond Skt. *vimśati*? For *imh* already in Pa. > *ih* (*sīha-* < *simhá-*) as later *amh* in Pkt. > *āh*; *imś* > Pkt. *īs* (*pīs-* 'grind' < *pinś-*), although remaining in Pali. But sound-change appears earlier in numerals than in other words: witness Aś. *trāidasa* < *trāyodaśa* and *cāvudasaṃ* with early loss of *-t-*. Thus the change, *imś* > *īs*, is in accordance with the system and appears in the first favourable circumstances.

On the contrary in another instance the survival of an ablaut form not found in Skt. is likely. Bloch (p. 56) following other writers assumes that in three words Skt. *paṭhati*, Pa. *paṭhama-* and *paṭi-* an original dental occlusive has been cerebralized by a preceding *r*, although not in contact with it, and derives from *prath-*, *prathamá-*, *prāti*. The fourth example given is Pa. *saṭhila-* beside Skt. *śithilá-* and Pkt. *sidhila-* as belonging to Skt. *śrath-*. Herein surely lies the solution of the problem: *śithilá-* etc., as the variation of vowel shows, is derived not from **śrathila-*, but from **śrithilá-* (Nep. Dict. s.v. *dhilo*) with the vocalization proper to this formation. Similarly may we not assume **prthāti* beside *práthate* (cf. *prthú-*, and the type *tirāti*: *tárati*) as origin of *paṭhati* (despite the gram. accent *páṭhati*). This is indirectly supported by Pkt. *appāhai* 'teaches' < **āprāthayati* beside *paṭhai* < **prthāti*. Similarly *paṭhama-* < **prthama-* beside *prathamá-* (with the same vocalization as OHG. *fordar* beside Gk. *πρότερος*); and *paṭi* < **pṛti* (as in Germ. *fort*; cf. the coexistence of the two ablaut-forms in one language-group, Gk. *πρός* and *πρός*).

Skt. final vowels survive as whispered vowels more extensively than is indicated on p. 42. In Gujarati, as N. B. Divatia (*Gujarati Language* p. 224) and T. N. Dave (*BSOS*. VI, p. 677) have shown, MidIA. *-ī* survives as a whispered vowel or a palatalization of the preceding consonant. But this is not shown in writing. Against this general reduction or disappearance of final vowels it is difficult to admit (except for monosyllables) Bloch's contention that in exceptional cases Skt. final long vowels remain; and I prefer to derive Mar. *āmhi*, not from Pkt. *amhe* (p. 43), but from the inst. *amhehiṃ*: the nasal is retained in Pj. and Si. *asī*, where it is not masked by a preceding *m*. The replacement of the nominative by the instrumental in the personal pronouns is common (type Hi. *mai*); and it is at least noteworthy that in the 1st plur. OGuj. *-auṃ* < *-āmaḥ* (e.g. *jāṇauṃ* 'we know') has been replaced by what was originally a passive construction demanding a pronoun in the instrumental, *ame jāṇiye*

(= Pkt. *amhehim jāñīāī*), which is left unexplained (p. 248). A similar invasion of the passive probably accounts for the 2nd and perhaps 3rd sg. of the Nep. imperative-subjunctive (p. 246) *gares, gare* (or *garyes, garye*).

Amidst all the detail, especially in the chapters on Phonology, there are naturally some points on which all will not find themselves in full agreement with Professor Bloch. The following, however, which I view somewhat differently from him, do not for the most part affect the main lines of his demonstration or the general accuracy of the picture he set out to draw.

P. 18. It would be better to speak of the passage of *t* rather than *d* to *r* in Khowar. For Skt. *-d-* disappears and only *-t-* remains as *-r-*: *chān* 'leaf' < *chadana-* (Morgenstierne, *Report*¹ p. 72), *ūγ* 'water' < *udakā-*; similarly *-th-* > *r*, but *-dh-* loses its occlusion *chui* (= *chui*?) 'hunger' < *kṣudhā*, *prai* 'he beat' cf. *prādhāt*, *gōm* 'wheat' < *godhāma-*, etc. Kalasha should be included as a language in which *-t-* > *-l-* (hence derivation of *tara* < Skt. *tataḥ* suggested on p. 198 is suspect). Shina, included here and on p. 63, must be definitely excluded (see *BSOS*. IV, p. 533 ff.). And Kalasha, like Khowar, loses the occlusion of *-d-* as opposed to *-t-*: *ūk* 'water', *wīsau* 'boils' < **wīṣal* < *udīṣati* 'rises'.

P. 19. Kalasha is to be classed rather as Dardic than as Kafiri (Morgenstierne, *Report*² p. 51): the strong Kafiri element in its vocabulary is almost certainly loan material from the adjoining Kati (*ib.* p. 52).

P. 32. The MI. development of *r* to (*r*)*u* only in the presence of labials is not quite comparable with the distinction between Skt. *ir* and *ur*, for though the latter represents IE. **r* (or better **r*) in the presence of labials, it also appears where there is no labial and represents rather IE. **r*: *tīrṇā-* but *ātūrta-*, *tīrāti* but *supratūr-*, **praturati* (Nep. *Dict. s.v. pauraṇu*), *tīrthā-* as well as **tūrtha-* (Nep. *Dict. s.v. turnu*).

P. 33. Is it correct to say "*-o* issu de **az* décompose parfois en *-ay*"? Rather **az* before initial vowel > *ay*, unexploded intervocalic *-z-* > *y*, just as later in Gilgiti Shina *-z-* (from Skt. *-s-*) > *-y-*: *hayóikī* 'to laugh' < *hāsayati*, *sāyārē* 'sisters' < *svāsārah* beside Kohistani Shina *hažōnu*, *sazāre*. It is this *-ay* which becomes *-a* before vowels, as *-āy* (< **āi*) became *-ā*.

P. 34. Stability of sound-system as between Sanskrit and ModIA. applies only to the languages of India proper, which were most influenced by and themselves influenced Sanskrit as a literary language.

On the borders, particularly in the North-west, the system was far less stable, and a number of new phonemes appeared : e.g. the voiced correspondents of \acute{s} $\acute{\zeta}$ s , namely \acute{z} $\acute{\zeta}$ z , the cerebrals \acute{c} \acute{ch} j , the spirants x γ δ f , while the groups containing r show a bewildering variety of sounds unknown to Sanskrit.

P. 35. It is not clear how Skt. *śṛṇóti* proves indirectly the existence of a treatment $r + \text{vowel}$, since it correctly represents an IE. **kl̥-ne-u-*. On the other hand Aśoka *sruneṇu* etc. probably owes its *ru* to the past participle *śrutá-* < IE. **kl̥uto-*. Pa. *pucchati*, *vicchika-* etc. are ambiguous, for they may well represent earlier **prucchati*, **vricchika-* : there is therefore no necessary contrast between Dutr. *prudhi* and Pa. *puthu* (*pṛthak*) except that in the NW. form *pr* survives, while in the East even before the time of Aśoka *pr-* > *p-* ; cf. the case of Pj. *matēr* 'stepmother' < **mattiara* < **mātritarā* < **māṭṭarā* discussed below, p. 220.

P. 40. Anusvāra before a consonant indicated something more than a mere nasalization of the vowel, for when that something was lost, the nasalized vowel was lengthened (*vaṁśá-* > *bāś*), just as when the consonantal element of *n* in the group *nt* was lost (*dānta-* > *dāt*).

P. 47. In face of the nasalization of vowels in the presence of a nasal consonant, we may note that in OGuj. the ending of 3rd sg. pres. *-ai* (< *-ati*) becomes *-aim* if the verb is preceded by the negative *na*.

P. 49. Read *dvāra-* rather than *duvāra-* as the source of Shina *dāri* 'doors'.

P. 53. The Kafiri dental semi-occlusives cannot be compared with those of Kashmiri, Singhalese etc., for the latter represent Skt. *c*, *j*, while Kaf. *č* corresponds to Skt. *ś*, and Kaf. has only palatals *č*, *ḥ* corresponding to Skt. *c*, *j*. MI. *jhā-* as source of Ksh. *zāl* is a slip for *jāl-* (Skt. *jvālayati*) as correctly given later. Ksh. *chuh* 'is' presents no phonological difficulty, since it is < Skt. *dhṛ̥ṣeti*, with regular *ch* < *kṣ* (BSOS. V, p. 137 ff.).

P. 54. In Sindhi *jñ* regularly appears as *ñ* : *oñāṇu* < **upajñāna-*, *vñāṇu* < *vijñāna-*. In *jaṇyo* < *yaññōpavītā-* the dissimilation of *ñ* to *ṇ* (due to the other palatals) was later than the simplification of double consonants, since MI. *ṇṇ* > Si. *n*. In *āṇa* < *ājñā* and *rāñī* < *rājñī* the phenomenon is Middle and Common Indian, retention of the long vowel *ā* through analogy (type *ā-sarati* etc. and masculine *rājā*) led to the early shortening of the following double consonant. Guj. and Mar. equally have *āṇ* and *rāñī*, not **ān*, **rānī*.

P. 55. Is it not possible that Aśoka Girnar *das(s)ana-* with *ṇ*

may as an administrative term be a loan from the Eastern dialect, for whose earlier change of *-n-* > *-ṇ-* we have some evidence.

P. 56. The confusions of dental and cerebral development of the group *r* and dental are due not to confusion or hesitations in phonetic change, but are facts of vocabulary, due to the extension of particular words from one dialect to another. "Le fait dominant" is not so much "l'extension nouvelle des cérébrales", as the extension of particular words containing cerebrals.

P. 57. In Shina *tr* > *ç*, not *ʈ*: hence *goṭ* 'house' < *goṣṭhá-* (not *gōtrá-*) as in Tir. *guṣṭa* (Morgenstierne *AO.* xii, p. 180), and other Dardic languages; and *paṭū* 'leaf' (unless a loan from a dialect of the Garwi type) is < *paṭṭa-* rather than *páttra-*, whether or not there is any ultimate connection between these two (*Nep. Dict.* s.v. *pāt*¹). Skt. *pátati* remains in all the NW., viz. Sindhi, Lahnda, Panjabi and West Pahāṛī dialects, besides Kashmiri.

P. 62. It should perhaps be noted that in Mod. Singhalese *h* represents earlier Sgh. *s* < Skt. *c*, while earlier Sgh. *h* < Skt. *s* has disappeared: thus *ūrā* 'wild boar' < *sūkará-*, but *horā* 'thief' < *corá-*. The difference in the dates of these developments is clearly seen in the inscriptions.

P. 63. *Kati ftā* 'given' and corresponding Dardic forms on p. 270 from *prátta-* (Morgenstierne, *Report*¹ p. 53) rather than *prāpta-*; cf. also Kalasha *pra* 'I gave' < *prādām* beside present *dem*.

P. 65. In my mind there is no doubt that Pa. *kāhāmi* is derived not from **karṣyāmi* but from **kā(s)sāmi* formed after *dā(s)sāmi* and *dāhāmi* < *dāsyāmi*, just as Pkt. *kā(d)um* is not derived from *kārtum*, but formed after *dātum* etc. (cf. *BSOS.* VI, p. 531 ff., where the influence of the verbs in *-ā* on *MI.* conjugation is discussed).

P. 67. The Guj. form is *ame*, not *hame*, and does not therefore come into question here.

P. 70. It is incorrect to say that Asiatic Gypsy has only one sibilant to represent the three of Skt. Unlike European Gypsy it confuses *s* and *ś* as *s*, but maintains *ṣ* as *ś*: only Armenian Gypsy confuses all three. Cf. my *Position of Romani in Indo-Aryan*, p. 19 ff.

P. 71. **drīggha-* (as on p. 85) rather than **drīgha-* as the intermediary between *dirghá-* and Shina *ṣigu*.

P. 81. In regard to Aśoka Girnar *thaira-* < *sthāvira-* beside *asti* < *ásti*, there would be nothing surprising in a difference of treatment between initial *st(h)-* and medial *-st(h)-*, since this is seen in Gypsy (*Position of Romani*, p. 22). On the other hand *īthī* with assimilation

both of *st* and of *r* is clearly an Eastern loan, since Girnar maintained *tr*; at the same time *thaira-*, later used as a technical Buddhist term and already a term of address as shown by the unexpectedly early loss of *-v-* and crasis of resultant *ai*, may equally well be an Eastern loan. Although Girnar apparently confused *st* and *sth* at least in the intervocalic position, this was not universal, for Kalasha distinguishes initial *st-* > *ist-* from *sth-* > *th-*: *istōnim* < *stānāmi*, *istri* < *strī*, but *them* < *sthāpāyāmi*, *thūr* < *sthūnā*, *thūl* < *sthūla*.

P. 83. The forms of Nep. *pāu-* and Guj. *pām-* do not confirm MI. *pāpun-*, since they derive not from this but from *prāpayati*. On the other hand the stem of the Sgh. verb is not *pām-* but *pāmin-*, and this like Dutr. *pamuni* rests on *prāpnoti* > **pamn-* > *pamun-*, while Gir. *prāpunāti* represents insertion of vowel before *-pn-* > *mn*, unless as is possible *-m-* in both Dutr. and Sgh. represents *-v-* < *-p-*.

P. 84. Whereas *dvāra-* shows two dialectical developments *dāra-* and *bāra-*, *dvipā-* has one only as *dīpa-*, for *v* was dissimilated by the following labial, just as we find early loss of *-v-* in Pkt. in words beginning with a labial *piāi* < *pibati*, *paīsaī*, *uvaīsaī* < *praviśati*, *ūpaviśati*.

P. 86. Ksh. *wanda*, Shina *yōny* 'winter' cannot certainly be derived from *hemantā-* since both languages preserve Skt. *-m-*. Are they < **hemna-*? Cf. Skt. *héman* in winter = Ashkun *zē*, Dameli *zīn* (in both of which the *-nt-* of *hemantā-* would remain).

P. 91. One important source of the gemination of consonants is overlooked. A language possessed only of double intervocalic consonants when it borrows a foreign word containing the unknown single intervocalic consonant naturally reproduces it as the known double. It appears therefore by no means improbable that MI., knowing only double consonants and borrowing from the learned language a word like *eka-*, could reproduce it only as *ekka-*, in the same way as Mod. Panjabi doubles the single intervocalic occlusives of Sanskrit or other foreign loanwords: Pj. *āṭṭā* with long *ā* (opposed to Si. *aṭo*) is loan from Hi. *āṭā*. On p. 93 the single *-s-* of Si. *asī* is not really opposed to the double of Pj. *assī*, since Si. *asī* rests on older *assī* with the same doubling: MI. *asīi* < Skt. *aśūti-* would have appeared in Si. as **ahī*.

P. 123. It is difficult to see how stems in *-in-* influenced stems in *-i-* so as to produce acc. pl. in *-īn*. Is not this rather formed on the analogy of the masc. stems in *-a-*: *-am*: *-ān* = *-im*: *-īn*, while *-ān* for **-ons* is due to the analogy *-aḥ*: *-āḥ* = *-am*: *-ān*?

P. 143. I have maintained elsewhere (*JRAS.* 1927, p. 232 ff.) that Pkt. gen. sg. *-aha* is < *-asya*, of which the form *-asa* is attested by Gypsy, and *-aṣa* (= *-aza*) by the Khar. Doc.

P. 144. The fact that Apabhraṃśa distinguishes a locative case in the singular but not in the plural, is by no means necessarily a sign of its artificiality. For distinction of case seems to be a need felt more for the singular than for the plural. As is well known, IE. distinguished dative and ablative in the singular, but not in the plural. The terminations of the dat., abl., inst. and loc. plural with their greater variety of form indicate later creation in IE. than the corresponding terminations of the singular; in the dual we have no evidence for a distinction of more than three cases. And in fact in the modern IA. languages separate forms for both loc. and inst. have lingered longer in the singular than in the plural.

P. 151. It seems unnecessary to follow A. Pillai and L. V. R. Iyer (*Ed. Rev. Madras*, Oct. 1928, p. 6) against Caldwell and Gundert and to assume that the final *-am* of Tamil and Telugu nouns is borrowed from Skt. neuter nom. acc. *-am*. For their view neglects the fact that this *-am* appears also in the plural in Kanarese before the suffix *-gal*.

P. 152. B. refers to the general use of a postposition to replace the direct case (old accusative) with animate nouns. This differentiation of animate and inanimate declension showed itself first in the use of the oblique case (usually the old genitive) to replace the accusative of animate nouns; cf. the similar process in Slavonic in which also the old nom. and acc. had coalesced and the old genitive is used as the direct object case of animate nouns. This use of the oblique is still found in Gypsy, where *-es* (< *-asya*) sometimes by itself forms the direct object case of animate nouns, the old nom. acc. or 'direct' case being used in a similar function for inanimate nouns.

P. 153. Hi. *tārā* m. is probably an inherited form, not borrowed from Skt. *tārā*, cf. Skt. *tāraka*- n. in MBh.: for there is no reason why Nep., Kum., Bhad., Si., Guj., all with *tāro* m., should have conceived of a Skt. loanword *tārā* as masculine, since in these languages the nom. sg. masc. ends in *-o*, not *-ā*.

P. 173. Kashmiri *sūtin* 'with' < **saktēna* rather than **sahitēna*, which does not account for Ksh. *t*.

P. 186. In Lahnda the comparative suffix *-erā* < *-a-tara-* still remains (O'Brien, *Gram. Multani*, p. 16).

P. 199. To refuse the development *-s-* > *-h-* in certain conditions for nearly all IA. languages is to make unnecessary difficulty. That

-s- in a pronoun (or in a termination, *JRAS.* 1927, p. 230 ff.) should become -h- earlier than in other words holds nothing surprising, when the phonetic history of unstressed pronominal forms in whatever language is considered. There appears to be no objection to deriving Apabhraṃśa *aho*, *eho* from Skt. *aśau*, *eśā* (Pkt. *eso*). So with another pronoun Si. *chā* 'what?' which B. wrongly connects with Skt. *kim*, not accounting for Si. *ch*. Guj. *śo* beside earlier *kaśo* < *kisiu*, and Beames derivation from **ksā* < **kasā* suggest its origin from Skt. *kīḍṣa-* > **kūśa-* > **kśa-* with loss of the interior vowels before -ś- > -h-.

P. 210. The grounds for assuming an IA. **didāti* beside *dādāti* are slender. The *i* of Pkt. *diṇṇa-* and Pj. *dittā* is to be ascribed rather to the influence of the past part. -*dīta-* seen in *vyādīta-*, Hi. *diyā* etc. (Tedesco *JAOS.* 43, p. 358 ff.) and indirectly attested in *prātta-* etc.

P. 237. The evidence for the existence of the Skt. augment in past tenses of Khowar and Kalasha is passed over too hurriedly. 'Irregular' forms are more decisive, like Khow. *bīr* 'he goes': *boyai* 'he went' (cf. Skt. *vyēti*: *vyāgāt*), or Kal. *pīm* 'I drink' *pīn* 'they drink': *awis* 'I drank' *aun* 'they drank' (as given by Leitner: LSI. has also the newer analogical forms *apīs* etc.: Skt. *pibāmi*: *apibam*), and Kal. *kāreu* 'he does': *āro* 'he did' (cf. Skt. *karōti*: *ākarot*). In the face of the MI. change of consonants made intervocalic by the addition of the augment, it is difficult to see anything but the survival of the augment in these forms (*BSOS.* IV, p. 538 ff.).

P. 267. The obl. pres. part. in -*tā* in Guj. and Mar. refers to the subject of the main sentence: e.g. *to calṭā calṭā khālī paḍlā* 'he fell down while walking'. But in Old Guj. it never referred to the subject of the main sentence, but was of the type *teha naiṃ jīvatām sukha* 'to them while alive there is happiness' or *sevatām vimāśivaum* 'while people are using, it should be considered'. The origin then appears to be a genitive plural of the semi-absolute type found in Sanskrit.

P. 283. The statement that the Sanskrit infinitive has disappeared except perhaps in Marathi, is too sweeping. It survives still in Hindi and Gujarati with the verb "to be able": *mai kar saktā hū* or *hū karī śakū chū* reproduces the Skt. type *śaknomi kartum*. MI. *karium* > *karī*, *kar* equally with MI. *karia*.

P. 285. Aśoka *karum* 'while doing' can equally well be a nom. sg. pres. participle replacing *kurvan* (-*m* < -*n*) and formed on the stem of *karo-* *kuru-*. It is in just such a common word as the verb "to do" that the old form might resist, or exist side by side with (as here) the new analogical formation in -*anta-*.

P. 308. To the four languages in which alone *mā* is said to survive should be added Kafiri (Dameli *ma*), Dardic (Kal. *mo*, Kho. *mə*), Gujarati *ma*, *mā*.

The great contribution which Professor Bloch makes is that amidst all this detail much of which is uncertain and must remain so till far more workers have entered the field, he has produced a clear picture of the main line of development undergone by the Indo-Aryan languages and has displayed wherever possible the system of that development. This is equally true of the section on morphology, in which Professor Bloch has made even greater personal contributions.

A ROMAN ALPHABET FOR INDIA. By SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI. Calcutta University Phonetic Studies, No. 4. $6\frac{1}{4} \times 9\frac{1}{2}$, pp. 58. Calcutta University Press, 1935.

A single alphabet for the whole of India, in which all its languages should generally be written and printed, is greatly to be desired. Were it not for the use of the Perso-Arabic script by large communities of Moslems and others, the Devanāgarī script might have served this purpose, and have replaced the other descendants of Brāhmī. But there is little hope of the general adoption of a Nāgarī script by Moslems accustomed to the Perso-Arabic. Further, it would seem desirable that the main Indian languages, such as Hindustani or Bengali, which will be the vehicles of Indian culture to the rest of the world in the future, should not place any necessary obstacles in the way of foreigners' acquisition of them. No doubt even Russian and Russian literature would have been more widely known in Western Europe but for its unfamiliar alphabet. The Roman alphabet has long been used for transliterating Indian scripts, but the larger number of symbols required for these much more phonetic scripts has necessitated the use of a number of diacritical marks usually placed above or below the letter concerned. These marks are not generally available in Indian presses; they are liable to damage in type, and to be omitted by careless writers or compositors.

Professor Chatterji in this most interesting, and by far the most practical, of systems based on Roman avoids the first two difficulties firstly by using no new letters or other symbols not available in all founts, and secondly by putting such diacritical marks as are employed on a line with, and not above or below, the letter concerned. The new letters required he obtains partly by diacritical marks such as : after a vowel to denote length, ' after a consonant to denote

cerebral pronunciation; partly by the use of some inverted letters. This has the very great merit of reducing the number of diacritical marks required and of entirely avoiding the necessity for new type. But it would be helpful if the author indicated what form these inverted letters should take in handwriting. For a few languages needing additional symbols, italic letters are suggested. In my opinion it is a mistake to mix types: it is ugly; it would be a constant source of confusion in composition; and it would be difficult to make the distinction in handwriting. Perhaps Professor Chatterji could avoid this by some other device. The pamphlet deserves to be studied, and its main principles adopted, by men of all parties and languages and religions in India.

VEDIC VARIANTS. Vol. III: Noun and Pronoun Inflection. By M. BLOOMFIELD, F. EDGERTON, and M. B. EMENEAU. $6\frac{3}{4} \times 9\frac{3}{4}$, pp. 513. Linguistic Society of America, Philadelphia, 1934.

The value and special bearing on Vedic philology and the linguistic history of Indo-Aryan of the great work undertaken by Professor Edgerton in 'Vedic Variants' were enlarged upon in reviewing the first two volumes. The author has now given us the third volume of this study of the variant readings in the repeated *mantras* of the Veda. In this Edgerton's own contribution is even greater than in the previous volumes; for here Bloomfield's work did not go beyond a preliminary and incomplete collection of materials; and although Dr. M. B. Emeneau has given most valuable assistance, the responsibility for the final form of the work is entirely Edgerton's.

The material, the variants in noun and pronoun inflection, here analysed with such great accuracy and insight falls into two parts. The first dealing with formal variants is really an addition to the descriptive grammar of Vedic, which supplements and occasionally corrects the third volume of the *Altindische Grammatik*. The second part contains the syntactic and stylistic variants. These, also, really fall into two separate categories, of which the first, the syntactic variants, has the greater bearing on the history of linguistic development. The quite surprising interchange of cases which is disclosed by the variants throws much light on the history of a language which in its spoken forms was progressively decreasing the number and the clear distinction of its cases, and which has resulted in some modern languages practically devoid of nominal inflection at all.

In Dr. Emeneau, Professor Edgerton has an assistant who will help him to complete the publication of the great work, of which the

first three volumes, so extensive in their material, so well arranged in their presentation and so meticulous in their accuracy, have already astonished us with the speed of their production.

ZUR INDOIRANISCHEN UND GRIECHISCHEN NOMINALBILDUNG. By HJALMAR FRISK. Göteborgs Kungl. Vetenskaps- och Vitterhets-samhälles Handlingar, Ser. A, Band 4, No. 4. $6\frac{1}{2} \times 9\frac{3}{4}$, pp. 75. Elander, Göteborg, 1934.

Dr. Frisk has made a thorough study of all Sanskrit words containing, or appearing to contain, the suffix *-ra-*. Starting from the comparatively small number of forms shown by exact equivalents in two or more other IE. languages to be actually received from Indo-European, he shows the continued growth of formations with this suffix and its various derivatives. The whole is informed with a severe linguistic and philological method in keeping with the quotation from Meillet's *La méthode comparative en linguistique historique* with which F. prefaces his work. A few points. The identification (p. 18) of *vapra-* 'mound' with Av. *vafra-* 'snow' proposed by Morgenstierne *AO.* i, 256, is held to be somewhat doubtful on account of meaning. But it is supported by the similar meanings of Skt. *kiri-* in *ākhukiri-* 'mole-heap' and among modern Dardic languages as recorded by Morgenstierne: Kalasha *'kīrik* 'snow', Palula *kīr* (*NTS.* v, 339 where M. compares Skt. *kirāti*), Dameli *kīr* (*Report* 2, 58). *tamrá-*, though ἀπ. λεγ. in RV., possibly survives in Gypsy Greek *tam* 'blindly' with an extension in Welsh etc. *tamlo* 'dark, obscure'.

This study is followed by some equally careful and well-informed smaller articles:—1) on RV. *Vaibhūvasā-*, which F. shows is a haplogy for **vaibhūvasava-*, derivative of *Vibhūvasu-*; 2) on the formation of Bahuvrihi compounds in Old Iranian of which he displays the tendency to form thematic stems; 3) the existence of an *-ak-* infix in Greek and Indo-Aryan.

LES FORMATIONS NOMINALES ET VERBALES EN *p* DU SANSKRIT. By BATAKRISHNA GHOSH. $6\frac{1}{2} \times 10$, pp. 114. Adrien-Maisonneuve, Paris, 1933. 25 f.

On the suggestion of Professor Wüst, Dr. Ghosh has studied with profit the words in Sanskrit which suggest the existence of a nominal suffix *-pa-* and at the same time the so-called causative suffix *-paya-*. He has made out a good case for the existence of such a nominal suffix in Sanskrit, although there are few traces in other IE. languages. I would refer especially to his analysis of *dhūpa-*, *stūpa-*, *pūspa-*, *śāspa-*, *tālpa-*. The

-p- of *-paya-* Dr. Ghosh considers, and produces good reason for considering, an enlargement of the root, without at first any specific causative meaning: the later attachment of definite causative meaning to it is paralleled by the history of the suffix *-aya-*. Some points perhaps require further discussion or elucidation. In making the, to me at least, highly doubtful suggestion that the *ṇ* of *śloṇá-* and *ślavaṇa-* in face of *śroṇá-* and *śrávaṇa-* is due to a cerebral pronunciation of *l*, Gh. has neglected the suggestion of the late Professor Charpentier that the *ṇ* of *lavaṇá-* was so changed before *r > l*, and that *lavaṇá-* therefore presupposes a **ravaṇa-*. To say (p. 15) that *ṛ* alternates with *al* in *sr-*: **sal-* (in *ucchal-*) is surely wrong: rather *ar* alternates with *al* (*sáratī*: **salatī*, like *cáratī*: *calatī*). The grammarians' *dhātu* still provides pitfalls for the unwary. In showing that *púṣpa-* is to be analysed as *puṣ-pa-* Gh. has omitted *púṣya-* of which the meaning 'flower' (cf. also AV. *puṣyá* f. 'a species of plant') is attested in the modern languages; nor does he mention the theory of Helmer Smith that *púṣpa-* represents a NW. form of **puṣma-*, by which would be explained the *puṣa* of the MS. Dut. du Rheims. The omission of *púṣya-* is the more surprising as it provides an excellent parallel to the other pair discussed, *śaspa-* and *sasyá*: for according to Gh. *śaspa-* is *< *sas-pa-*. Given the change of initial *s-* to *ś-*, for which, however, Gh. offers no satisfactory explanation, there is no need to assume the work of analogy for the change of *s* to *ś*. That may be purely phonetic. In Sanskrit, as is well known, Ar. *s—ś > ś—ś* (*śváśura-*), and *s—ś > ś—ś* (*śúśyati*). Similarly *ś—s > ś—ś* (*śaśá-*). But just as the assimilation *s—ś > ś—ś* would lead to the unusual initial *ś-* so that it was replaced by *ś-*, so also in **śaspa-* the assimilation of *ś—s* to *ś—ś* would lead to the unusual combination *-śp-*, and it was replaced by *-sp-*. It is wrong to say (p. 57) that, in face of the older *kaśyapa-*, the etymology of Yāska (*kaccham pāti* etc.) loses all value, for Yāska appears to have hit upon precisely the folk-etymology which changed *kaśyápa-* to *kacchapa-*.

But in the main Dr. Ghosh's exposition is thorough and informative and his judgment sober. He has added to our knowledge of the formation of Sanskrit words.

RGVEDA-SAMHITĀ. Part I. Edited by SATISCHANDRA SEAL and SITANATH PRADHAN. Indian Research Institute Publications: Vedic Series. 7½ × 10, pp. viii, 102, 22. Calcutta, 1933. 2s. 6d.

The difficulty and expense of obtaining a well-printed text of the Rgveda, either in India or elsewhere, has long been felt. A moderately

priced, accurately printed text alone would have been very welcome. The plan of the editors of this publication is however far more grandiose. When completed, it is to contain the accented text, the Padapāṭha, Sāyaṇa's Commentary with extracts from other commentators such as Skandasvāmin, Veṅkaṭamādhava, Guṇaviṣṇu, Ānandatīrtha, etc., together with variant readings and explanatory and critical notes in Sanskrit; an English translation (in the light of Sāyaṇa's Commentary) and notes containing the interpretations of Western scholars; and finally two other translations in Hindi and Bengali.

This first part contains an Introduction in Sanskrit, the Introduction to Sāyaṇa's Commentary, and the first two hymns of the Ṛgveda, with their English translation; but no Hindi or Bengali translation. There is then not much on which to form a judgment. Of the text and commentaries there is nothing to be said except that there is here some hitherto unpublished commentary and that unfortunately misprints are by no means absent. Every effort should be made to avoid these in future. The English translation, by Sitanath Pradhan, with its notes, is praiseworthy, but it suffers from the drawback that it is based on Sāyaṇa. The translator has made wide, though not exhaustive, use of Western scholarship, and—perhaps one of the best features—extensive collection of parallel passages. It is unfortunate that in his romanized text he has not put in accent marks, thus necessitating constant turning back to the devanāgarī text. This could be corrected in subsequent parts. The rules of the Institute prescribe that one fascicule shall be published every month. This one, published in August 1933, is all that we have received. Whether or not Rule 10, "The whole Ṛgveda-saṃhitā will be published in five years, if not earlier" will be carried out, we cannot say.

ĀPASTAMBĪYADHARMASŪTRAM: ĀPASTAMBA'S APHORISMS ON THE SACRED LAW OF THE HINDUS. Edited in the original Sanskrit, with critical notes, variant readings from Hiraṇyakeśi-Dharmasūtras, an alphabetical index of sūtras, and word-index, together with extracts from Haradatta's Commentary, the Ujjvalā. By G. BÜHLER. 3rd ed. 7 × 10, pp. xii, 280. Bombay Sanskrit Series, 1932. Rs. 3.

Mr. M. G. Shastri has performed a service to Sanskrit studies by seeing through the press this third edition of Bühler's well-known *Āpastambīyadharmasūtra*.

THE UṆĀDISŪTRAS WITH THE VṚTTI OF ŚVETAVANAVĀSIN. Edited by
T. R. CHINTAMANI. Madras University Sanskrit Series No. 7.
6½ × 9½, pp. xiii, 236, 46. University of Madras, 1933. 6s.

This is the first part of a projected series of the Uṇādisūtras in various recensions. The most popular of the Uṇādisūtras is the one commented upon by Ujjvaladatta and Bhaṭṭoji Dikṣita. This is the one, belonging to the system of Pāṇini, on which the commentary of Śvetavanavāsin has been here edited by Mr. Chintamani. The Introduction contains a note on the author of the commentary, but discussion on the disputed question of the authorship of the text itself and of Uṇādi literature in general has been left to the last part of the series. The editing of the text, based on three MSS., has been competently carried out; and the usefulness of the volume is greatly enhanced by the indexes of sūtras and words. The University of Madras is to be congratulated on the continuation of its Sanskrit Series.

NANDIKĒŚVARA'S ABHINAYA-DARPAṆAM. Edited by MANOMOHAN
GHOSH. 6 × 9½, pp. lxxii, 66, 55. Calcutta Sanskrit Series, 1934.

Conventionalized gesture plays a great part in the dancing and dramatic representations of India and the further East. We welcome therefore this excellent edition of the Abhinaya-darpana of Nandikēśvara prepared by Mr. Manomohan Ghosh. In addition to the text, provided with an *apparatus criticus* (based on two complete and three fragmentary MSS.), Mr. Ghosh has given an informative introduction, an English translation, a selected glossary, and a good index.

THE PADYĀVALĪ OF RŪPA GOSVĀMIN. Edited by SUSHIL KUMAR DE
Dacca University Oriental Publications Series, No. 3. 6½ × 10,
pp. cxliv, 296. University of Dacca, 1934. Rs. 7.8.

The text here ably edited by one whose name is so well known in the field of Sanskrit Poetics is a Vaiṣṇava anthology in Sanskrit compiled by Rūpa Gosvāmin, who flourished in Bengal in the fifteenth century. In addition to the text with a full *apparatus criticus* based on sixteen MSS., Dr. De, in a long and most interesting Introduction of over 100 pages, has dealt with the life and works of the author and the development of the Caitanya movement and the Bhakti-cult in mediaeval Bengal. He further greatly enriches the literary and historical value of the book by notes on the authors of the various poems included in the anthology. Admirable indexes add to the accessibility of the information. The whole is a worthy expression of Dr. De's ripe scholarship.

ON THE MODERN INDO-ARYAN VERNACULARS. By G. A. GRIERSON.
Reprinted from the *Indian Antiquary*, vols. lx, lxi, lxii (1931-3).
 $8\frac{1}{2} \times 10\frac{1}{4}$, pp. 186. British India Press, Bombay, 1934. £1 5s.

It is some consolation to those who deplore the decease of the *Indian Antiquary*, that before it came to an end the editor was able to publish this contribution of Sir George Grierson to the studies in which he is the *doyen*. These pages contain part of the material which he had collected over many years for that volume of the *Grundriss der Indo-Arischen Philologie und Altertumskunde* which was to deal with the modern Indo-Aryan languages. Although to the profound regret of all Sir George has felt himself unable to complete this work, it would have been even more regrettable if the great mass of material he had gathered and all the ripe wisdom that lay behind it had not seen the light of day. For his generosity in putting it at the disposal of his successor for the volume in the *Grundriss* could not in any way have compensated for the loss of the presentation of it by himself. All the more then we may rejoice that this invaluable contribution to Indo-Aryan studies was not only published in the *Indian Antiquary*, but has now been issued as a separate volume. This contains two introductory chapters (General Survey and Historical) which have already appeared, in a preliminary form, in Vol. I of this Bulletin. As this volume is now out of print, it is all the more valuable to have these chapters, with numerous additions, printed again here. Chapter III (Pronunciation and Alphabets) is provided with seven plates illustrating the northern alphabets. Chapter IV (pp. 69-186) contains the main body of the work, the Phonology, in which Sir George sets out the main changes that have taken place between Sanskrit and the modern languages. In the midst of this great mass of detail, there are naturally points on which not all, including the present writer, would agree with Sir George's conclusions; but his unrivalled knowledge of Indian languages, his strong intuitive sense and the long years of patient toil have collected here a wealth of material which will serve as a mine for many future scholars.

PĀHUPADOHĀ OF RĀMASIMHA MUNI. Edited by HIRALAL JAIN.
Karanja Jaina Series, Vol. III. $4\frac{3}{4} \times 7$, pp. 7, 136. Jaina
Publication Society, Karanja, 1933.

KARAKĀMPACARIU OF KANAKĀMARA MUNI. Edited by HIRALAL JAIN.
Karanja Jaina Series, Vol. IV. $6\frac{1}{2} \times 9\frac{1}{2}$, pp. 50, 284. Jaina
Publication Society, Karanja, 1934. Rs. 6.

JAYADHAVALĀ TĪKĀ OF VIRASENA. Edited by HIRALAL JAIN. 6½ × 9½,
pp. 19. Saraswati Press, Umraoti, 1934.

In editing these three Apabhramśa Jaina texts Professor Hiralal Jain agains throws a debt of gratitude on all students of Apabhramśa and of Jainism for his inexhaustible activity as an editor. The first of these texts has a long Introduction in Hindi discussing Jaina mysticism, the date of the composition, and the relation of the terms *deśībhāṣā* and *apabhramśa*. Opposite the text itself is a Hindi translation. The second volume, which contains the life of the Pratyekabuddha Karakaṇḍa, has a short English introduction, an English summary of the poem, the text itself with critical apparatus based on five MSS., and an English translation. Both have that most excellent feature to which Hiralal Jain has now accustomed us, a complete index of all words with references to the text and Sanskrit equivalents or translations. The much shorter Jayadhavalā Tīkā is provided with both a Sanskrit *chāyā* and a Hindi translation.

KṚṢṆAJANMA OF MANBODH. Edited by ŚRĪ UMEŚA MIŚRA. 7¼ × 9½,
pp. 9, 56, 7. Vidyāpati Press, Laheria Sarai, 1934.

In 1882 Sir George Grierson published in the *Journ. As. Soc. Bengal* Vol. LI the text and in 1884 Vol. LIII Spec. No., an English translation of ten chapters of the *Haribans* of the Maithilī poet Manbodh. Now Śrī Umeśa Miśra has given us under the title *Kṛṣṇajanma* the text of the complete eighteen chapters, based on a comparison of five MSS. the variant readings of which are given in the footnotes. The text of the first ten chapters differs little from Grierson's except for the addition of three lines in Chap. IX and one each in Chaps. II-V, VII, VIII. In the Introduction, written in Maithilī, the author makes some remarks on the Maithilī language and its relation to Sanskrit. He does not go very deeply or completely into the subject, and has evidently no special acquaintance with Indo-Aryan philology as a whole—the remark, e.g., that Sanskrit final *-a* is changed to *-i* in Apabhramśa and Maithilī as evidenced by Skt. *pr̥sthā*, Mth. *pīṭhi* would have been corrected by reference to *Nep. Dict.* s.v. *pīṭh* where the forms in *-i* are shown to be derived from Skt. *pr̥ṣṭi*. But it is the text which matters, and it is very good to have that complete and critically edited. One thing more: how immensely the linguistic value of the book would have been increased by the addition of a complete index of words.

A PHONOLOGY OF PANJĀBĪ AS SPOKEN ABOUT LUDHIANA AND A LUDHIĀNĪ PHONETIC READER. By BANARSI DAS JAIN. Panjab University Oriental Publications, No. 12. $6\frac{1}{2} \times 9\frac{1}{2}$, pp. vii, 226. University of the Panjab, Lahore, 1934.

Dr. Banarsi Das Jain has for many years been connected with the Panjab University's undertaking to produce a Panjabi Dictionary. It is earnestly to be hoped that this plan, for which so much work has been done by Dr. Jain, will early see completion. In the meantime the University is to be congratulated on publishing this work, which had its origin in a thesis for the University of London. Dr. Jain has produced a really useful sketch of both the phonetics and the phonology of the Ludhiana dialect of Panjabi. The importance of Panjabi and especially Eastern Panjabi in the linguistic history of India is heightened by its close connection with, and influence upon, the Hindustani which is already the *lingua franca* of Northern India.

A considerable advance is made by the author in the vexed question of accent and its effect on ModIA. phonology. He more closely defines the conditions in which a Sanskrit syllable becomes the stressed or prominent syllable of a Panjabi word: in effect the first syllable from the end of the word containing a long vowel, or, in the absence of a long vowel, the first heavy syllable (i.e. short vowel followed by two or more consonants) from the end of the word, remains a long or heavy syllable to the present day, whereas the other syllables of the word are liable to various shortenings.

A few points. While the long \bar{i} of $j\bar{i}bh$ (*jihvā*), $r\bar{i}ṭṭhā$ (*ariṣṭa-*), $maj\bar{i}ṭh$ (*mañjishṭhā*) may be explained as borrowing from the Hindi type, the same cannot hold for $k\bar{i}ṭṭā$ 'did', in which, as I have suggested for Sindhi, the \bar{i} may be due to contamination with a form $*k\bar{i}ā < *k\bar{i}āa$. The $-tt-$ of $k\bar{i}ṭṭā$ is not necessarily an analogical extension of the $-tt-$ in the type $suttā$ (*suptā-*) but is just possibly a descendant of $*k\bar{i}tra < kṛtā$ attested indirectly in Aśoka Shah. $k\bar{i}ṭra$ and perhaps in Skt. $kṛtrima$ and $k\bar{i}ṭṭima$.¹ For $mat\bar{e}r$ (p. 39) the Skt. cannot be $*mātritarā$ for which type there is no authority, but $*māṭṛtarā$ (cf. $māṭṛtama-$, and Lat. *mātertera* 'aunt') $> *mātritarā > *māṭṭiara$. The development of r after plosives to ri (ru) is known for Aśoka and the NW. Prakrits: it was probably of wider extent as an intermediary for Pkt. i , u than appears, for traces can be seen when, as here, r follows an internal plosive: so probably Pkt. *appuṭṭha-*

¹ It must be confessed however that Si. *kīto*, with t not tr , and Lah. *kṭṭā*, with tt not tr , are against such a theory, unless $k\bar{i}ṭra$ is to be read as $k\bar{i}ṭā$ (cf. $k\bar{i}ṭri$ = Skt. *kṛti-*), and the form in question here be $*k\bar{i}ṭā$, not $*k\bar{i}tra$.

< *apṛṣṭa-* through **apṛṣṭa-* (cf. Ksh. *prichhun* 'to ask') rather than < *a-* + *puṭṭha-* with analogical doubling of initial *p-*.

It is to be hoped that the author will continue his studies of Panjabi dialectology, an excellent example of which was recently seen in this Bulletin.

ŚRĪMADBHAGAVADGĪTĀ KĀ DOGRĪBHĀṢĀNUVĀD: THE BHAGAVADGĪTĀ WITH THE TEXT IN SANSKRIT AND TRANSLATION IN DOGRĪ. By GAURI SHANKAR. $4\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{4}$, pp. vii, 204. Lahore, 1935.

Mr. Gauri Shankar, who has already published interesting information concerning the Dogrī language in *Indian Linguistics*, has now, in the words of Dr. A. C. Woolner's foreword, "given an example of the literary capacity of his dialect by making a translation of the Bhagavadgītā." Dogrī is spoken by about half a million people, and records of it are urgently required. Since such a translation as this necessarily contains a large number of learned words, we may echo the wish of the Vice-Chancellor of Lahore University "that it will be followed by another work giving us an idea of the idiomatic village speech and the daily life of Dugar".

SELECTIONS FROM CLASSICAL GUJARATI LITERATURE, Vol. II. By I. J. S. TARAPOREWALA. $9 \times 6\frac{1}{2}$, pp. 10, 684. The University of Calcutta, 1930.

These selections from Gujarati literature, of which the first volume appeared in 1925, are intended to do for Gujarati what Dineschandra Sen's *Selections* have done for Bengali. Both these series owe their inspiration to the late Sir Asutosh Mukerjee. Dr. Taraporewala, at one time Professor of Comparative Philology in the University of Calcutta, has done much to arouse enthusiasm for the study of the Modern Indo-Aryan languages and their history. The selections in this volume cover the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. It will be of greater value for the student of literature (for whom it is in the first instance intended) than for the linguist, since some at least of the selections, although the editor does not give the sources, appear to rest on considerably modernized texts.

A PRIMER OF THE MARATHI LANGUAGE: FOR THE USE OF ADULTS. By A. DARBY. 3rd edition. $5\frac{1}{4} \times 8\frac{1}{4}$, pp. vi, 221. Tatva-vivechaka Press, Bombay, 1933.

This primer of Marathi deserves notice here not simply as a textbook for learning that language, but as a work in which the author has

deserted the traditional grammatical description based either on Sanskrit or on Latin grammar and has described Marathi grammar purely from the functional point of view. This is a great advance and is heartily to be recommended. The description of modern languages, and none more than the modern Indian languages, has too long been fettered by the traditional forms and terms invented to describe quite other types of language. In this respect I should have been glad to see Mr. Darby go still farther and eliminate altogether the Sanskrit ideas of case, reserving for Modern Marathi generally the two cases only, direct and oblique with its various prepositions or postpositions.

THE SCRIPT OF HARAPPA AND MOHENJODARO AND ITS CONNECTION WITH OTHER SCRIPTS. By G. R. HUNTER, with an Introduction by S. LANGDON. $6\frac{1}{4} \times 9\frac{3}{4}$, pp. 210, plates xxxvii. Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co., Ltd., London, 1934.

Mr. Hunter, following his article in *JRAS.*, has made a much more extensive study of all the material available, including many more seal inscriptions excavated since the material, examined by Smith, Gadd, and Langdon in *Mohenjo-Daro and the Indus Civilization*, was placed at their disposal. The method adopted by Mr. Hunter "in elucidating the script has been to tabulate every occurrence of each sign together with those signs whose morphography suggested the possibility of their being variants". It is beyond my competence to appraise the results of Mr. Hunter's work: I desire here only to draw attention to the fact that this work has been done and is available for the use of other investigators. For whether or not Mr. Hunter's conclusions, e.g. as to the meaning and phonetic value of certain symbols, or as to this script being the source of Brāhmī and other forms of writing, will stand the test of further research or discovery, there can be no doubt as to the usefulness of the great mass of carefully analysed material which is collected here.

A SANTAL DICTIONARY. By P. O. BODDING. Vol. II, D-GH. Vol. III, H-KH. $7 \times 10\frac{1}{2}$, pp. 548, 752. Dybwad, Oslo, 1934-5.

The Norske Videnskaps-Akademi i Oslo continues the publication of P. O. Boddington's monumental dictionary of the Santal language, of which the first volume has already been reviewed in this Bulletin. All that was said there, both of the high linguistic importance of this work and in praise of its performance, may be repeated here. As again appears, the very extensive invasion of the language by Aryan elements

indicates how necessary it is to record these interesting survivals of a pre-Aryan India before they disappear from the scene. That the life-work of so devoted a lover and student of the Santal people should be published through the munificence of a foreign Academy is a matter of rejoicing for scientists but of reproach for the Governments and institutions of India whose prerogative it should be to record the languages of the peoples under their rule or within the sphere of their influence.

THE BRĀHŪĪ LANGUAGE. By DENYS BRAY. Part II, The Brāhūī Problem. Part III, Etymological Vocabulary. $6\frac{1}{4} \times 9\frac{1}{2}$, pp. ii, 313. Manager of Publications, Delhi, 1934. 13s. 6d.

Of the two great language-families in India, the Indo-Aryan and the Dravidian, the history of the former is almost infinitely better known than that of the latter. For with Indo-Aryan not only have we documents composed in a language which was not far removed from the common original, but a vast amount of work has been done from the linguistic point of view on the rich material available from the *Ṛgveda* down to the spoken languages of to-day. True, most of that work has been directed towards the more ancient documents, but of late years Indologists, following the pioneer work of Beames and Hoernle, stimulated afresh by the carrying through of Grierson's gigantic task in the Linguistic Survey, have begun the scientific study of the history of the modern languages. How far that work has proceeded is shown by the appearance of Bloch's *L'Indo-aryen du Veda aux temps modernes* reviewed above. In this, whatever may still remain doubtful in detail, are disclosed, once and for all, the main lines of the linguistic development of the Indo-Aryan languages. Far otherwise is it with Dravidian. Not only have we no record of the original language, but since the time of Caldwell, who published his *Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages* in 1856, long before the Junggrammatiker had revolutionized linguistic science, no trained linguists have given more than a fleeting glance to the problems of Dravidian philology. Not even have the individual histories of the four great literary languages with their comparatively ancient documents yet been adequately studied. But in addition to these there are the uncultivated Dravidian dialects of the north, for the most part isolated little islands doomed before long to be swamped by the surrounding seas of Indo-Aryan. For these, presenting invaluable material for the comparative grammarian, the most urgent immediate need is their full description, before they finally disappear.

All the more welcome then is the completion of Sir Denys Bray's

work on the Brāhūī language. For Brahui, though not in such danger of early decease as some of the others, is especially interesting to the comparativist owing to its remote situation in Baluchistan and its earlier separation from other Dravidian languages.

In Part II (pp. 1-43) Bray gives what is known of the history of the Brahuīs and discusses the various theories that have been put forward as to their racial and linguistic origins. Here his sober judgment finds few certainties except the fact of the Dravidian origin of their language. He permits himself one speculation, based as he confesses on little save contiguity, namely that the Brahuīs may be the remnants, or at least the linguistic descendants, of a pre-Aryan Dravidian population whose civilization is represented for us now by the ruins of Harappa and Mohenjo-Daro.

The value of Part III cannot be overestimated. For we have here an excellent vocabulary of the language, in which the words are richly illustrated by examples of the contexts in which they are used. How far it may be properly called an etymological vocabulary is a little doubtful, for the author has for the most part contented himself with very general comparisons and indications. In the case of the Dravidian content that was inevitable, for we have as yet established no precise correspondences between the Dravidian languages. But for the innumerable borrowings from Baluchi, Lahnda (Jaṭkī), and Sindhi further precision might have been attained. Usually Bray has quoted forms from several languages without indicating which is the probable source of borrowing.

In some cases the form indicates a Lahnda rather than a Sindhi source: so, with double consonants where Sindhi has single:—*chakkī* 'taste', *chatting* 'to lick', *guḍḍī* 'kite', *kukkuṛ* 'cock' (as shown in the example) from Lah. *kukkuṛ* m., not *kukkiṛ* f. or Si. *kukiṛ* f., *lagging* 'to meet', *pinnī* 'calf of leg', *pussī* 'damping'; or with dental before *r*:—*drab* 'a partic. wild grass' (Lah. *drabh*, but Si. *ḍrabh*), *trihān* '3 year old camel' (Lah. *trihān*, but Si. *ṭrihān*).

On the other hand the double consonant may be due to borrowing from an older stage of Sindhi before the simplification of double consonants in the case of words not attested with a double consonant in Lah.:—*baccing* 'to escape', *buḍḍing* 'to sink', *buggī* 'fried', *jann* 'bridal procession' (Lah. *janj*, Si. *jañ*), *lattār* 'trampling'. Similarly a final *-au* appears to represent the older stage of Sindhi *-o* in *bannau* 'embankment', *būṭau* 'bush', *taṛau* 'saddle-felt', and perhaps *manjav* 'hurdle made of branches' (contrast the more modern borrowing of *gaṇḍo* from Si. *gaṇḍho*).

Doubtless the change of *-l-* to *-r-* in Sindhi is comparatively recent : we accordingly find forms with *-l-* where modern Sindhi has *-r-* fairly common, sometimes with other distinctive Sindhi characteristics, as in *ḍukkāl* 'dearth', *koḍāl* 'mattock' (Lah. *kōḍāl*, Si. *koḍar*⁴, cf. *koḍāryo* 'worker with k.'). The case of *sulung* 'tunnel', for which Bray quotes Lah. *sulung* beside Si. *suriṅgh*^a, is more difficult. Is *-l-* a Brahui innovation, as apparently not uncommonly in the Nushki dialect, or is it borrowed from some IA. dialect with *-l-*? So *jal* 'torrent-bed', from which B. rightly dissociates Skt. *jala-*, etc., may be compared with Skt. lex. *jhara-* 'cascade', surviving in Bg. Hi. *jharī* f. 'waterfall', Guj. *jharo* m. 'fountain', Mar. *jharā* m. 'spring'; *-l-* forms in the compound Pkt. *ujjhalia-* 'thrown up', Hi. *ujjhalnā* 'to flow from one vessel to another', Or. *ujhulāibā* 'to clean out a tank'.

The change of *v-* to *b-* is perhaps recent, and need not be taken as an isogloss running through other Dravidian languages. At least IA. *v-* appears as *b-* in a number of words: *bāhōṭ* 'refuge' which B. derives from Sindhi *vāh*^a 'protection' + *oṭ*^a 'shelter', *bining* 'to pick up' for which B. quotes Hi. *binnā*, better the older *bīnnā* < Skt. *vicinoti*: in the West and North-west I have only found this in Guj. and Kash. (Nep. Dict. s.v. *binnu*). *bashshām* 'summer rains' (also in Baluchi) is perhaps a loan from Mid.IA. **vaṣṣā* < Skt. *varṣāḥ* with Brahui suffix *-(ā)m*.

Morgenstierne (NTS. V) has shown that Baluchi loanwords in Brahui often show an older form of the language. The same is true of IA. as hinted by B. in Part II. *bāhū* 'armful' with the final *-u* of the Skt. stem which was replaced by *-ā* in Si. etc. *bāh*^a 'arm', while in Lah. *bāhū* has the meaning 'shoulder of horse'. For Skt. *vykkāu* Pa. and Sgh. have expected forms with *va-*; elsewhere in India including Dardic we find only *bru-*, *bu-* (see Nep. Dict. s.v. *boknu*): Brahui *bik* 'kidney' points to a Mid.IA. **v(r)ikka-*. We have seen Mid.IA. *ṣ* in *bashshām*, perhaps also in *kashshing* 'to pull out' < Mid.IA. **kaṣṣ-* < Skt. *kārṣati*, though *tushsh* 'bran' with double *shsh* indicates the possibility of *kashsh-* being a loan from Pers. *kaš-*; and *kamāsh* 'greyhaired', for which B. tentatively suggests Skt. *kalmāsa-*. Skt. *ś* in *shank* 'twig', Skt. *śaṅku-* which survives in Khovar *ṣong* 'twig' (Morgenstierne) and in other Dardic dialects; *shevāl* 'waterplant vallisneria octandra', Skt. *śaivāla-* (Nep. Dict. s.v. *śivālī*); *shik* 'pointed' (see below); *kāshum* 'saccharum ciliare', Skt. *kāśa-* (Nep. Dict. s.v. *kāś*). Skt. *-mb-*, *-ṇḍ-* which became *-(m)m-*, *-(n)n-* in the

neighbouring IA. languages, are maintained in *dōmb* 'gipsy blacksmith', *kambar* 'spotted'; *land* 'penis' (*Nep. Dict.* s.v. *lāro*), *pinḍing* 'to beg'. Skt. *rd* in *narding* 'to groan', Skt. *nārdati* (or from Iranian **nard-* in Pashtu *nar-*, *Morgenstierne Et. Voc. Pashtu*, p. 53). Skt. intervocalic unvoiced plosives appear to be preserved in some words, indicating very early borrowing: *shik* 'pointed', Skt. *śikhā*; *kūḥi* 'hornless', *kūḥ* 'shaven', Skt. *kūṭa-*; *puṭau* 'smallpox', Skt. *sphoṭa-*; *chibiṭ* 'unripe melon' beside Si. *cibhiṭ* 'cucumis pubescens' < Skt. *cirbhaṭa-*, *cirbhiṭa-*. *dranna* 'the wild bush artemisia' points to earlier **dramna-* like Khowar *drōn* 'wormwood' (Lorimer), while Skt. *damana-* or **dramaṇa-* appears in all the other IA. languages (*Nep. Dict.* s.v. *damanā*). This makes more plausible the comparison of *chuh* 'ravenous' with Khowar *chuī* 'hunger' (LSI.: for *chuī*?) < Skt. *kṣudhā* which appears in Pa. as *khudā*, in Pkt. as *chuhā* as well as *khuhā*, while Pj. has only *khoh*. *pihī* 'goat dysentery with ulcerated liver', if from the family of Skt. *plihān-*, agrees with West Pahārī Bhalesi *ṭlei* 'spleen' (Siddheshwar Varma) and Mar. *pihā*: elsewhere in Mod. IA. *pl-* > *pil-* (*Nep. Dict.* s.v. *phiyo*). Skt. *lāṅgala-* 'plough' attested in Bg. *lāṅal*, *nāṅal*, Magahi *lāgal*, Bih. *nāṅano*, Hi. *nāṅal*, Sgh. *nagula*, *naṅgul* and in the N.W. in Bhadravahi *nāṅgal*, appears in Brahui as *langār* and Balūchi *naṅār*. *pappus* 'lung' is more like Waigeli *papūs*, Kati *popyūs*, Pashai *papū* (cf. Skt. *phupphusa-*) than Lah. *phippur*. *drōhur* 'greed, desire to eat in pregnancy', as derived by B., supports the assumption that Skt. *dohada-* 'morbid desires of pregnancy' (Yājñavalkya) is a Mid. IA. form of *daurhṛda-* (only lex. in this sense), *dauhṛda-* (Suśruta).

Even if Brahui has borrowed widely from IA., the previous ascendancy of a Brahui confederation would account for many words being borrowed from it by its neighbours; and in fact we find here a great many words common to Brahui, Baluchi, Lahnda and Sindhi, which do not seem to have representatives in other IA. languages.

In the present state of our knowledge it is often impossible to say whether a Brahui word of Dravidian origin has descended directly or has been re-borrowed from IA. Is *kunnal* 'curl' directly connected with Tam. etc. *kurul*, or a loan from some NW. form of Skt. *kurdala-*? *bel* 'half a day or night, one of two meals, division of water, etc.' with apparently the primary meaning of 'division' might, despite B. who objects on score of meaning, be derived from Skt. *relā*, of which the earlier meaning is not 'time' but 'limit'; but it may also be real Dravidian belonging to the family of Kan. *bēr* 'separation',

from which Skt. *velā* was a loan as suggested by Kittel, *Kan. Dict.*, p. xlii. On the other hand, *kutting* 'to pound' which B. appears to connect directly with Tam. etc. *kuttu*, is certainly a loan from IA. *kutt-* (itself probably borrowed from Dravidian), since the normal correspondence of Tam. Kan. *k-* is Brahui *kh*.

It will be seen what great interest this work will have first and foremost for the student of Dravidian, but also for those concerned with the vocabulary of Indo-Aryan and of the neighbouring Iranian languages. We must indeed be thankful that the Government of India undertook the publication, but we may regret that so important a work had to be printed at the Government Press, with its ugly type, its small resources (only one fount is used throughout the dictionary for Brahui, English, and all other languages alike), its bad alignment, its rather frequent misprints, and its execrable binding. The result of so many years of devoted work deserved a better habitation.

INDO-URALISCHES SPRACHGUT. Uppsala Universitets Årsskrift 1934. Filosofi, Språkvetenskap och historiska Vetenskaper 1. Von BJÖRN COLLINDER. pp. 116. Uppsala, 1934. Price: Swedish Kronor 3.50.

In this excellently printed and reasonably priced book the question of the possible relationship between the Indo-European and Uralian (i.e. Finno-Ugrian plus Samoyede) families of languages is discussed. The evidence is clearly presented and the discussion is exhaustive and concise. Much has been written on this subject, but Professor Collinder's work will be welcome as an exceptionally clear and methodologically rigorous pronouncement on the problem, more particularly in these days when all too many rash suggestions as to distant connections of both Indo-European and Uralian are being made (cf. the recent attempts to show that Indo-European and Corean, and that Uralian and Eskimo are cognate). Further, to quote Collinder's own words (p. 16): "Die vorliegende untersuchung bringt sowohl in morphologischer wie in lexicalischer hinsicht bedeutend mehr beweisstoff als die vorgänger. Und zugleich ist jedenfalls der lexicalische stoff strenger gesichtet, als es bei den vorgängern der fall war."

The question discussed by Collinder is, *a priori*, of the very greatest importance. Among other things, if it can be shown either that IndE.

and Ural. are related or that the Pr.IndE. and Pr.Ural. speech-communities were in contact, the much-vexed problem of the "indogermanische Urheimat" is all but solved, since the Finno-Ugrian urheimat was certainly near the Volga. It is remarkable that the Finno-Ugrian aspect of this problem has been so much neglected by Indo-European philologists.

In an introduction (§§ 1-22) a survey of the literature of the subject is given. Many of the best-known names of Finno-Ugrian philology (e.g. Vilhelm Thomsen, Anderson, Budenz, Munkácsi, Wiklund, Setälä, Paasonen, Ojansuu, Sköld, Jacobsohn, Lewy) and a few well known in the Indo-European field (e.g. Sweet, Holger Pedersen, Joseph Schmidt) find mention here. Further the problem raised by the fact that there are no correspondences between the IndE. and Ural. numerals—which, on the hypothesis of ultimate relationship, might at first sight be expected—is dealt with.

Then follows a list of Pr.IndE. and Pr.Ural. correspondences, with sections on morphology and lexicography (in the latter the pronouns are discussed in a separate sub-section). The following correspondences are given¹:—

MORPHOLOGY

Inflection

DECLENSION

Plural

§ 23. Pl. suff. *-i*: Finn. pl. stem *linnu-* (< *lintu* "bird") Tavgy abl. pl. *kulagita*: abl. sg. *kulagata* (< *kula* "raven") ∞ IndE. **to-i* (= Goth. *pai*).

Case-endings

§ 26. Acc. sg.: Mari *βüðəm* (< *βüt* "water") Tavgy *kulam* (< *kula* "raven") ∞ Lat. *lupum*.

§ 27. Abl.: Mord. abl. sg. *tolgada, tolgado* (< *tolga* "feather") Tavgy *takada* adv. "from behind" ∞ Oscan *sakaraklúd* "sacello".

§§ 29-35. "Casus rectus" in *t* (+ vowel): Mari *tuðə* "he" (< *tu* "that one") Sel. *kud, kudö* "who" (cf. Finn. *ku-ka* "who?") ∞ IndE. **to-d* (= Skt. *tát*; cf. also Goth. *pat-a*).

§§ 36-41. "Casus obliquus" in *-n-*. Here Collinder discusses the problem afforded by the appearance of an *n* in certain positions

¹ To save space only one Finno-Ugrian, one Samoyede, and one IndE. form are given from each set of cognates. The Samoyede dialects are referred to as Yurak, Tavgy, Sel. (= Ostyak-Samoyede, Russ. *sel'kupskij*), Kam. = Kamass, Motor; the Finno-Ugrian languages by the names suggested as standard in *Leeds Studies in English and Kindred Languages* iii, 58-9.

in the "conjugation" of nouns with personal suffixes. Paasonen and Mark assume that Mansi, in which the *n* indicates that the object possessed is in the plural (*kwol* "house": *kwolem* "my house": *kwolānem* "my houses"), best preserves the Pr.Ural. state of affairs but Collinder (following Wiklund) shows that in Pr.Ural. this *n* occurred in the oblique cases of the singular as well as in the plural (cf. Erza-Mord. nom. sg. *kudom* "my house": iness.sg. *kudoson* "in my house": nom. pl. *kudon* "my houses" Yurak *lamba* "snowshoe": abl. sg. *lambahad* "from a snowshoe": nom. acc. sg. *lambau* "my snowshoe": abl. sg. *lambahadan* "from my snowshoe": nom. pl. *lambin* "my snowshoes"). He then goes on to connect this Ural. *n* with the *n* of the oblique case of the IndE. heteroclitic declension (cf. Lat. *femur*: *feminis*) which he believes to represent a very early IndE. state of affairs.

CONJUGATION

Tense

§§ 46-8. *s*-preterite: Mansi 1 sg. pret. *minsəm* (< *min*- "to go") Tavgy 1 sg. "2nd tense" *tūmtusuam* (: 1 sg. "1st tense" *tūmta'am*) "make fire" ∞ IndE. *s*-aorist (as in Gk. *ἔδειξα* < *δείκνυμι*).

Personal Endings

§§ 49-50. 1 sg.: Pr.Ural. *-m* (Hung. *alszom* "I sleep", Yurak *madam* "I cut") ∞ IndE. *-mi*, *-m* (Skt. *āsmi* "I am", *ābharam* "I carried").

1 pl.: Pr.Ural. *-mek*, *-mak* (Lapp. *mānāimek* "we went", Tavgy *mat'amu* "we cut") ∞ IndE. *-m* + ? (Lat. *ferimus*).

2 pl.: Pr. Ural. *-tek*, *-tak* (Hung. *hallotok* "you hear", Yurak *madada* "you cut") ∞ IndE. *-te* (Gk. *φέρετε*).

Suffixes

§§ 51-72. Here follows a list of correspondences in the suffixes. Lack of space renders it impossible to give a summary of this section, which, since both the semantic and the morphological aspects are involved, would have to be full to be of value. A large number of such correspondences are given.

LEXICOGRAPHY

Pronouns

(a) Personal Pronouns (and (b) Possessive Suffixes)

§ 74. 1 sg.: (a) Mord. *mon*, Sel. *man* "I"; (b) Hung. *-m* (*nevem* "my name"), Tavgy *-ma* ∞ Eng. *me*.

§ 75. 2 sg. : (a) Mord. *ton*, Sel. *tan* "thou"; (b) Mord. *-t* (*kudot* "thy house") ∞ Lat. *tē*.

§ 76. 3 sg. : (a) Mord. *son* "he, she"; (b) Komi *-s* (*karys* "his town") ∞ (α) Gk. *οἱ* (β) Goth. *si* (γ) Lat. *sē* (δ) Goth. *sa*, *so*.

Demonstrative

§ 77. (a) Finn. nom. sg. *tämä*, stem *tä-*, Sel. *tam* "this"; (b) Mord. *to-*, Sel. *to* "that" ∞ Gk. *τό*.

§ 78. (a) Finn. nom. acc. pl. *nämät*, stem *nä-* "these"; *nuo*, *nuot* "those", Sel. *na* "that one"; (b) Finn. *niin*, *näin*, *noin* "thus", Sel. *nild'el* "thus, such" ∞ Skt. *nā-nā* "thus and thus".

§ 79. Hung. *e-z* Kam. *ide* "this" ∞ Goth. *is*.

§ 80. Hung. *a-z* ∞ Lith. *a-ns* "that".

Relative

§ 82. Finn. stem *jo-* ∞ Skt. *yás* "who".

Interrogative

§ 83. (A) Hung. *ki* ∞ Lat. *quis* "who?"

(B) Finn. stem *ku-* "who?", Tavgy *kua* "which?" ∞ (a) Goth. *hwás* (b) Albanian *ku* "where?"

Alphabetical List of Nouns, Verbs, and Particles

§ 84. Finn. *asu-* "to dwell", Yurak *ηesy* "tent, village of tents" ∞ Skt. *ásmi* "I am", *asta-* "dwelling".

§ 85. Hung. *húr* "gut, cord", Yurak *hurku* "(sinew-) cord" ∞ Gk. *χορδή* "gut, cord".

§ 86. Hung. *kap-* "to seize, get", Kam. *kuwa-r-lim* "to seize" ∞ Lat. *capió*.

§ 87. Finn. *keri* "birch-bark", Sel. *keram* "to peel, skin" ∞ O.Bulg. *skora*, *kora* "bark".

§ 88. Finn. *-ki* "also" Kam. *-ko* "and, also" ∞ Lat. *-que*.

§ 90. Mord. *kunda-* "to seize" ∞ Lat. *prae-hendere*.

§ 92. Votja *kuraz* "knife" Motor *kura*, *kuro* "knife" ∞ OE. *heoru*.

§ 94. Finn. *lante-* "low", Udmurt *lud* "field", Yurak *lamdo* "low" ∞ OPruss. *lindan* "valley", Eng. *land*.

§ 95. Mari *mane-*, Yurak *mān-* "to say" ∞ German *mahnen*.

§ 96. Hung. *mos-*, Yurak *māsa-* "to wash" ∞ Lith. *mazgoti* "to wash".

§ 97. Finn. *murta-* "to break", Sel. *mornam* "to smash" ∞ Skt. *mṛṇāti* "grinds, smashes".

§ 98. Finn. *myy*- "to sell", Yurak *mi*- "to give, sell" ∞ Lat. *mūnus*.

§ 99. Finn. *nato* "sister-in-law", Yurak *nado* "wife's younger brother" ∞ Lett. *znōts* "son-in-law, brother-in-law".

§ 100. Hung. *ne* "not", Yurak *ni* "not he" ∞ Goth. *ni*.

§ 101. Finn. *nime*-, Yurak *nim* "name" ∞ Eng. *name*.

§ 102. Erza-Mord. *ukso*, *uks* "ash, elm", Kam. *izo* "poplar" ∞ Eng. *ash*.

§ 103. Finn. *paljo* "much", Yurak *paju*, *pal* "thick, close" ∞ Gk. *πολύς*.

§ 104. Mari *pot* "kettle", Sel. *peda*, *pātā* "earthenware pot" ∞ Eng. *pot*.

§ 105. Mord. *pele*-, Yurak *pil'u* "to fear" ∞ Goth. *us-filma*.

§ 106. Khanty *pir-öt* "last year", Yurak *pur-dari* "back" ∞ Gk. *πέρυσσι*.

§ 107. Lapp. *birrá* "around", Sel. *pör* "ring" ∞ Skt. *pári* "around".

§ 109. Finn. *puno*- "to twine", Sel. *pan*-, *pun*- "to twine, braid" ∞ Eng. *spin*.

§ 110. Finn. *salava* "salix caprea vel fragilis" ∞ Lat. *salix*.

§ 111. Mord. *san*, Tavgy *tāṇ* "sinew" ∞ Eng. *sinew*.

§ 112. Finn. *tuo*- "to bring, fetch", Yurak *tā*- "to bring, give" ∞ Lat. *dō*.

§ 113. Mord. *ved*, Motor *bu* "water" ∞ Eng. *water*.

§ 114. Finn. *vetä*-, Yurak *vada*-, *vāda*- "to pull" ∞ Lith. *vedu* "I bring".

§ 115. Finn. *viha* "hate, poison" ∞ Lat. *vīrus*.

§ 116. Finn. *vuote*- "year" ∞ Gk. *ἔτος*.

§ 118. Komi *t'sin*-, Sel. *šunemžan* "to decrease" ∞ Gk. *ἀφθονία* "abundance" (< $\sqrt{g^w h\delta en}$).

§ 119. Hung. *csorog*- "to run", Sel. *šormba* "it flows" ∞ Skt. *kṣāraṭi* "flows, vanishes" (< $\sqrt{g^w h\delta er}$, $\sqrt{g^w \delta er}$).

§ 121. Norwegian Lapp. *čares* "coarse, stiff", Sel. *šaral* "hard, tough" ∞ German *starr*.

§ 122. Finn. *tarkea* "to desire" ∞ Gk. *στέργειν* "to love".

In a final chapter (§§ 123–34) these lexicographical correspondences are studied, chiefly from the phonological point of view and the conclusion drawn which we may here express in the words Collinder uses in the preface (p. 4): "Ich möchte hier nur die ansicht aussprechen,

dass von allen aktuellen verwandtschaftshypothesen — die uralaltaische nicht ausgenommen — die indo-uralische gegenwärtig jedenfalls am besten bezeugt ist."

Theoretically, the answer to the question—is there, or is there not, sufficient evidence to show that two given languages are related (we can never, of course, show that they are *not* related) or that the two speech-communities in question were in contact in their "primitive" or undivided condition?—would depend ideally on the solution of a statistical not a philological problem (cf. *Leeds Studies* ii, 7-13), viz. is the number of phonematic correspondences between them "statistically significant"? We know that "the distribution of sound over meaning is a random one", i.e. we know of no reason why, for instance, in English the first phoneme of the word meaning "long" should be [l] rather than, say, [p]. Hence, when we find similarities between the phonematic patterns of words of the same or similar meanings in two languages (as, for instance, between the series Eng. *long, lean, learn, life, love, light*: German *lang, lehn, lernen, leben, liebe, licht*) we must conclude one of two things: either (A) that the similarities are due to pure chance; or (B) that the languages are either "related" (i.e. were once one and the same language) or that the two speech-communities in question were in contact in their primitive condition and that sufficient borrowing—in one or both directions—to account for the similarities in question took place. The philological problem has thus been converted into a purely mathematical one for, ideally, the selection or rejection of Solution A depends merely upon whether the number of similarities is "statistically significant" or not. Unfortunately this simple method of solution must at present remain an ideal one for the phonematicians have not yet provided us with sufficient data to determine the nature of the random sound-meaning distribution. But even under present conditions statistics can be used in our appreciation of evidence of suggested relationship between languages.

Thus, turning to Collinder's work, we find one fact that is certainly statistically significant, viz. (p. 81): "Von etwa zwölf finnisch-ugrischen pronominalstämmen finden sich (mindestens) zehn im indoeuropäischen wieder, und die personalendungen der verba, die ja mit den persönlichen pronomina zusammenhängen, weisen eine ähnliche proportion auf. Von vierzehn finnisch-ugrischen nominalformantia finden sich zwölf im indoeuropäischen wieder. . . . Von acht finnisch-ugrischen kasusendungen haben wir vier im indoeuropäischen wieder-

gefunden." This one fact is therefore sufficient to *prove* alternative B. In view of this the other correspondences (many of them very striking) afford strong supporting evidence, though by themselves they could not afford proof since their number is certainly not statistically significant. Expressing the matter more strongly than Collinder himself has done (see above), we may therefore say that the evidence he has produced does definitely prove one of two things: either (I) IndE. and Ural. are related; or (II) the Pr.IndE. and Pr.Ural. speech-communities were in contact and borrowing took place.

Collinder's book does not, unfortunately, include more than a passing reference (§ 19) to another important statistical line of approach to the problem, viz. how many correspondences are there between Uralian and other arbitrarily selected languages with which there is no possibility of relationship? (e.g. one Australian, one North American, one South American, one Bantu, and one other African language might have been selected as test-languages). If the number proved in each case to be very considerably lower than that found between Uralian and Indo-European we should have further supporting evidence, though not, of course, proof, for alternative B.

As we have seen, Collinder is in favour of alternative B, but he only discusses the further question of the choice between hypotheses I (relationship) and II (early borrowing) in the most cursory manner (pp. 80-1). While agreeing with his conclusion on this point (relationship rather than early borrowing), the general linguist will be disappointed to find that the complicated question of the *a priori* improbability of morphological and pronominal borrowing (which Collinder, having shown a large number of Indo-Uralian similarities in the morphology and the pronouns, rightly adduces as evidence against the hypothesis of early borrowing) is left undiscussed.

One also misses some reference to the much-discussed question: if there are very early IndE. loanwords in Uralian, are they to be considered as of Pr.IndE., pre-Aryan, or pre-Iranian age? Methodologically speaking Collinder is no doubt right in excluding discussion of this question, since he is in favour of the relationship-hypothesis; but it would at least have been convenient to have a summary of some of the chief views on the subject and a bibliography. As a further point of criticism one would have liked to see some discussion of the interesting Finn. *kahdeksan*, *yhdeksän* "8", "9", the second element of which apparently represents the IndE. form of Lat. *decem*, etc. To Collinder's list of lexicographical correspondences

between IndE. and Ural. I should like to add that between the IndE. root in Plattdeutsch *jäkel* Eng. *ic-icle* etc., and the Ural. root in Hung. *jég*, etc., "ice" which has not, I believe, hitherto been noticed.

Despite these few disadvantages the book and its thesis are of extreme importance and Professor Collinder is to be congratulated upon the production of what will undoubtedly prove to be a standard work. Not the least significant point for the general linguist will be the fact that the proving of this thesis has shown something that has long been suspected, namely that general linguistic structure is almost valueless as an indication of relationship, for there could hardly be two groups less alike in their general structure than the (so-called) "synthetic" Indo-European and the "agglutinative" Uralian.

A. S. C. R.

LAPPISK ORDBOK—LAPP DICTIONARY. By K. NIELSEN. Vol. I: A-F; pp. lxxvii + 666; 1932. Vol. II: G-M; pp. viii + 718; 1934. Oslo: Instituttet for Sammenlignende Kulturforskning: Publikasjoner, Serie B, vol. xvii 1-2. Norwegian Kroner 50 per vol.

With these volumes Professor Nielsen's great dictionary is half-way to completion. It is the largest Lappish dictionary that has hitherto appeared, and has been eagerly awaited by Finno-Ugrian philologists for many years. Like Nielsen's other great contribution to Lappish studies, the *Lærebok i Lappisk*, the dictionary deals with Norwegian Lappish and is based on the dialects of Polmak, Karasjok, and Kautokeino. The dictionary is exhaustive and, both in the number and arrangement of the entries, represents an enormous advance on Friis' dictionary, which has hitherto been the standard work. Volume I contains an introduction in which there is a full descriptive phonology of Norwegian Lappish and an explanation of the consonantal ablaut which is the chief difficulty of the language. The extremely complicated transcription and the system of references and abbreviations used in the work are also carefully explained. The book is of the very greatest value and is indispensable to all students of Lappish and Finno-Ugrian philology. It is therefore unfortunate (though in view of the size of the book doubtless unavoidable) that the price is so high.

The reviewer has only two criticisms to offer. The first is one that might equally be levelled at almost all contemporary work on Finno-Ugrian. It is that the transcription used in this work, like that officially recognized for all Finno-Ugrian languages by the Finno-Ugrian

Society, is obviously phonetic and not phonematic. This has various disadvantages: it renders it almost impossible to print the forms exactly in any publications other than those of the Finno-Ugrian Society, since nowhere else is the enormous number of diacriticized peculiars necessary for the very complicated transcription available; it makes it very difficult (particularly for the beginner) to remember the forms visually; and, worst of all, it obscures the essential character of the phonology of the languages. Perhaps the chief points to be urged in favour of the transcriptions now employed for Finno-Ugrian and other languages in the U.S.S.R. are that they are simple to print and easy to visualize, and that, inaccurate as they almost certainly are, they do aim at being phonematic rather than phonetic. The second criticism is one that may seem to come oddly from an English reviewer. Nielsen's whole work is presented in Norwegian-English bilingual—Norwegian in the left-hand column of the introduction, English in the right, Norwegian and English glosses to the Lappish words, etc. The vast majority of Finno-Ugrian philologists will agree with me that the second language should have been German and not English. In the first place German, which has always been the standard *Weltsprache* of the Finno-Ugrian Society and of Finno-Ugrian philology generally, is understood much more readily than English by the majority of Finno-Ugrian philologists, particularly in Hungary, but also to a very large extent in Finland and Estonia. In the second place there are at the moment no standard technical terms for Finno-Ugrian philology in English as there are in German and Norwegian. Thus, on p. lii of vol. i, the Norwegian term *stadieveksling* (= German *Stufenwechsel*) is translated by English *stage-alteration*. This English term is unintelligible out of its context and has no currency whatsoever—the usual translations of *Stufenwechsel* are the much more readily intelligible *consonant(al) ablaut* or *consonant(al) alternation*.

But these are minor points in no way affecting the merit of a really great and outstanding work.

ALAN S. C. ROSS.

CHANDRA-KANTA ABHIDHAN. A comprehensive dictionary of the Assamese language. pp. xxx + 1 + 1044. Assam Sahitya Sabha, Jorhat, 1933.

The Assam Sahitya Sabha, of Jorhat, has recently compiled and published an etymological dictionary of the Assamese language, the

Chandra-kanta Abhidhan. This is the third dictionary of Assamese which has appeared; the first was by Bronson, compiled with the aid of Jaduram Deka Barua which was published by the Baptist Mission Press in 1867; and the second by the late Hema Chandra Barua, which was published by the Government of Assam in 1900. Bronson's dictionary contains words written phonetically and etymologies are wanting. Notwithstanding it served a useful purpose at the time, and Bronson, and others of the Baptist Mission in Assam, are entitled to all praise for having provided what was then the only good vocabulary of the language. The Hema Kosha, on the other hand, is an etymological dictionary and, though not so full and not containing so many references and quotations from Assamese puthis as the work now before us, showed a great step in advance and represents what must have been almost a life-long effort on the part of Srijut Hema Chandra Barua, who was a finished Assamese, Sanskrit, and Prakrit, scholar. The learned author unfortunately did not live to see the publication of his great work, which fell to the lot of others. The writer remembers the late Srijut Dulal Chandra Chowdhary bringing him the manuscript of the dictionary and asking whether the Assam Administration would publish it, a wish which was gratified, for thanks to the late Sir Henry Cotton, the then Chief Commissioner of Assam, the Assam Administration undertook the publication, the late Hema Chandra Goswami and the writer being the joint editors of the work, which duly appeared from the Baptist Mission Press in Calcutta in 1900. The preface of the *Chandra Kanta Abhidhan* states that this dictionary contains 36,819 words, whereas the number in the *Hema Kosha* is 22,386 only. In the preface we are told how the present work originated, which was in the following manner. Rai Bahadur Radha Kanta Handiqui, a retired civil servant of the Assam Government, lost two most promising sons, Chandra Kanta and Indra Kanta, in the most tragic manner, in the course of a few days only, of typhoid fever; the elder Chandra Kanta, a young graduate of the Calcutta University, and the younger, Indra Kanta, who was reading for the B.A. at Gauhati. It was whilst nursing Indra Kanta from typhoid that Chandra Kanta himself was attacked, the result being that both boys fell victims to the dread disease. The distracted parents, after an interval, decided to erect a hall at Jorhat as a memorial to their two sons, and, further, to perpetuate their memory by arranging for the compilation and publication of an Assamese dictionary, also the preparation of a Buranji or history of Assam. The hall at Jorhat,

called the "Chandra Kanta Handiqui Hall", was opened by Sir John Kerr, the then Governor of Assam, on the 2nd December, 1926. The second memorial is the *Chandra-kanta Abhidhan*, the subject of this notice. Sir John Kerr in his opening speech said: "No more suitable method could have been found by any Assamese father for honouring the memory of his Assamese sons; and I have no doubt willing and able workers will always be forthcoming to assist in carrying out the benefactor's wish, and that the Institute should become a great centre of Assamese culture." The Chandra Kanta Handiqui Hall at Jorhat is now the headquarters of the Assam Sahitya Sabha, the Society which has done so much in preserving the purity of the Assamese language and which has been responsible for the compilation and publication of the great work now before us. Rai Bahadur Radha Kanta Handiqui by making the large grant of Rs. 30,000, for commemorating his two sons, has conferred an inestimable benefit on his fellow countrymen by giving them a veritable treasure house in the shape of the dictionary, and all concerned in its production are heartily to be congratulated on its appearance. To the writer of this notice the pleasure of studying the many pages of this volume has been great, more especially the etymologies and the numerous extracts from Assamese puthis it contains. Further, the excellent preface by Srijut Deveswar Chaliha and the learned introduction by Srijut Devananda Bharali, give additional interest and value to the work.

In this brief notice it is not intended to offer any criticisms or review of the work as a whole. This must be left to competent scholars; I refer in particular to the introduction by Devanda Bharali. This notice is merely one of appreciation by one who was long connected with Assam, who during his period of service there did all within his power in the course of his official duties, to study the Assamese language and literature. That the work of compilation and publication is truly an indigenous effort on the part of the Sahitya Sabha, thanks to the generosity of Rai Bahadur Radha Kanta Handiqui, is an indication of the cultural advance of the Assamese people, and is an additional subject for congratulation.

The dictionary, which is well printed and bound, is priced at Rs. 7, and is obtainable from the Assam Sahitya Sabha at Jorhat.

P. R. GURDON.

MANICHÄISCHE HANDSCHRIFTEN DER STAATLICHEN MUSEEN BERLIN.

Herausgegeben im Auftrage der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften unter Leitung von Professor CARL SCHMIDT. Band i, Kephalaia. Lieferung 1/2. pp. 50. Stuttgart: Verlag W. Kohlhammer, 1935. RM. 12.

The Prussian Academy of Sciences has undertaken the publication of the Manichean papyri. To this good fortune we owe the early edition of this first volume. The form is that of the volume of Manichäische Homilien of the collection of Chester Beatty, published last year. Here also the work is by H. J. Polotsky and of the same high standard. Many pages are fragmentary, but many also are happily complete or almost so. In this volume are contained chapters i-xvi of the Kephalaia, of which chapters iv and vii had been earlier published and interpreted in *SBAW.*, 1933, Ein Mani-Fund in Ägypten. We have here from the unprejudiced Manichean standpoint interpretations of the manifold aspects of the Manichean system, so of the parable of the good and bad trees, the four fishers, peace, the right hand, the salutation, the fourteen aeons of Sethel, and many other topics in chapters of various length. The allusion on p. 12 to Zaradēs (Zoroaster) places him after Bouddas (the Buddha) in time. On p. 7 there is a reference to Zoroastrians reading their books, but this occurs in a schematic explanation of the fallibility of earlier religions, which is attributed to the fact that not the Teacher but the disciple recorded the Teachings. The allusion therefore loses some of its importance. The great passage of this volume is that on the mission of Manichaios himself, pp. 14 ff., which was earlier quoted in translation in *SBAW.*, 1933 (cited above). It agrees with the Arabic account of al-Bairūnī.

The technical production of the book is excellent. The Coptic is in the clear new type. Footnotes are few but judiciously support the interpretations.

H. W. B.

SYLLABAIRE HITTITE CUNÉIFORME. Par LOUIS DELAPORTE. Libraire d'Amérique et d'Orient Adrien Maisonneuve. Paris, 1929. Frs. 30.

This book, forming part of M. Delaporte's *Manuel de Langue Hittite*, intended for students entering upon this study, contains a short preface on the cuneiform type of writing and the lists of signs, in two arrangements, according to the form of the sign and according to its syllabic value. A table of variants of the elements forming part of the cuneiform signs is appended. It is a useful and indeed necessary part of such a manual.

H. W. B.

CAUCASICA. Fasciculus 11. Herausgegeben von G. DEETERS. Leipzig : Verlag Asia Major G.M.B.H., 1934.

Four monographs are comprised in this fasciculus. One is concerned with Iranian, *Ossetische Studien*, by K. Bouda. They contain a useful contribution to the definition of the meanings and history of words and to Ossetic syntax. The author has treated *komdaryn*, *komyn*, *cäst*, *sär*, *unyn*, the deictic use of pronouns, *känyn* in intransitive phrases, Ossetic-Caucasian relations, old material in Ossetic, the Accusative, *astäu*, the postposited adjective, and group inflexion. Under the Ossetic-Caucasian relations it is not altogether clear what connections are intended. In the case, for example, of Oss. *käf* "fish", it is necessary to remember Sogdian *kp* (= *kaf*) and Saka *kava-* with the same meaning. On the Čerkes there are two studies. Prince N. Trubetzkoy has recorded his recollections of two visits to the Čerkes, so far as they have remained in his memory after loss of his notebooks. He has here given chiefly translations of tales written down during his visits. The second article is by G. Deeters, a linguistic analysis of a Čerkes children's learning book. R. Bleichsteiner in "Die Kaukasischen Sprachproben in *Evliya*" has examined the words and phrases recorded by *Evliya Çelebi*, and has succeeded in most cases in tracing their equivalents in modern Georgian, Mingrelian, Abchaz, and Čerkes. The words are important evidence to the three non-literary languages three hundred years ago.

H. W. B.

ÉTUDES COMPARATIVES SUR LES LANGUES CAUCASIENNES DU NORD-OUEST (MORPHOLOGIE). GEORGES DUMÉZIL. Librairie d'Amérique et d'Orient Adrien-Maisonneuve. 1932. Frs. 80.

TEXTES POPULAIRES INGUŠ. Recueillis par M. JABAGI. Traduits commentés et précédés d'une introduction grammaticale par G. DUMÉZIL. Adrien-Maisonneuve. 1935. Frs. 30.

The comparative studies of the first of these two books are confined to the morphology with occasional indication of comparative phonology. Morphology before a basic phonology has been worked out has not been approved or possible in Indo-European comparative grammar; it is exposed to the risk of accidental similarities. It is therefore doubtful if anything more than similarity of general structure or of syntactical use can be shown in this way.

The eighteen Inguš texts are welcome. Jabagi had collected traditions, songs, and proverbs of the Inguš, both from an interest

in folklore and as a service to his own people. They are thus popular texts. The editor has given the texts with interlinear translation accompanied by a freer translation at the end.

H. W. B.

DIE IRANIER. ARTHUR CHRISTENSEN. Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft, 3^e Abteilung, 1^{er} Teil, 3^{er} Band. 1933.

Professor A. Christensen has in one hundred pages written a most excellent account of the origins and of the culture of the Iranians to the end of the Achæmenid period, with an Appendix on the period between Alexander and the end of the Sasanian Empire. Useful bibliographies are given throughout. He has treated of the early period, the reform of Zoroaster, the Iranians of the west and of the north. The sketch of the oldest and least known times and of the activity and beliefs of Zoroaster probably approaches as near to the truth as present information permits. It is admittedly incomplete evidence. For the Western Iranians more is to be expected when the Elamite tablets, discovered at Persepolis, are published. The recent discovery of references to Cyrus I in Babylonian records encourages hopes of further information from that source. The author has carefully weighed all the available information, which, as he notes, is largely preserved in non-Iranian books. Happily Greek authors supply the want created by the lack of indigenous literary sources. Eight excellent plates are included.

H. W. B.

A TIBETAN-ENGLISH DICTIONARY. With special reference to the prevailing dialects. To which is added an English-Tibetan Vocabulary. By H. A. JÄSCHKE. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co., Ltd. Reprinted 1934. 42s.

No Tibetan dictionary is exhaustive. Such a one is greatly needed. Meantime it is good to have available once more at a reasonable price Jaeschke's very useful dictionary. It had become scarce and expensive. The contents are unchanged, only the format has been reduced. Daily use has demonstrated its handiness. With the help of this dictionary and that of S. C. Das it is possible to work at Tibetan texts, but the omissions of both are often disturbing. Reading recently the Siddhasāra of Ravigupta in the Tanjur, I have met often words or phrases which neither elucidated. Thus *li-zir-ba*, corresponding to *śaṭī* "zedoary" of the Sanskrit text, is in neither. Skt. *rajanī-dvaya* "curcuma longa and aromatica" is rendered by *sgyer-ba dan skyer*

khaṇḍa dañ, of which *skyer khaṇḍa*, omitted by Jaeschke, is explained by S. C. Das as a confection of *skyer-pa*. The word for "coriander" is *hu-su* in the dictionaries, the medical text uses *ho-su*. Neither dictionary has *kha-luñ*, which translates Skt. *mātulūṅga* "citrus medica" (it occurs in the Mahāvīyutpatti), nor *šin he-roñ* used for Skt. *trivṛt* "turpethum". The word *ts'on-mo-steñ*, omitted in S. C. Das, and stated in Jaeschke to be an unknown metal, translates Skt. *trapus* "tin" (also in the Mhvy.). Skt. *aiṇa-* "deer's (flesh)" is rendered by *khar(a) go sol gyi śa*. Further *šin-tu zi-zi-por gyur-pa* translates *dṛṣṭer ākulatā bhṛṣaṃ*. Future compilers of Tibetan dictionaries may also expect to find much of use in the Chinese polyglot dictionaries.

H. W. BAILEY.

REVUE DES ÉTUDES ISLAMIQUES. Publiée sous la direction de
L. MASSIGNON. Tome VIII (Année 1934), 4 cahiers, pp. 512.
Paris: Geuthner. Subscription price 100 francs per annum.

This latest volume of the *R.E.I.* is remarkable not only for the variety of its documentation on Islamic subjects, ranging from Barbary to Japan, but still more for the large proportion of articles dealing with new or almost untouched problems. In this respect it holds up a mirror to the present state of Islamic Orientalism, with results at once encouraging and disheartening. Such preliminary articles as those of Albert de Boucheman on the rivalry between two semi-sedentary nomad groups in Syria (pp. 9-58), of Jean Sauvaget on the stages of the growth of Damascus as a city (pp. 421-480), and of A. N. Poliak on the popular risings in Egypt in the Mamluk period (pp. 251-273) all represent pioneer work in important fields of historical study. While they hold out the promise of valuable extensions of knowledge in the future, one cannot help feeling a touch of despondency at the little way we have gone and the long way there is still to go. Somewhat similar reflections are evoked in another field by Professor Massignon's interrogative memoranda on the formation of abstract nouns in Arabic. The note of pessimism is openly sounded by Tadeusz Lewicki in publishing some new texts in Old Berber from an anonymous twelfth-century work (pp. 275-306) and by E. Borrel in regard to the popular poetry and music employed in the former secret religious assemblies of certain Turkish tribes (pp. 241-250), the first because the material is so scanty, the second because the study of this subject, so important in its sociological bearings, has begun ten years too late.

This bent towards social investigation, however, which is responsible for much of its element of originality, constitutes, together with summaries of current activities, the special feature of the *R.E.I.* and gives it a place apart amongst Islamic periodicals. Most of the remaining contributions also fall within one or the other category. A summary of two articles by Gordlevsky on the artisan corporations in Turkey (pp. 79-88), Paul Marty's article on the recent difficulties of the silk-weavers in Tunisia (pp. 223-240), and Mme. Jeanne Jouin's illustrated survey of the traditional dress of the women of Syria and Palestine (pp. 481-505) continue the tradition of sociological study, while Claude Cahen contributes a corpus of useful geographical and historical material on medieval Mesopotamia from the unpublished work of Ibn Shaddād (pp. 109-128), and Lewicki an analysis of a fifteenth-century 'Ibādī chronicle, the *Kitāb as-Siyar* of ash-Shammākhī (pp. 57-78). Current developments are represented by a variety of summaries: of the Firdausi celebrations in Iran, by Professor Massé (393-420), of extracts from the Russian press relating to Islam in Central Asia and the Far East, by J. Castagné (pp. 89-108), and of the reports made at the Congress of Writers of the U.S.S.R. on the literature of the Central Asian republics, by B. Nikitine (pp. 307-381). A brief account of the Muslim community in Finland (pp. 1-8) and an obituary of Aḥmad Zakī Pasha (pp. 388-392) are contributed by Bichr Fares, and the abridged translation of 'Alī 'Abdar-Rāziq's *Islām and the Bases of Government*, begun in the previous volume, is concluded (pp. 163-222). And, by no means the least important feature of the volume, the series of *Abstracta Islamica* is continued in a long and valuable section, compiled by Dr. Paul Kraus, of works relating to Islamic medicine and science (pp. 126-162).

H. A. R. G.

THE HOLY QURĀN. English Text and Commentary (with Arabic Text). By A. YŪSUF 'ALĪ. Part I containing the First Sīpāra. Imperial 8vo, pp. xx + 56. Lahore, 1934. Rs. 1.

LA SAGESSE CORANIQUE ÉCLAIRÉE PAR DES VERSETS CHOISIS. Par MAHMOUD MOHTAR-KATIRJOGLOU. 8vo, pp. 261. Paris: Geuthner, 1935. 22 frs.

The late General Mahmoud Mohtar Pasha, in his introduction to the second of these books, remarks that "a sacred text, if it is to live afresh in another tongue, requires to be given life by pens which are imbued by that same life." The best translation will be one made by a believer in the sacred and unique character of the text, and will not

always be the most literal translation. This is a liberty of which Mohtar Pasha himself has taken full advantage, his object being simply to unite in one short volume "the essential elements of the Qur'ān" by the omission of verses and parts of verses amounting to about four-fifths of the whole.

The translator who sets out to reproduce the entire text, on the other hand, cannot afford to wander far from the literal rendering. For in a sacred text the minutiae may, *ex hypothesi*, be of the most far-reaching importance. Mr. Yusuf 'Ali, too, of course, has aimed at something more than a bare rendering. In addition he has tried, "greatly daring," to reproduce something of the rhythm of the original by the use of unrhymed free verse, each line of which begins with a capital. The rhythmical quality is certainly present, but the reviewer must confess that the effect is, in his opinion, altogether unhappy. The translation itself contains many happy turns of phrase, but is marred by several loose and sometimes fanciful renderings.

In both works, however, the actual translation is perhaps of less importance than the commentary. We are in reality dealing with two highly individual recensions (the word is not too strong). Each has the interest of presenting, in Mr. Yusuf 'Ali's words, "the picture which their own mental and spiritual vision presents to themselves," and each is the work of a man of wide culture, with long training and experience, not in academic or theological seclusion, but in the busy life of politics and public service. Both are modernist, in the sense that they reject the formalism of the rigid orthodox tradition, and maintain the characteristic modernist doctrines, such as free will and the symbolical interpretation of legendary narratives and of the descriptions of the future life. There is, however, a significant difference between them: Mr. Yusuf 'Ali's commentary is mainly "practical" and homiletic, whereas Mohtar Pasha shows rather a sufistic-philosophical tendency. Both are well worthy of the attention of those interested in the modern development of Muslim thought.

H. A. R. G.

HISTOIRE DES CROISADES ET DU ROYAUME FRANC DE JÉRUSALEM.

II: Monarchie Franque et Monarchie Musulmane: L'Équilibre.

Par RENÉ GROUSSET. 8vo, pp. iv + 921. Paris: Plon, 1935.

100 fcs.

M. Grousset's second volume, which, notwithstanding its bulk, follows the first at an interval of only a few months, deserves more

than a passing notice. While it follows in the main the lines of the previous volume (reviewed in Vol. VII, pp. 981-3), it shows also some significant differences in detail. As the events of this period are less dispersed and lend themselves more easily to unified treatment than in the earlier period, there is less overlapping and a corresponding gain in clarity. In the second place William of Tyre now becomes the primary Western authority, and though M. Grousset continues to prefer the old French version, he calls attention to discrepancies between the original and the translation where they are significant. This is all to the good, and the numerous quotations take on in consequence the character of first-hand or eye-witness accounts, which in the first volume they did not always possess. There is also a marked change, not of outlook but of stress, as the author gets more fully into his stride; his personal judgments are more intrusive and more heavily underlined. Partly, no doubt, because in his defence of the later "Capetians" he is aware that he is arguing a case; no historian has doubted the abilities and qualities of the first two Baldwins, but Fulk, Baldwin III, and Baldwin IV require the support of a vigorous advocacy, which involves him even in some polemics against Chalandon. These, and various other matters in which he expresses a personal view, belong to the province of Western medievalists, and cannot be discussed here. But this tendency to emphasis has resulted in some lack of balance, both in the evaluation of the moral factor (of this more below) and in the treatment of such episodes as the battle of Montgisard ("La plus belle victoire des Croisades," 654 sqq.).

The leading ideas in this volume are firstly that the monarchy was the sheet-anchor of the Latin states—the case for which is argued passionately and on the whole persuasively; and, secondly, that the Frankish occupation was fundamentally an essay in colonial expansion, to which the "Crusading ideology" was in direct antithesis (e.g. pp. 247 and 615-17). The weight laid upon these factors will be best appreciated from two quotations:—

"La solution [i.e. of the struggle between the Turks and the Franks] allait presque entièrement dépendre de la valeur respective des institutions monarchiques chez les deux adversaires" (p. 366).

"Là, où il eût fallu une véritable Völkerwanderung, une immigration rurale massive, il n'y eut plus que des voyages de paladins et de marchands—chevaliers-moines des Kraks, armateurs et banquiers italiens des Échelles libanaises, bref une colonie sans base

démographique et rurale, le Pondichéry de Dupleix au lieu du Canada de Montcalm, la colonie qu'un désastre militaire anéantit au lieu de celle qui survit même à la conquête étrangère" (p. 865).

These ideas largely dominate M. Grousset's exposition; he cannot, for example, forgive the Byzantine empire for its hesitant and finally hostile attitude which allowed the destruction in Anatolia of the Crusades of 1147 with their multitudes of possible future colonists (Appendix IV). Often, too, they lead him into speculations in which the broad overriding facts (although M. Grousset is by no means unaware of them) are apt to be lost to view while he expatiates on the moral of this or that episode in the light of the doctrine of monarchical institutions or of "le fait colonial". A characteristic example will be found in his impatience at the missed opportunity of erecting a "Frankish County of Middle-Orontes" in 1157 which, he maintains, if given to Thierry of Flanders, would have secured the support of the Flemish cities (p. 384).

The presentation of the oriental aspects reflects, as in the previous volume, the absence of preliminary orientalist researches. There are, it is true, many passages of shrewd analysis and of just appreciation, but the oriental figures and background are not solidly built up; even in dealing with Saladin (for whom the fullest documentation has hitherto been made available to the Western student) the reader is not prepared for the final catastrophe, which is, indeed, ascribed almost entirely to the negative factors of weakness in the kingdom. In so far as the utilization of the available oriental sources is concerned, however, there is little indeed of importance that has been overlooked,¹ but in spite of the author's caution Ibn al-Athîr has again proved something of a snare, especially in relation to Egypt. Thus the situation in Egypt prior to the siege and capture of Ascalon in August, 1153 (pp. 349-353), is somewhat misrepresented. The attack on Ascalon was not caused directly by disorders in Egypt. Ibn Sallâr was, on the whole, a capable and energetic ruler, who reacted to the Franks' fortification of Gaza first by a naval raid in the summer of 1151 (related in the *Dam. Chron.*, 307-8, but overlooked by M. Grousset) and secondly by

¹ The following points are perhaps worth mentioning: pp. 70-1: Kamâl ad-Dîn's statement cannot stand against the concordant testimony of Ibn al-Qalânîsî, William of Tyre, and Ibn al-Athîr; p. 367: the truce between Nûr ad-Dîn and the Franks was first made in 1155 (*Dam. Chron.* 322); pp. 416-17: according to the *Dam. Chron.* (353) Manuel was negotiating with Nûr ad-Dîn even before his advance, and this seems to be confirmed by the presence of Nûr ad-Dîn's envoys at Mamistra, as mentioned on p. 403.

endeavouring to form an alliance with Nūr ad-Dīn.¹ The siege of Ascalon was formed in January, 1153, whereas Ibn Sallār was assassinated only in April. This may have contributed to the conquest, but even the new government in Egypt strongly reinforced the besieged garrison. On the other hand, in preserving what may be called the conventional view of the events in Egypt leading up to and following the establishment of Saladin, again based mainly upon Ibn al-Athīr, M. Grousset follows probably the safest plan, in the absence of a detailed study.

Mention of Saladin brings us to the crux of the problems associated with the Muslim counterstroke and the fall of Jerusalem. M. Grousset, as has been seen, finds the explanation firstly in the recovery of the monarchical institution on the Islamic side, coinciding with its decline on the Frankish side, and secondly in the failure to place the Frankish colonization of Syria on a sound numerical and agricultural basis. It may be questioned whether the second was an effective cause in any degree. If there is any virtue at all in historical reasoning, nothing can be more certain than that, however strongly Syria might have been colonized, the enormous reserves of strength possessed by the Muslim East—decaying as it was—were more than sufficient to have put an end to the experiment sooner or later. How far the very modern-sounding colonial concepts of M. Grousset can be applied to the French of the twelfth century is another question, which again falls within the sphere of the Western medievalists.

The first reason is more substantial, and that it contains an important element of truth can hardly be doubted. Yet a great deal of misunderstanding has been caused by the transference of Western conceptions of monarchical institutions into medieval Islamic society. Western historians generally see in the sequence Zankī—Nūr ad-Dīn—Saladin a steadily increasing mobilization of military force based upon a gradual expansion of territorial holdings and simultaneous increase of sovereign status. The history of the crusades becomes a sum in simple addition and subtraction. M. Grousset does himself some injustice by allowing it to appear as if he, too, held this view. For in his close examination of the Oriental sources he has not failed to notice and to comment upon several of the passages that hint at, rather than disclose, the moral revolution which underlay the political action, and which was the true decisive factor.

¹ Ibn Sallār was a Sunnī and was supported by the Sunnī party in Egypt (*Jamāl ad-Dīn al-Ḥalabī*, B.M. Or. 3685, fol. 87a).

Professor Massignon has pointed out in another connection that movements in Islam are generally "in the nature of sudden flashes, momentarily violent but transitory".¹ There is little of gradual and organized building-up, but instead there is a long period of secret preparation during which the social conscience is aroused, and the movement suddenly comes to maturity in a "general mobilization for the struggle which seeks to vindicate by force of arms the neglected rights of the Divine Law". It was precisely with such a movement that the Crusaders were faced in Syria. There is no space within the limits of a review to develop this theme at length, but the essential points may be briefly stated. It is admitted that the fundamental cause of the weakness of the Muslims was the spirit of particularism and local jealousy which reigned in Syria and Mesopotamia, and which offered opportunity of personal aggrandizement to ambitious princes and governors; that any political unity created merely by force was unstable and would end, like the empire of Tutush, in disruption; and that the creation of a true political unity had to wait on the growth of a psychological or spiritual unity strong enough to master—even if only for a moment—the obstacles of regionalism and private interest. It was this that made the path of recovery so slow and painful. Only thirty years elapsed from the arrival of the Crusaders to the rise of Zankī; sixty years had to pass between Zankī's appointment to Mosul and the battle of Ḥiṭṭīn. It was no material cause which delayed this consummation. Had Zankī and Zankī's army and Zankī's subjects been animated by the spirit of Saladin and his men, gallantry and statesmanship would have been of little avail to Fulk and his successors. But that spirit was lacking. To Ibn al-Athīr and his followers Zankī may have been the "Champion of Islam"; to his contemporaries—as Usāma and Ibn al-Qalānīsī bear ample witness—he was a "blood and iron" prince, crafty, cruel, ruthless, and as faithless as a Frank.²

Yet, had Zankī himself been other than he was, the climax would still have been delayed, because the *da'wa*—the moral call—had not yet penetrated the social conscience. In such movements the impulse has generally to well up from below, establishing itself in certain circles and thence expanding its range of influence. We can dimly discern

¹ *Whither Islam?* London (Gollancz), 1932, pp. 77-8.

² M. Grousset admits this, but imagines that the Muslim world discovered it only in 1139 (pp. 129-130). It is implicit in the *Dam. Chron.* from the outset of Zankī's career, however, and explicitly stated apropos of 1135 (*Dam. Chron.*, 230), while Usāma's grim stories of Zankī and his generals tell their own tale.

this process in Syria, firstly in the attitude of the religious leaders: the increasing stress laid on the defence of Islām, the cautious support of Nūr ad-Dīn, the enthusiasm for Saladin; how the continued insecurity of life and property evoked amongst all classes a psychological unsettlement¹ which, in the manner of the Orient, took on a religious expression; how this religious revival, by setting a new value on the common faith, brought to an end the crippling opposition of Sunnī and Shi'ite (except in the mountain regions)—quite apart from the official "Sunnī reaction" manifested in the building of madrasas, etc.—and formed a bond of union between the Muslims of inner Syria and those who lived under the rule of the Franks.²

But these spiritual aspirations could not issue as a political force until they found a leader capable of personifying them and guiding their action. The history of the Counter-Crusade is therefore built up of the interplay of the moral factor and the changing political situation. So far from any mechanical progress of the monarchical institution on the Muslim side, it is instructive to observe how, on the death of each successive leader, the structure which he has created by his efforts immediately falls to pieces. The division of Zankī's possessions actually threw Muslim Syria back to its former condition of political fragmentation, and Nūr ad-Dīn had practically to build up his own structure afresh. The death of Nūr ad-Dīn again jeopardized the Muslim cause by the imminent dissolution of the Zankid structure, and once again the "monarchical institution" had to be rebuilt from the foundations. So little was there of steady, natural expansion. The most one can say is that each of the three had the way eased for him by the achievements of his predecessor: Zankī by Āq-Sunqur al-Bursuqī, Nūr ad-Dīn by Zankī, Saladin by Nūr ad-Dīn. But each had to bring his own personality to the task of rebuilding, and in each case the inner spirit was different—not less so between Nūr ad-Dīn and Saladin than between Zankī and Nūr ad-Dīn. The difference between Zankī and Nūr ad-Dīn was that the latter, conscious of the growing moral revolution, endeavoured to utilize it and to supplement political unity by moral unity (with no little success, as M. Grousset has shown on p. 460). Why the Counter-Crusade did not come to a climax under

¹ Probably strengthened by the series of severe earthquakes which began in 1156.

² On the bearing of the passages from Ibn Jubair, quoted by M. Grousset on pp. 752-7, see now Claude Cahen, in "Indigènes et Croisés", *Syria*, 1934, 356-360. Moreover, the Western writer is apt to underrate the effects of the moral degradation felt by the Muslim under non-Muslim rule, and so vividly portrayed by Ibn Jubair himself (G.M.S. ed., 307).

his leadership still awaits explanation. It may have been the still imperfect moral unification of the people of Syria, or the legacy of Zankī—the character of his army, and the political instability resulting from the partition of Mosul and Aleppo, at once concealed and maintained by Nūr ad-Dīn's loyalty to his kinsmen. Or it may have been some strain of Zankid hardness and ambition in Nūr ad-Dīn himself; for while his real piety and nobility cannot be called in question (even though all our information comes from the pages of eulogizers), he was, after all, a Turkish general, born to power, and the continuator of his father's work.

But Saladin was a child of the *da'wa* itself, moulded in childhood and youth by its aspirations and ideals. He was not remarkable either as strategist or statesman; as scholar and ascetic he began, and scholar and ascetic he remained all his life. M. Grousset seems to question whether Saladin was really an outstanding figure; he is inclined to put him on a level with the Zankids and other atābegs, and he accepts Ibn al-Athīr's partisan insinuations¹ and assertions.² Yet the one charge brought against him—his apparent disloyalty to the house of Nūr ad-Dīn and his determination to make his supremacy acknowledged in North Syria and Mesopotamia—was the fruit of a just appreciation of the situation. For the weakness and division of the Zankid house threatened to plunge Syria again into disunity and discord and to betray the hopes of Islam. The Zankids themselves pointed the contrast; their reliance upon Frankish support (pp. 622 sqq.), a commonplace of Syrian politics in 1120, and already a "regrettable necessity" in 1150, was a thing not to be tolerated in 1180. The lesser personal loyalties which opposed Saladin in the beginning had in the end to give way, and were merged into the general movement as the aspirations of the Muslims of Syria found in him their ideal representative. Besides the story of the garrison at Ḥarim (p. 720), other instances could be quoted as widely separated as Ibn Jubair's account of the prayers at Mecca (G.M.S. ed., 97) and the change of

¹ See, e.g., pp. 591-2. But how could Ibn al-Athīr know what Najm ad-Dīn had said to his son in a private conversation? The whole story is typical of Ibn al-Athīr's imaginative excursions.

² Amongst these the statement that Saladin's expeditions into Nubia and Yaman were intended to prepare a possible place of retreat (p. 593) has been widely accepted by historians. Yet it might very plausibly be argued that their purpose was firstly political, Yaman being the headquarters of the Fātimid propaganda and Nubia a centre of Fātimid resistance (cf. p. 597), and secondly economic, for the protection and control of the trade-route via 'Aidhāb and the Red Sea, the chief artery of Egypt's commerce.

tone in the chronicle of Ibn al-Athir himself. M. Grousset has scarcely realized the full implications of this process, but he sees clearly the signs of the coming outbreak in the reaction to Renaud de Chatillon's exploits in the Red Sea (pp. 734-5). The last consideration which might oppose itself to the general will, the economic interests of the Syrian merchants, was swept away by Renaud's perfidy (pp. 776-8); barely six months later the kingdom of Jerusalem was in dissolution.

Saladin's achievements are not to be explained by any theory of monarchical institutions. The outcome of the campaign of Ḥiṭṭin and of the Third Crusade was determined by morale, zeal, and enthusiasm for an ideal. The Franks of Syria had indeed sad need of some infusion of the early "Crusading ideology". For the Crusades were in essence a contest of faith, not of arms.¹ All the material conquests of the First Crusade were the result of the first uprush of zeal and devotion; when that gave way to "le fait colonial", it was by an equal uprush of zeal and devotion on the other side that they were taken away.

H. A. R. GIBB.

BOOK OF TREASURES. By JOB OF EDESSA. Edited and translated by A. MINGANA. pp. xlviii + 470. Cambridge: W. Heffer and Sons, 1935. 42s.

It is an exaggeration to call this book an "encyclopædia of philosophical and natural sciences as taught in Baghdad about A.D. 817", as is done on the title page. It sets out to show that the world is formed of four elements with examples, taken from physics, zoology, and psychology, of the effects of the various combinations of them. Teleological reasons for many of the phenomena described are also given and the book ends with an account of the next life which, though also formed from the four elements, is quite different from the present world. The author taught that hell was not punishment by fire but absence from God.

The facts—real or assumed—are common to the Muslim world;

¹ By faith I do not mean fanaticism; nothing is more characteristic of this contest than the mutual courtesy and respect displayed by the combatants. That things might have been very different is shown by the episodes in which Templars and Hospitallers were concerned. Fanaticism called out fanaticism in reply, even in a Saladin, but his generally chivalrous conduct is probably the greatest tribute of all to the character of the Franks of Syria.

e.g. the three colours of the rainbow, the lack of a backbone in birds, and the growth of hair from excess matter in the body. The editor quotes a few parallels from the *Firdaws al-Hikmat*; he might have given many more. The arguments are novel and, though nonsense, are often ingenious and amusing. The following sample of reasoning may be quoted:—

“There are five elements in the composition of man and of the animals, the fifth element being the body, which is composed of them. When the middle part of the body was being completed, its matter was pulled upwards and downwards, and reached the extremities and gave rise to the division of hands and feet; there each one of the elements struggled to separate itself from the others, and in this way the five-fold division of the five powers—that is to say of the four elements and of the compound that came out of them—took place. The body, which is composed of a quantity of matter greater than that possessed by any other single element, perfected the thumb, while the four other elements perfected the four fingers and the four toes.” (p. 46.)

The author knew the experience called “seeing stars”, it seems that he was influenced by Islam when he spoke of angels carrying the throne of God, and he attacks some new philosophers, probably the Mu‘tazila, by affirming that sensations are not essences. The text at the end of the book is a facsimile of a modern copy of an old manuscript; this is always unsatisfactory. The facsimile is on the whole legible. The editor has to confess that some passages are corrupt and elsewhere has made many corrections in the notes. Such corrections are not usually called an *apparatus criticus*. The translation assumes many other emendations. On p. 92 is a bad example of the method of translation. A note says that the text is corrupt, but gives no idea of the extent of the corruption. The translation contains words which are not in the original and also a beautiful example of homoioteleuton. In the note on p. xx the word “reconstructed” should be “quoted”.

The chief value of this book lies in the light it throws on the history of science; therefore one would expect precise indication of all points on which the author differs from Aristotle. The present edition does not give this.

A. S. T.

DAS BUCH DER ALAUNE UND SALZE. Ein Grundwerk der spätleinischen Alchemie. Herausgegeben, übersetzt und erläutert von JULIUS RUSKA. pp. 127. Berlin: Verlag Chemie, 1935.

En poursuivant ses recherches sur les ouvrages alchimiques attribués à Muḥammad b. Zakariyyā al-Rāzī (Rhazes) dans les littératures arabe et latine,¹ M. Ruska a réussi à élucider un chapitre intéressant de l'histoire de l'alchimie occidentale. L'élaboration de cette découverte fait l'objet de la présente étude.

Vincent de Beauvais et Roger Bacon citent à plusieurs reprises un livre intitulé *De Aluminibus et Salibus* et souvent attribué au célèbre médecin Rhazes. Il y a quelques ans, M. Robert Steele avait retrouvé et édité le texte latin utilisé par ces auteurs. M. Ruska établit d'abord qu'une seconde recension du même texte a été imprimée en 1560 par Joannes Garlandius sous le titre *De Mineralibus liber*. Les différences apparentes qui se manifestent entre les deux recensions s'expliquent par le fait que ce sont là deux traductions différentes d'un seul et même texte arabe. Une heureuse chance a permis à M. Ruska de retrouver une grande partie de l'original arabe dans un manuscrit de Berlin. L'édition de ce texte ainsi que de la version de Garlandius, accompagnée d'une traduction en allemand et d'un commentaire, forment la partie principale du travail (p. 39 suiv.). Celle-ci est précédée d'une analyse minutieuse de la technique de traduction pratiquée par les auteurs des deux versions latines (dont l'un est probablement le célèbre Gérard de Crémone) et d'un résumé du contenu scientifique du traité. C'est dans ces chapitres ainsi que dans le commentaire philologique qui accompagne la traduction, qu'excelle la méthode de M. Ruska appliquée déjà à tant d'autres ouvrages du même genre littéraire (comp. notamment ses études magistrales sur la *Tabula Smaragdina* et sur la *Turba Philosophorum*). Bien que l'attribution du traité à Rāzī soit impossible², de nombreux indices

¹ Cf. "Übersetzung und Bearbeitungen von Rāzī's Buch der Geheimnisse," ap. *Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte der Naturwissenschaften und der Medizin*, iv, Heft 3, 1935, pp. 1-87; "Die Alchemie ar-Rāzī's," ap. *Der Islam*, xxii (1935), 4, pp. 281-319.

² Ce qui rend déjà suspecte l'authenticité du traité, c'est qu'on y trouve cité à plusieurs reprises le *kitāb al-mujarradāt* de Jābir (les versions latines rendent ce titre par *liber denudatorum* ou *liber de spoliationibus* respectivement). Remarquons d'ailleurs qu'un auteur postérieur prétend que Rāzī se serait approprié le contenu de ce livre. On lit en effet dans le *kitāb mafātīḥ al-raḥma* de Tuḡrā'ī (MS. Paris, ar. 2614, fol. 109^a) la note suivante : وقال جابر رحمه الله تعالى في الباب الاعظم من المجردات : التي اتحلها (sic.) ابن زكريا وزاد فيه وقص وحرف وبأل وسماه كتاب المجرآلخ.

prouvant qu'il a été composé en Espagne au cours du 11^{ème} siècle, son intérêt pour la connaissance de la transmission de la science arabe à l'Occident n'est pas moins grand. Son contenu est purement expérimental et relève de la tradition alchimique inaugurée en Islam par les écrits de Rāzī et de Jābir. Des traits caractéristiques le distinguent nettement du type d'alchimie allégorique que représentent d'une part le Corpus des Alchimistes Grecs et d'autre part l'école égyptienne de l'alchimie arabe.

PAUL KRAUS.

LA PLACE D'AL FĀRĀBĪ DANS L'ÉCOLE PHILOSOPHIQUE MUSULMANE.

Par IBRAHIM MADKOUR. large 8vo, pp. ix + 249. Paris: Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1934. Frs. 50.

As the title of his work indicates, M. Madkour sets out to explain the system of al-Fārābī and its importance in the history of philosophy. The author writes of a world of thought which is all but dead; but he recaptures its spirit and interprets it with such sympathy and clearness that the reader is transported to the age of the scholastics.

Beginning with a study of al-Fārābī's syncretism, which he illustrates from his *Agreement of Plato and Aristotle*, he gives a systematic exposition of his work and influence, more thorough and more fully documented than any previous study of this influential thinker. M. Madkour is undoubtedly right in giving his author the credit for laying the foundation and providing many of the bricks of the Avicennan building; but he seems to me to labour the point unduly, and to overstate the world's neglect of one whom Arabic writers hailed as the *mu'allim al-thānī*. It is an exaggeration to say (p. 2) that al-Fārābī is hardly known in Arabic or Latin, and it may be conjectured that Avicenna's confession that the *Metaphysics* was unintelligible to him until he came across a copy of al-Fārābī's introduction thereto is an acknowledgement of a weightier contribution from that source than that contained in the few pages of the opusculum known as the *Aghrād al-Hakīm*.

M. Madkour's renderings of al-Fārābī are happy, and at least one silent emendation (p. 21) of Dieterici's text commends itself. It may be only fair to acquit al-Fārābī of carelessness in attributing the so-called *Theology of Aristotle* to the Stagirite himself, but when M. Madkour confesses that if that work had not been known to Muslims its theory of ideas would have been adopted all the same, he hardly strengthens the case for the defence. Moreover, as I pointed out in

The Legacy of Islam (p. 252), the work bears the sub-title *The Commentary (tafsīr) of Porphyry*, and includes the statement that it is a revised version made by al-Kindī. M. Madkour mentions the latter fact (p. 135 note), but says nothing about the relation of the work to Porphyry. I find it easier to believe that Neoplatonism was consciously fathered on Aristotle and a syncretism elaborated than that al-Fārābī had omitted to read the title of a work which so profoundly influenced the course of his thought. It is possible that al-Kindī's lost writings might throw more light on this question. However, M. Madkour's discussion of the problems at issue between the two views of God and the Universe is of permanent value, and advances the study of Muslim philosophy a further stage. His chapter on the theory of the intellect is an outstanding example of the value of a study made by a scholar who having been educated in the East has studied also in the West.

Mindful of the unhappy divisions in Christianity which arose out of the equivocating of *substantia* and *natura* and *οὐσία* and *φύσις*, I am a little uneasy at the equivocating of *موجوده* and *لذاته* ("par sa nature," p. 60, and "par nature" and "de lui-même", p. 65), especially in citations from Avicenna. Further, one notes *ذاته باعتبار ذاته* "par sa nature", and *في نفسه* "par nature" (pp. 78 and 79).

The writer has consulted the best authorities on Western scholasticism, a subject which naturally is only introduced in its relation to al-Fārābī's system. His work is rounded off with an Index and a critical bibliography.

There can be no doubt that this book will at once take an honoured place in the library of Muslim philosophy and theology.

ALFRED GUILLAUME.

SUKHANVARĀN-I-ĪRĀN DAR 'AŞR-I HĀZIR. Poets and Poetry of Modern Persia, Vol. I. By M. ISHAQUE. pp. 7 + 455 + 19. Calcutta : Oriental Publishing House. 25s.

Mr. Muḥammad Ishāq (Ishaque), lecturer at the Calcutta University, presents in his anthology thirty-three modern Persian poets whose activities stretch between the end of the last century and A.D. 1933, and who are all connected with the great national movement to which the final impulse was given in the years 1905-8. Each item in the anthology consists of a biographical introduction and a

selection of poems. The sketches, written in good and direct Persian, are a result of M. Ishaque's personal investigation, carried out on the spot, during his visit to Persia in 1930. They will certainly form the groundwork of the future histories of modern Persian literature. Their value is enhanced by the accompanying portraits of the poets which the author patiently collected in Tehran. As an example of the new and valuable details found in M. Ishaque's book, suffice it to mention his personal interview with the aged satirist Nasim-i Shimāl (p. 146) whom he discovered in his retirement, forgotten and pressed by many cares. The illustrative poems have also been judiciously selected. Even a few pages of texts enable the reader in many cases to perceive the personality of the author. This is perhaps the greatest acquisition of recent literature. With such honourable exceptions as Īraj-mīrzā and Bahār, the mastery of expression of our contemporaries may be inferior to that of their predecessors of the classical period; the antiquated tradition very often even hampers the spontaneous growth of poetry, but there is one good trait about the modern authors. They no more live out of Space and Time, remaining impervious to the outer world. This intrusion of new impressions is rather fatal to lyrics and mysticism. A romantic return towards the past and even downright political tendencies prevail in recent Persian poetry and yet this is still a way out of the impasse in which Persian poetry lingered since the Ṣafawī times.

E. G. Browne was the first to appreciate the importance of the new turn of Persian poetry (*Press and Poetry in Modern Persia*, 1914). A nicely written and appreciative booklet on the most recent Persian literature was published in Russian by Chaykin in 1928, and now M. Ishaque's anthology comes in time to set upon a firmer basis our knowledge of the repercussions which the present eventful times had on the most sensitive organs of the Iranian community.

It remains to add that the book of which the author is the editor is very well printed and bound and that the complete work will comprise two more volumes which will be impatiently awaited.

V. M.

PERSIAN LITERATURE. A bio-bibliographical survey. Section II, fasc. 1; A: General History; B: The Prophets and early Islam. By C. A. STOREY. pp. 235. London: Luzac, 1935. 15s.

Professor Storey's work is destined not for "reading" but for study and reference. It represents a most welcome addition to

E. G. Browne's *Literary History of Persia*, of which (in spite of all its importance) the bibliography and completeness of references is not the strongest point. In the first volume of the work (1927) Professor Storey treated the rather uninspiring branch of Qur'anic literature. In his vol. ii he applies his thorough methods to the general histories in the Persian language. The practical importance of this part needs no comment: instead of long researches in bulky and rare catalogues we now, thanks to him, possess a complete and systematic digest of the data on the authors, their works, the existing MSS., and editions with all the necessary references. Vol. iii, which is already in the press, will treat the still more important branch of "local" histories in Persia. After its completion we shall have for the extensive Persian historical literature a manual similar to Babinger's *Geschichtsschreiber der Osmanen*, and when the whole work is ready we shall finally possess a Persian "Brockelmann".

The work has been so carefully done and such a mass of catalogues has been utilized that only longer use of the book may bring to evidence some occasional lacunæ.

ad p. 66. Some extracts from Gardīzī's chapter on the Turks have been re-edited and translated by Marquart in his *Das Volkstum d. Komanen* (1914) and some more translations by the said author lie in MS. in the library of the Istituto biblico pontificale in Rome.

ad p. 75, note 1. The Mashhad MS. examined by A. Z. Validi is indeed the one containing the history of Öljejtü (Uljäytü); along with the Tashkent MS. it is particularly important for the restoration of difficult personal and geographical names.

ad p. 76. The French appreciation of Bérézine's edition of Rashīd al-dīn quoted in note 1 is obviously biased. Bérézine's rare work is a signal service to the history of the origins of the Mongol Empire. It is based on a careful collation of very good MSS. and the commentary, owing to Bérézine's knowledge of Mongolian, is full of valuable suggestions,¹ cf. Barthold in *Mir Islama*, 1912, I, 60.

ad p. 86. The identity of the "Anonym of Iskandar" was disclosed by Barthold in *Comptes-rendus de l'Acad. des Sciences de l'U.R.S.S.*, 1927, pp. 115-16: the author is Maulānā Mu'in al-dīn Naṭanzī, see Daulatshāh, ed. E. G. Browne, p. 371₁₄. In a further article, "Yešče ob anonyme Iskendera" in *Bull. de l'Acad. des Sciences de l'U.R.S.S.*, 1929, pp. 165-180, Barthold has, moreover, shown that

¹ It is inessential that in the chapters on Chengiz-Khan Bérézine deliberately omits the passages on other contemporary rulers, see his translation, xiii, 233.

the *Muntakhab al-tawarīkh-i Mu'īnī* (Blochet, iv, 2283, Storey, *o.c.* additional 115a) is but a subsequent avatar of the "Anonym" presented on 22nd Rajab, 817/7th October, 1414, to Shāhrukh; its only difference is that all the passages referring to the former dedicatee Iskandar have been abridged and his title reduced from *hadrat-i Sulṭān* to *amīr-zāda*. As another example of such a change of the dedication Barthold quotes the *Majma' al-gharā'ib* by Sulṭān Muḥammad b. Darvīsh Muḥammad (sixteenth century A.D.) and, as another instance, the *Rāhat al-ṣudūr* may be also mentioned in this connection.

As regards the transcription of the name of the كرت dynasty (p. 87) it seems to be not *Kurt* but *Kart* (as marked in the *Mu'nis al-aḥrār* MS. and as resulting from a rhyme found by A. Z. Validi). *Niyal* (p. 68) is most certainly **Yinal*. Instead of *Khurshāh* (p. 117) and *Khurshīd* (p. 152) one ought to write *Khwarshāh* and *Khwarshīd* (if not simply *Khurshāh* and *Khurshīd*!); *Khāwand* (p. 92) is a slip for *Khwānd*. *Ardalān* is a better form for *Ardīlān* (p. 146), in spite of the *E.I.* The stumbling block of our transcriptions are the Turkish words in Persian. Personally I consider that they should be rendered as much as possible according to the original Turkish pronunciation, so *Qoyunli* (instead of *Quyuni*, p. 147), *oghli*, etc. *Grigoryev* is better than *Grigor'ev* (p. 108).

V. M.

DIALOGUES IN THE EASTERN TURKI DIALECT ON SUBJECTS OF INTEREST TO TRAVELLERS. Collected and edited by Sir E. D. Ross and RACHEL O. WINGATE. pp. 48. J. G. Forlong Fund, Vol. XI. 1934. 4s. 6d.

Some thirty years ago Sir E. D. Ross had the chance of meeting in Calcutta a mullah native of Kāshghar. He used this opportunity to take down a number of colloquial texts, of which he now presents eight in the form of dialogues conducted by a traveller with the inhabitants of Chinese Turkestan. The text has been revised by Miss R. Wingate, a practical connoisseur of the Turki spoken in those parts. The edition must certainly have profited by this collaboration, but a few places reflect the double conception of some sounds: p. 8₄, *tūshsila*, and p. 8₇, *tūshūrūp*; p. 40₁, *āslīq*, and p. 40₁₅, *īslīq*. This, of course, does not in the least affect the practical value of the dialogues.

In the introductory note the editor sums up some grammatical

peculiarities of his texts. The explanation of the forms like *kelliki* as *kela-lār-iki* (where *iki* < *ikān*) is certainly right, and J. Deny in his amazingly complete *Grammaire de la langue Turque*, Paris, 1921, § 1361, p. 958, has collected numerous materials on the use of this "dubitative" form. However, the translation of *nechā kūdā kelliki* as "how many days have you been a-coming" seems to have been influenced by the Ottoman use of *iken* as a gerund (*gelir-iken* "a-coming"), whereas in Eastern dialects *ikān* is a "dubitative past". Therefore the nuance of the phrase quoted is rather "[I wonder] in how many days you have come?"

The explanation of *-siyan* "in the direction of" by *-yan* "side" is also very probable. Perhaps the form *bī(r)siyan* < *bir-i-si-yan* accounts for the generalization of the form *-siyan*. *Bir-i-si* is formed with a double suffix 3 p.s., but the colloquial elision of the first affix *-i-* may have gradually created the impression that the abnormal *-si* (after a consonant) is to be connected with the following *-yan*. The form no longer felt in its grammatical connection was then standardized as a sort of invariable postposition.

The Turko-Chinese poem (p. xi) still presents some difficulties. Verse 2: *ol ay küyigā barīp qīshqaray*, etc., is translated: "In this month people come [?] into the villages [?] crying out: 'Carve the sheeps' flesh!'" As verse 1 announces the coming of the spring we must take it perhaps that "that other (winter) month" had to go out (*küyigā* "to the street") shouting (in despair?), etc. Verse 7 exhorts the beloved: "Come to know me if you desire happiness (*āfiyat*) . . ." and verse 8 suggests that there is no fear of it being reported. The Chinese phrase "there are no camels here" is entirely analogous to Persian شتر دیدی "have you seen the camel?" to which the reply is expected in the negative.

p. 8. *Körpā* originally means "the skin of a newly born lamb"; p. 13, *Khishtīn-sarāy* "the Tilers' sarāy", read "sun-dried brick sarāy"; p. 16, note 2, *bossipium*, read *gossipium*; p. 17, *Pūst-i piyāz* "onion-skin" can be only a confusion of پوست "skin" and پشت "back"; pp. 4 and 45 (*chay*) *māzā* can hardly be ما حاضر; more probably it is چای [و] مزه "[tea and] delicacies"; pp. 34 and 45, *gīrīlīp* must surely be *qīrīlīp*; p. 20, پایزول "railway" is Russian *poyezd* "train", and p. 42, *chaynek* Russian *chaynik* "teapot".

V. M.

PROSATEURS TURCS CONTEMPORAINS. Extraits par E. SAUSSEY.

Etudes Orientales publiées par l'Institut Français d'archéologie de Stamboul, Vol. I. pp. 385. Paris : E. de Boccard, 1935.

M. Edmond Saussey, member of the French Institute at Stambul, has had the most happy idea of acquainting the public at large with the present day Turkish literature. The selection, excellently made and translated, gives an idea of the whole gamut of one of the very interesting modern literatures which almost entirely breaks with the past not only as regards the themes, but also the modes of expression. The Turks have learnt enormously from the French, but their realism fills the schemes with purely Turkish material and there is no doubt that their genuine and original contribution fully merits the attention of those who are interested in literature in general and those who want to know what modern Turkey thinks and feels. "Cette littérature ne chante pas les plaisirs des grands, mais les émotions des masses," says rightly M. Saussey. This literature until now has been studied chiefly by the Germans (P. Horn, Hartmann, Hacht, Duda) and Russians (Gordlevsky). Only the English-written books of Mme. Halide Edip have been conveniently accessible to the English readers, and now M. Saussey's selections in French will render familiar to them some thirty other authors, among whom figures Kamal Atatürk himself. Each item is accompanied by very valuable biographical and bibliographical notes.

V. M.

ŞEYHİ DİVANINI TETKİK. Part I. By Dr. ALİ NİHAT. pp. 230. Istanbul, 1934.

Sheykhī, who died presumably in 829/1425-6, is an important figure in Ottoman literature, see E. J. W. Gibb, *History of Ottoman Poetry*, i, 299-335, and J. Deny, "Shaikhī", in *EI*. His chief title to celebrity seems to be his "rifacimento" of Niẓāmī's *Khusrau-va-Shīrīn*; much less known is his *divān* which E. J. W. Gibb, *o.c.*, i, 305, had no possibility to consult. This *divān* is now the subject of a most detailed study by Dr. Ali Nihat of the Istanbul University, a pupil of Professor M. F. Köprülü-zade. The author says that he reserves the publication of the original *divān* with all the details on Sheykhī's career, and it is a matter of some inconvenience for the readers of vol. i that vol. ii is not simultaneously before their eyes.

In the present volume Dr. Ali Nihat studies Sheykhī's rather vague *şūfī* and philosophical views as well as the reflections on his

works of the social milieu in which he lived (pp. 7-60). The essential part of the book is the most detailed analysis of Sheykhī's poetical art, which latter is, of course, chiefly traditional. The author gives an exhaustive index of all the metaphors found in the *dīvān*, e.g. under the word *abrū* (eyebrows) the following similes and epithets: crescent moon, screen (*sāyabān*), *mihrāb*, letter ج, crooked, fold (*chīn*), bow, "calamity," "temptation," doorkeeper (*hājib*). Each item is accompanied by quotations from Sheykhī and other Persian and Turkish poets (Ḥāfiz, Salmān-i Sāvajī, Khwājū, and many others) bearing witness to the author's extensive and systematic readings. Follows a special enumeration of metaphors referring to nature (spring, morning, spring cloud, etc.). Very complete is the study of the combined expressions (*mūraat-i nazīr*) belonging to the same field, e.g. the religious terms: *qāmat*, *sajda*, *qaḍā*, *namāz*, *niyyat* appearing in the same verse. A long list of Sheykhī's *jeux de mots* and alliterations is given on pp. 204-212: *dard/durd*, *epsem/öpsem*, etc. Finally are quoted: Shaykhī's views on poetry; literary forms and metres used by him; single verses imitated by him; his poetical licences.

This formal analysis (Formalkritik) of the works of a single author is the necessary condition for any generalizations in the field of Oriental poetry. It is a vain task to appreciate old Muslim poets according to our present-day likes and dislikes. Our judgment will be put on much surer ground when patient investigators like Dr. Ali Nihat introduce us into the arcanae of the old poetical workshops. In his further work the author will find many useful suggestions in Krachkovsky's edition of Ibn al-Wa'wa', Rypka's study of Bāqī, and H. Ritter's penetrating essay on Nizāmī's *Bildersprache*.

V. M.

TURKESTAN SOLO. One woman's expedition from the Tien-Shan to the Kizil-Kum. By ELLA K. MAILLART. Translated from the French by J. RODKER. pp. 307. Putnam, 1934. 10s. 6d.

Mlle. Maillart's journey consisted of two parts. From Moscow she proceeded to the Republic of the Kirghiz (previously called *Qara-Qirghiz*), comprising the southern part of the former "Seven rivers" province (Russian *Semirechye*, Turkish *Jiti-su*). Over the Kirghiz capital Frunze (former *Pishpek*) and Tokmak she travelled to the Issik-kul lake. The latter was crossed by boat to Kara-kol (former *Przhevalsk*) on the south-eastern coast. Thence with a party of Russian excursionists she visited the mountainous knot at the sources of the

Narin (upper Jaxartes) and the neighbourhood of the Jangart pass in the T'ien-shan on the Soviet-Chinese frontier. Having returned by the eastern bank of the Issik-kul she came to Alma-Ata (former *Verniy*) the present capital of Kazakstan (republic of the "Qazaqs", by which term the Turkish people is meant, formerly called *Qirghiz-Qazak*).

Here began the second part of the journey. From Alma-Ata, situated on the "Turksib" (Turkestan-Siberia Railway) she travelled westwards to Turkestan (Tashkent, Samarkand, Bukhara). From Chärjüy, on board a steamer, she descended the Oxus to Kharazm (former *Khiva*) and, having missed the last boat plying on the Aral sea, had to travel in winter on camel-back across the Kizil-Kum sands to Kazalinsk (on the Tashkent-Orenburg railway).

Mlle. Maillart must be congratulated on her extraordinary physical resistance in covering all this space in the course of one autumn, travelling third class, eating whatever food she could find in native *chây-khānas*, and sleeping in her bag in crowded stations and dreary deserts. Still more astonishing is the confidence which the citizen of the Swiss republic which has not even recognized the Soviet Government must have inspired in Moscow to enable her to pass "without let or hindrance" through the remote regions of Central Asia. As the author herself points out (pp. 15, 26, 27, 30, 139, 166, 219, and 262) that she did not feel herself bound by this confidence, her good luck in bringing her journey to a happy end is still more remarkable.

The journey went on with a cinematographic rapidity, yet Mlle. Maillart has a keen eye and a gift for summing up her impressions. The book is very readable and the numerous photographs are quite successful.

V. M.

AN EASTERN ODYSSEY. The Third Expedition of Haardt and Audouin-Dubreuil. By GEORGES LE FÈVRE. Translated and adapted by Major-General Sir E. D. SWINTON. pp. 368. V. Gollancz, Ltd., 1935. 18s.

No need to speak here of the well-known expedition which the enterprising French industrialist, A. Citroën, sent in 1932 to connect Beirut with Peking by land on motor-vehicles equipped with caterpillar-tracks. As M. G. Le Fèvre pleasantly puts it: "Having . . . to some extent conquered Time, (M. Citroën) determined to attempt the difficult task of mastering Space, being convinced of the many

benefits which might be conferred on the human race by our intimate and active association of Industry, Science, and Art, and by the fostering of the mutual understanding of the peoples of the world through the agency of journeys made across the different countries." The agreeable trait of the book is that the triad worshipped by the late M. Citroën left no place to any political suggestions or insinuations so usual in the post-war geographical literature. The most interesting part of the book is the description of the spectacular crossing of the Himalaya and Karakoram ranges into Chinese Turkestan and the adventures of the two parties, the one coming from India and the other from Peking, before they finally met near Aqsu. The cars, among frightful difficulties, were taken as far as Gilgit, but the journey between the latter place and the Chinese territory could be carried out only on foot and on horseback with the time-hallowed aid of native carriers.

V. M.

A HISTORY OF EXPLORATION FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE PRESENT DAY. By Sir PERCY SYKES. pp. 374. G. Routledge and Sons, 1934. 25s.

In view of the tremendous mass of materials and books on the fascinating subject chosen this time by Sir P. Sykes, the chief problem for him was certainly the selection of the facts illustrating the march of exploration in the various regions of our planet and the co-ordination of single chapters. This object has been fully achieved within the space available. The book is destined for general readers, but even a specialist in a given field will be glad to refresh his knowledge of the situation in the neighbouring domains. The text is profusely illustrated by 35 maps (many of which are borrowed from J. N. K. Baker's *History of Geographical Discovery and Exploration*) and 25 plates reproducing rare landscapes and portraits.

Any criticisms as to the absence of some important names and as to the proportionate length of the items must certainly have in view that in an epitome containing only 338 pages of text sacrifices were inevitable and a mere "completeness" would have resulted in an unreadable list of names. However, for the benefit of the subsequent editions it may be said that the author, using chiefly the sources available in English, may have involuntarily omitted some names essential in the advancement of our geographical knowledge. To speak only of Asia, it is a pity not to find mentioned in the text Richthofen's

works on China, the excellent memoirs on Persia by the clever Napoleonic officers (Dupré, etc.), Chikhachev's detailed exploration of Asia Minor, Dubeux de Montpéroux's travels in Transcaucasia, etc. As regards the British names, H. F. B. Lynch's title to our gratitude is not his ascent of the Ararat (p. 267), but his important investigations in Turkish Armenia of which the natural complement were Sir M. Sykes's numerous expeditions in the regions adjoining Armenia.

p. 16. By a slip Bactria is identified with the present-day Badakhshān. p. 46, the Chinese *Fu-lin* as now admitted (Blake, Pelliot, H. H. Schaeder) has nothing to do with *πόλις*, but reproduces the very name of Rome (*hRom* > *fRom*). p. 246, read *Schlagintweit* (instead of *Schlaginwert*).

V. MINORSKY.

INDIA, MINTO AND MORLEY. By MARY COUNTESS OF MINTO. Macmillan, 1934. 21s. net.

In this admirable volume Lady Minto completely succeeds in her object. Lord Minto's achievement in India has been belittled, in part by the utterances of hasty politicians eager to make out their case for modifying the reforms associated with his name, in part by the skilfully selected *Recollections* of his colleague at the India Office, suggesting, doubtless without malice, that whatever good was done in India flowed from Whitehall and Westminster. Mr. Buchan, in writing Minto's biography, had an excellent chance of setting matters in their true light. But this he failed to take. His volume, like everything that has come from Mr. Buchan's pen, makes easy and interesting reading. But he was too unfamiliar with Indian conditions to do justice to his hero in the last, and by far the greatest, phase of his career.

Minto will probably go down to history as the best Governor-General of his generation. Sir Harcourt Butler once applied to him a striking phrase. Minto was like an elephant, he said, too sagacious to rest his weight on rotten ground. Without the brilliant qualities of his predecessor, Minto possessed the rare faculty of discerning the essential facts of a political situation amid all the shams and exaggerations of political utterances. His letters, of which Mr. Buchan made such sparing use, here demonstrate the sane, cool judgment and the fine temper of the man. Perhaps his masterpiece was his management of the fickle, irritable Secretary of State. Let anyone read the present volume and Lord Morley's *Recollections* side by side, and he

will undoubtedly find his estimate of Morley's character falling, his estimate of Minto's rising. How is a harassed Governor-General to deal with a Secretary of State who first peevishly complains because the resignation of Sir Bampfylde Fuller is not to be ascribed to his own personal action and then proposes to appoint Fuller to the Council of India? Minto's letters show how it should be done. But his management of Indian affairs was no less skilful, and incomparably more important. He did not, indeed, still Indian discontent; but unquestionably he allayed it, and left to his successor a task far easier than that which he himself had inherited. Again and again the reader will be struck by the accuracy of his forecasts, no matter whether he is dealing with the probable results of refusing to consult Habib-ullah before the Anglo-Russian Convention was signed or whether he is estimating the precise moment at which the deportees ought to be released. Everyone in the least degree interested in the twentieth century history of India should study Lady Minto's volume.

H. D.

RISE AND FULFILMENT OF BRITISH RULE IN INDIA. By EDWARD THOMPSON and G. T. GARRETT. Macmillan, 1934. 21s. net.

This volume aims at giving a broad survey of British relations with India from 1600 to the present day. It is well written. It has all the advantages of presenting from a single standpoint a consistent view of a long and often tangled series of events. The technicalities, the hard names, the unfamiliar terms, which repel the general reader, are as noticeable by their absence as they are in the famous essays of Macaulay. The book is easy to read; it is full of interest; frequently it is not unfair. But it is meant for the general reader, not for the student or scholar; and it generally conveys the impression that its joint authors formed their opinions first and supported them by selective study afterwards. The book, in fact, is a bulky political pamphlet rather than an historical study. A few examples will show how hastily the work was done. It is said that the early factors at Surat got into trouble by importing coral from the Red Sea; their offence lay in importing a finer quality of coral from the Mediterranean. A vague recollection of the difficulties that arose between King's and Company's officers impels the authors to date them from 1752, and make officers with King's commissions jealous of Clive's activity and success. At that date not even Major Lawrence held a King's commission. Mr. Thompson and Mr. Garrett think Kora and Allahabad

were occupied by the Marathas in 1773. These districts were assigned to the Marathas by the Emperor, but the English held them till Hastings sold them to the Nawab Wazir of Oudh. The second Mysore War is made to open at least two years before Hyder ravaged the Carnatic. And so on. A multitude of little mistakes which might easily have been avoided by more serious methods of work characterize these pages. They do not profess to be based on other than printed documents. It could not well be otherwise, and offers no grounds of reproach. But it is a singular thing to find in the account of the Amir Abdur-Rahman, sandwiched in between references to published matter, a solitary reference to the Foreign Office series of Central Asian Papers, at the Public Record Office. Have the authors worked through that voluminous and valuable collection? If they have, it seems strange that they found nothing else worth quoting; if they have not it would have been more in accordance with historical ethics to cite the monograph which, as far as I can judge, they merely paraphrase.

H. D.

INDIA'S SOCIAL HERITAGE. By L. S. S. O'MALLEY. Clarendon Press, 1934. 5s. net.

This little volume has an interest quite unrelated to its size. Mr. O'Malley has already written a peculiarly well-informed volume on caste; here he deals not only with caste, but also with other Indian social institutions and practices—the tribes which still survive, the village community, the Hindu family, the marriage system, and the like. These are matters of the greatest interest, especially at the present time, when the main problem of India is how to reconcile a modern political system with an ancient social organization. Mr. O'Malley's work may be warmly recommended to all who desire a summary description of topics generally treated, when treated at all, in elaborate and technical legal works.

H. D.

ANQUETIL-DUPERRON. SA VIE, par RAYMOND SCHWAB. Usages des Parses. Deux essais du Dr. J. J. Modi. Paris, Leroux, 1934.

This interesting little volume, published with the aid of the Parsi community and others, falls into three separate parts. One consists of an abridged translation of parts of Dr. Modi's volume published in 1916 on Anquetil-Duperron's relations with Dastur Darab. Another consists of Anquetil-Duperron's essay on Parsi customs. The third,

and principal part, comprises a sketch of Anquetil-Duperron's singular career. To English readers this adventurous French hero is familiar enough as the founder of Iranian studies in the West, and as the object of an unmerited attack by Sir William Jones. But few, perhaps, are acquainted with the life he led at Pondicherry, in Bengal, and at Surat, devoted to the pursuit of learning under the shadow of those repeated misfortunes which in 1761 drove the French for a while altogether from India and left Pondicherry a heap of ruins. M. Schwab's chapters convey a lively impression of the headlong, reckless zeal of his hero, and the marvel is that a man of such a combative temper could possibly have steered clear of the warfare going on all round him. In fact, he seldom took any part in the great historical events of his day. He withdrew from Chandernagore before Clive captured it; he lived but for short periods at Pondicherry; and the place of his most prolonged residence was Surat, where after a while he found himself under English protection. It was as well. He could have done nothing to stem the tide of disaster; and his brilliant gifts would have been wasted in disastrous battles or futile intrigue. M. Schwab shows us how clearly and devotedly he set before himself, as his prime motive, the duty of acquiring eastern languages, and above all the language and the manuscripts in which Zoroastrian doctrine was enshrined. None the less, we get striking glimpses of men and events—of Legrit's tall thin figure, crowned with the high starched cap with which our ancestors replaced the hot and heavy wig on all but ceremonial occasions; or of that perilous journey from Kasimbazaar southwards to Bussy's camp, in the course of which he had to sell his sword and equip himself with bow and arrows. The vigour of his constitution must have been immense to endure the repeated diseases and wounds that befell him. It is, indeed, often the case that genius is found allied with a specially tough body. So it clearly was with Anquetil-Duperron.

H. D.

THE CONTINENT OF ASIA. By L. W. LYDE. Macmillan, 1933. 16s. net.

This admirable volume, with its wealth of sketch-maps, fills a long-felt want. In no region of the world have geographical factors played a greater part in limiting and directing human developments than they have in Asia. Nowhere should the joint studies of history and geography be more closely linked together. This survey by so excellent a geographer as Mr. Lyde should be in the hands of all who are studying the history of any part of Asia. To some extent it provokes

a comparison with Dr. L. D. Stamp's work covering the same ground. It seems to the present writer that the latter might well be more useful to the economist, and the former to the historian. Mr. Lyde is mainly concerned with the geographical factors, rather than the economic uses to which they have been put in modern times; and since those factors, with certain exceptions, have been relatively constant, his pages are as interesting to the student of the past as to the student of the present. Mr. Lyde's work is one which may be used with all confidence.

H. DODWELL.

THE FIRST CENTURY OF BRITISH JUSTICE IN INDIA. By Sir CHARLES FAWCETT. 8vo, pp. xx and 269. Oxford: Clarendon Press; London: Humphrey Milford. 1934. 15s.

This is the authoritative work of a patient and careful scholar. Sir Charles Fawcett has had the advantage of a lifetime spent in the marshalling and unravelling of evidence; and it is hardly to be wondered at that he occasionally utters a dry and well-deserved censure on the "picturesque writing" of his predecessors in the same field: see, e.g., pp. 110-11. In addition to its principal theme, the relations of executive and judiciary, the work raises many other questions of interest, and if the answer to those questions depends upon evidence which has not been discovered by Sir Charles Fawcett, we must regretfully conclude that the evidence is no longer in existence.

One would like to know, for instance, who were the legal advisers of the Court of Directors when the Company's Laws of 12th February, 1669, were drawn up. They are a noble document tinged with the very best kind of tolerant Puritanism and far in advance of stay-at-home English legal conceptions of the time. In part no doubt they may be explained by local conditions and by the circumstances of a trading company holding a delegated sovereignty (compulsory registration of deeds, for example, figures also in the laws of other chartered companies of the time): but the severity of indigenous and Portuguese penal laws was as great as that of England; and it is amusing to find the plea, familiar to the ears of a modern magistrate in the words "pith par maro, pet par mat maro",¹ solemnly put forward in the reign of Charles II as an argument for leniency.

¹ "Beat me on my back not on my stomach," i.e. Whip me, but don't put me on short commons by fining me. See pp. 70-1, where Judge Wilcox quotes what was obviously this plea as an argument against corporal punishment.

It would be interesting, too, to have the exact words of the reference to caste customs in the Proclamation of 1718 described on p. 173 : for the contrast in the attitude of the Courts to Hindu law and Muhammadan law respectively is instructive. The Moormen, as the Muslims were called, were a single community with an established judiciary and legal system ; and the appointment of their Qazi in 1694 (p. 184) to be " chief judge and decider " among them merely recognized existing fact. In the same spirit we find that one of his successors in office, being the obvious leader of the Muhammadan community, was appointed to be the first Muhammadan justice of the peace. The position as regards Hindus was different. No professional Hindu lawyer or judge had any recognition as such : Hindu cases were referred in the first instance, not to the *Shastris* (of whom there is never a word), but to the heads of the caste concerned. Even the representative Hindu chosen in 1717 (p. 171) to be the first Hindu justice of the peace was not a Brahman nor even of twice-born caste, but a Sudra merchant ; and the only employment of a Brahman as such in judicial procedure appears to have been (p. 186) in the priestly function of administering an oath. The Court attempted to control the caste jurisdiction to an extent which would not be attempted to-day (see p. 219) : but in the prominence which it gave to caste *panchayats* it was probably more in accord with Hindu orthodoxy than the system which prevailed from 1774/1798 to 1861 of having learned Brahmans as the sole channel through which the English Courts obtained advice on Hindu law. According to the *Shastras* themselves and according to what is known of the ancient practice of Hindu kingdoms, the King's Court, where he sat with his Brahman advisers, was a court of last resort : not only so, but its law was a law of last resort, though colouring to an extent which will always be matter of controversy the subordinate laws of the castes.

In this connection it is tantalizing that we can never have more details of the " Gentue will " mentioned on p. 199. Sir Charles suggests that this may have been merely a division of self-acquired property by the father ; even so, it would appear to cast some doubt on commonly accepted theories of the origin of Hindu wills, since it has been generally held that the Shastric power of a Hindu father to make an unequal partition between his sons could only be exercised in his lifetime. If the case goes further than this and really means that the Bengal view of the powers of a father over ancestral property was an arguable proposition in Bombay in 1724, the commonly accepted

view of the authority of the Mitakshara would have to be revised. Perhaps it is as well that we can never know more of this case !

One last word or plea : the author twice speaks (pp. xviii and 209) of the "Black Hole" as if it were a certain historical fact. This is a question on which it would be of the highest value to have the judgment of a calm judicial mind, especially from such a thorough investigator as Sir Charles Fawcett. To the present reviewer, at least, it has always seemed that the late Mr. Little, when he made his celebrated attack on the story in the pages of *Bengal Past and Present*, spoiled a fundamentally good case by the extravagance of his advocacy and his obvious desire to "trail a coat" and invite all and sundry (culminating in Lord Curzon) to "step on it". This much at least is certain : Dr. S. C. Hill, a careful scholar, had already reduced the fantastic total of deaths : Holwell, on whose unsupported evidence the tale appears to rest, was an essentially untruthful person : the tale itself is full of improbabilities. And, if the result of a dispassionate judgment should be to banish the story once and for all from the pages of reputable history, we need not regret its passing. It is far more discreditable to the Englishmen than it is to the Indians concerned. The latter were guilty at worst of mere callous stupidity ; the former are represented as giving up Calcutta with hardly a blow and allowing themselves to be herded into a pen like a flock of sheep. Is it an argument for the truth of the story that the defender of Arcot was outspoken in his contempt for the "gentlemen of Bengal ?"

S. V. FG.

THE VYAVAHĀRAMAYŪKHA OF NILAKANTHA. Translated into English with explanatory notes and references to decided cases by P. V. KANE and S. G. PATWARDHAN. 10 × 6½, pp. xxxi + 307. Bombay, 1933. Rs. 7.

The *Mayūkhas* or "Rays" are an encyclopædia of Hindu learning compiled early in the seventeenth century, of which the volume on *Vyavahāra* (justice and law) has become in Western India a work of great and, in some places, paramount authority. It has already been translated into English three times ; but, excellent though Rao Saheb Mandlik's work in particular was, the present editors considered that there was room for a new translation in the light of recent knowledge and including those portions of a merely academic interest (e.g. ordeals) which their predecessors had omitted. [Incidentally one is glad to observe their tribute to the Rao Saheb in the preface : without

it some of their criticisms might have been read more severely than they probably intended.] They have added valuable footnotes, giving reference to decided cases, with criticisms where necessary. The resulting work ought to be of great value not only to scholars but to practising lawyers and judges in the Bombay Presidency and Berar.

Messrs. Kane and Patwardhan do not express their views with quite so much subjectivity and vigour as Rao Saheb Mandlik; but one gathers (p. 113) that they agree with him and, indeed, with every scholar of repute as well as with a strong majority in the lower Court in thinking that Lord Hobhouse's judgment in *Bhagwansingh v. Bhagwansingh* (1899), 26, i, A. 153, was mistaken. Another point of some interest is in their discussion of *bandhu* inheritance (pp. 164-5); it is refreshing to hear a conservative and orthodox Hindu calling for legislation to straighten out a tangle. The discussion would, however, be more valuable if the learned editors had given us their own views: and they hardly seem to realize the extent to which the tangle has been cleared up by the decisions in *Jotindra v. Nagendra* (1931), 58, i, A. 372, and *Gajadhar v. Gaurishankar*, 54, All. 698, F. B. (both of which they quote), and *Mahant Garuddas v. Mahant Laldas* (1933), 60, i, A. 189 (which they do not quote). It is, in fact, perfectly possible now to state the law on Sarvadhikari's principles in an intelligible form, which Sarvadhikari himself never succeeded in doing. There would still remain the question whether he was right, and on this point *Kesar Singh v. Secretary of State*, 49 M., 652 (quoted on p. 117 in another connection), should also have been referred to.

Good, however, though this book is, it is impossible to welcome it without a tinge of regret. When he brought out the first volume of his *History of Dharmasastra* in 1930, Mr. Kane held out hopes of a second volume dealing with the development of legal ideas in the sastric literature. Anything which distracts him from that great task is to be deprecated. How necessary it is may be seen from one example. On p. 105 Mr. Kane says: "Only those who have made a deep study of the *Mīmāṃsā* can follow the discussion here," and similar remarks and brief discussions are plentiful. Now of this *Pūrva-Mīmāṃsā* school of philosophy, Macdonnell wrote: "It lays special stress on the proposition that articulate sounds are eternal, and on the consequent doctrine that the connection of a word with its sense is not due to convention, but is by nature inherent in the word itself. Owing to its lack of philosophical interest, the system has not as yet much occupied the attention of European scholars." But whatever

may be its repulsion for the philosopher, for the lawyer it is supremely important. It established a canon of legal interpretation as strict as and at some points not very different from that which English lawyers apply to Acts of Parliament. Nearly all the later Sanskrit law writers of importance are saturated in it; and a clear legal exposition of its methods, which Mr. Kane could give us, would make the understanding of their works a great deal easier.

We have, of course, Ganganatha Jha's translation of the *sutras* of Jaimini; but this does not illustrate the legal workings of the system as Mr. Kane could do.

S. V. FITZGERALD.

THE PHONETIC SYSTEM OF ANCIENT JAPANESE. By S. YOSHITAKE.
James G. Forlong Fund, Vol. XII. $8\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{3}{4}$, pp. xii + 71.
London: The Royal Asiatic Society. 1934. 6s.

In September, 1931, Professor S. Hashimoto published an article entitled *Jōdai no Bunken ni sonsuru Tokushu no Kanadzukai to Tōji no Gohō*, which made an epoch in the history of the phonetic study of Ancient Japanese. The world of linguistics in Japan has since been animated in this field of research in an unprecedented way. Articles have been written on the phonetic condition of the eighth-century Japanese by Messrs. Y. Endō, M. Mochizuki, T. Ikegami, T. Miyake, K. Yasuda, and K. Nagata; I myself have also expressed my opinion on the subject in short essays since 1931. Naturally it gave me great pleasure to learn of Mr. Yoshitake's recent publication in English of *The Phonetic System of Ancient Japanese*. Not only can we, through this volume, become acquainted with many original and instructive views of the author, but the book has presented to the scholastic world of Europe a part of the problems with which Japanese linguists have been confronted, and of their achievements, neither being familiar abroad on account of the singularity of the Japanese language and letters.

It may be admitted as justifiable that, for the original Chinese sounds of the characters used as the Man-yō-gana, the author utilized the results of investigation carried out by Professor Karlgren. This is because Professor Karlgren's work, in respect of the abundance and authenticity of the materials used and the comparative completeness of his method of study, can be considered probably as the best of all the theories so far advanced on the same subjects by the scholars of

the East and of the West. It is only to be regretted that the author has occasionally followed the errors committed by Professor Karlgren, although I shall not go deep into this question in the present review. Nor can I say that I am in entire agreement with the author on every conclusion of his. But, as I am limited in space, I shall note only one or two points that have occurred to me on the question of the general method of study.

With regard to the eighth-century Japanese syllables answering to the modern *ka*, *ki*, *ku*, *ke*, *ko*, *ga*, *gi*, *gu*, *ge*, and *go*, the author states as follows: "The initial consonants of these syllables are represented by Ach. *k*-, *k'*- χ -, η -, *g'*-, and γ -. This plainly shows that the Japanese consonants did not correspond exactly to any of the Chinese sounds, but that they were feebly aspirated varieties [*k*] and [*g*] as heard in modern Tōkyō dialect. It must, however, be remembered that Ancient Chinese did not possess an unaspirated *g*, and therefore the Japanese would not have been able to indicate their [*g*] adequately, even if it had been an unaspirated consonant" (p. 29).

However, it seems to me rather dangerous to make such an assertion on the basis of these data alone. According to the results of my investigation the syllable corresponding to the modern *ka* is represented by 哥, 歌, 柯, 哿, 可, 軻, 詞, 河, 何, 加, 賀, 嘉, 架, 迦, 伽, 箇, 香, 甲, and 甘 in eighth-century literature, and the syllable answering to the modern *ga* by 我, 俄, 鵝, 峨, 餓, 何, 荷, 河, and 賀. This shows that only the three characters 賀, 何, and 河, are used for both syllables, while the remaining twenty-three are distinguished according as they stand for the modern *ka* or *ga*. In the Kojiki 賀 occurs only in places where we should find *ga* in modern Japanese, whereas in the Nihongi and the Man-yō-shū it represents the syllables corresponding to the modern *ka* and *ga*. The character 何 is found in the Kojiki and the Man-yō-shū as answering to the modern *ga*, but in the Nihongi it occurs but once as a correspondence of the modern *ka*. The character 河, which does not present itself in the Kojiki, is used in the Nihongi only in the name of the province 駿河 (*Suruga* in modern Japanese). In the Man-yō-shū it corresponds to the modern *ka* and *ga*, but the instances are not many. Each of these three characters belonged to the 匣 group (γ -) in Chinese, and has Kan-on *ka* and Go-on *ga* in Sino-Japanese, according to their modern pronunciation. It may therefore be conjectured that these characters with their Kan-on value were used as a correspondence of the modern *ka*, and with their Go-on value as a correspondence of the

modern *ga*. Although Mr. Yoshitake discusses the question of the consonant answering to the modern *g* conjointly with that of the consonant corresponding to the modern *k*, it is necessary to examine them separately if we are to accomplish our study more properly. To consider the matter still more strictly the Man-yō-gana are the letters that represent syllables, not single sounds. As a consequence, a mere glance at the letters does not enlighten us as to which two syllables had the same initial sound in the eighth century Japanese. This means that all the syllables *ka*, *ki*₁, *ki*₂, *ku*, *ke*₁, *ke*₂, *ko*₁, *ko*₂, *ga*, *gi*₁, *gi*₂, *gu*, *ge*₁, *ge*₂, *go*₁, and *go*₂ have to be investigated severally. I shall here narrow down the problem, and, after first considering the nature of the eighth-century Japanese syllable answering to the modern *ka*, I shall enter upon the discussion of the syllable corresponding to the modern *ga*.

For indicating the eighth-century Japanese syllable answering to the modern *ka* the following Man-yō-gana are used: 哥, 歌, 柯, 𪛗, 𪛘, 箇, 加, 架, 迦, 嘉, 甲, 甘 (all of the 見 group, Ach. *k*-); 可, 𪛚 (both of the 溪 group, Ach. *k'*-); 𪛛 (of the 群 group, Ach. *g'*-); 𪛜, 香 (both of the 曉 group, Ach. *χ*-); 河, 何, 賀 (all of the 匣 group, Ach. *γ*-). The only conclusion we can safely draw from this evidence is that the initial sound of the syllable in question would have been a velar consonant of some kind. In order to determine the precise nature of the consonant, further facts are needed. Now the Chinese of the early seventh century used the characters 歌 (Ach. *ka*) and 哥 (Ach. *ka*) for representing the syllable which corresponds to the modern Japanese *ka* (隋書倭國傳). The Japanese priest Ennin (圓仁, A.D. 794-864), who, while studying in China, was taught the reading of Sanskrit letters by the Indian priest Hōgetsu (資月), recorded what he had learned in his own account of his sojourn in China. In this the Sanskrit *ka* is explained as 以本鄉加音呼之 ("Pronounce it as the Japanese sound of 加") and the Sanskrit *ha* as 以大唐賀字音勢呼之 ("Pronounce it approximately as the Chinese sound of 賀"). When we take into consideration all the points disclosed by these data we can perceive that the eighth-century Japanese syllable corresponding to the modern *ka* had likewise [*k*] as its initial sound. Moreover, from what is shown by the before-cited data, we may infer that the sound [*k*] under discussion was not a distinctly aspirated consonant like the Sanskrit *kh* or the initial sound of the 溪 group (Ach. *k'*-) in Chinese, but that it was nearer an unaspirated consonant. Even if it were an aspirated consonant we must consider the aspiration

to have been very feeble. In the phonetic system of Ancient Japanese [k] and [k'] were not distinguished and therefore the contemporary Japanese reproduced the Chinese syllables [ka], [ka], and [k'a] in one and the same way [k-]. It is not yet clear whether the vowel contained in this syllable was [a] or [a]. In the northern Chinese dialect (or dialects) of the T'ang period [g'-] and [γ-] seem to have been gradually losing their voicing, thus approaching the voiceless [k], [k'], [c], [c'], [χ], and [ç] as found in modern Mandarin (cf. Karlgren: *Études sur la phonologie chinoise*, pp. 565-9). On the other hand, Ancient Japanese had neither [χ] nor [h]. The ancient Japanese therefore replaced the Chinese syllables like [χa], [γa], and [g'ia] also by the Japanese syllable [k-]. This leads us to think that the Sino-Japanese sounds for 歌 (Ach. ka), 加 (Ach. ka), 可 (Ach. k'a), 伽 (Ach. g'ia), 訶 (Ach. χa), 賀 (Ach. γa), etc., each assumed the form of [k-] at the time. It is no wonder then that all these characters should have been used indiscriminately as the Man-yō-gana for representing the eighth-century Japanese syllable [k-].

For indicating the eighth-century Japanese syllable corresponding to the modern ga the following Man-yō-gana are used: 我, 俄, 鵝, 峨, 餓 (all of the 疑 group, Ach. η- > gg-); 何, 河, 荷, 賀 (all of the 匣 group, Ach. γ-). The only conclusion we can safely draw from this evidence is that the initial sound of the syllable, under consideration would have been a voiced velar consonant of some kind. In order to determine more precisely the nature of the consonant, further facts are required. Now we find in the modern dialects of central and eastern Japan (including Tōkyō, Kyōto, etc.) the syllable which is represented by 𪛗 (spelt ga in Rōmaji) is pronounced [g-] when standing at the beginning of a word and [ŋ-] when occurring in other positions. But in the Kyōto dialect of the sixteenth century (as in the case of modern dialects of western Japan) 𪛗 was pronounced [g-] in all positions (cf. *Kirishitan Kyōgi no Yōgo ni tsuite*, contained in Professor Hashimoto's *Bunroku Gannen Amakusahan Kirishitan Kyōgino Kenkyū*, pp. 35-6). Indeed, dialectally or individually the form [ŋ-] seems also to have been in existence since olden times, because Ennin (圓仁) describes the Sanskrit ga as 本郷我字音 ("The Japanese sound of the character 我") while explaining the Sanskrit na as 本郷鼻音之我字音呼之 ("Pronounce it as the Japanese nasal sound of the character 我"). This brings to light the phonetic condition of the Japanese language of the first half of the ninth century. We may therefore consider that the phonetic condition of

the eighth-century Japanese would not have differed widely from it, although no further particulars are as yet known to us.

In short Mr. Yoshitake's argument is in many cases based on too weak grounds. For his reconstruction of the phonetic system of Ancient Japanese he cites the following four materials: (1) modern Japanese sounds; (2) Kana version of Go-on; (3) Ancient Chinese as reconstructed by Professor Karlgren; and (4) archaic Chinese sounds as proposed by the same Sinologist (p. 16). Of these four the last three provide, after all, means for finding out the original Chinese sounds of the characters used as the Man-yō-gana. But the majority of the users of the Man-yō-gana knew only the Sino-Japanese sounds of the characters, being quite ignorant as to how they were pronounced in China. Consequently the original Chinese sounds of the characters used as the Man-yō-gana, in most cases, do not lend themselves to a precise determination of the nature of the Japanese syllables represented by the characters; they merely restrict in some measure the extent of possibility. If therefore a more detailed knowledge of the nature of the Japanese syllables is to be acquired, it is necessary to make as much use as possible of such data as (1) the transliteration of Japanese words in Chinese characters as rendered by the ancient Chinese and Koreans, (2) the accounts given by the Sanskrit scholars of Japan since the ninth century, and (3) the phonetic condition of the modern Japanese dialects (including the Luchuan dialects). The Man-yō-gana are certainly extremely important material, but we must in my opinion be on our guard lest we overestimate their value.

ARISAKA HIDEYO.

LES NOTES DE CHEVET DE SÉI SHŌNAGON', DAME D'HONNEUR AU PALAIS DE KYŌTO. Traduction in extenso de l'ancien texte japonais. Par ANDRÉ BEAUJARD. $9\frac{3}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$, pp. xxii + 329. Paris: Librairie Orientale et Américaine G.-P. Maisonneuve, 1934. 80 frs.

SÉI SHŌNAGON', SON TEMPS ET SON OEUVRE (Une Femme de Lettres de l'Ancien Japon). Par ANDRÉ BEAUJARD. $9\frac{3}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$, pp. 377. Paris: Librairie Orientale et Américaine G.-P. Maisonneuve, 1934. 80 frs.

These two learned works by Dr. Beaujard are beyond all praise. Seldom is a study of a literary product accomplished with such laborious thoroughness as by the present scholar. Not only has Dr. Beaujard

given us a complete translation of the *Makura-no-Sōshi* in an excellent style, but he has also handled the still harder task of portraying its author, Sei Shōnagon, in an equally admirable manner through the medium of her immortal book.

As a matter of fact, the subject dealt with by Dr. Beaujard is not new. The *Makura-no-Sōshi* has been rendered into modern Japanese by native scholars. But these versions help us little when translating the original text into a European language. What is usually called the "subject" of a sentence, which has to be expressed in one way or another in any European language, is at times just as difficult to detect in the Japanese translation as in the original text. This point is well illustrated by the opening line, *Haru wa akebono*, which Professor Kaneko has modernized thus: *Haru wa akebono ga koto ni omoshiroi*. This translation is clear enough to be readily apprehended by a Japanese schoolboy 15 years of age, and yet the original expression has given rise to varied interpretations, as may be seen from the following:—

Aston: "In spring I love to watch the dawn. . . ." ¹

Florenz: "(Es ist interessant, zu beobachten) wie es sich im Frühling . . . , die in der Morgendämmerung. . . ." ²

Revon: "Ce qui me charme, au printemps, c'est l'aurore." ³

Beaujard: "Au printemps, (c'est) l'aurore (que je préfère)." ⁴

Every one of these four renderings, of which the two last are structurally identical, is indeed charming, but they cannot all be accurate. If one of them is right others must be incorrect. The difference, however slight it may appear, must on no account be regarded as trivial, for it betrays how easily the intention of the original writer can be distorted through a lack of attention on the part of the translator. Thus while recognizing the "impersonal" character of the *Makura-no-Sōshi* (cf. *N.C.*, p. xi), Dr. Beaujard has introduced "je" into his translation. What Sei Shōnagon here discusses is obviously the spring itself, and not what she loves or prefers in spring. The purport of the original must then be: "The spring is to be best enjoyed at dawn" or "The spring is most delightful at dawn". The beauty of the laconic utterance *Haru wa akebono* cannot, of

¹ W. G. Aston, *A History of Japanese Literature* (1930), p. 106.

² K. Florenz, *Geschichte der japanischen Litteratur* (1909), p. 224.

³ M. Revon, *Anthologie de la littérature japonaise, des origines au XX^e siècle* (1928), p. 200.

⁴ A. Beaujard, *Les Notes de Chevet de Séi Shōnagon* (1934), p. 1.

course, be expressed in any other way, not even in the manner Professor Kaneko has paraphrased. The exquisite terseness is partly retained in the French translations, but is completely lost in both the English and the German renderings.

The modern Japanese versions with commentaries, nevertheless, serve a useful purpose, since they assist in determining the probable meaning of ambiguous words which are met with in the original text. Dr. Beaujard is certainly justified in exercising his own discretion when the native commentators are at variance. He has, for instance, adopted Professor Kaneko's reading *toku yare to* " (Nous dimes au conducteur) d'aller plus vite " (*N.C.*, pp. xiii, 126), in preference to Mr. Mizoguchi's version, *toku yaredo* " although the carriage made haste ", which latter does not seem to fit in with the context. In the case, however, of such a vague word as *kakiita*, the present translator might have investigated a little more deeply. He has translated it, in accordance with Kaneko's interpretation, by " Un tableau (noir) où l'on note (ce qu'on a peur d'oublier) ", rejecting Mizoguchi's rendering " A board used for carrying things " (*N.C.*, pp. xiii, 230). But the meaning " A board used for cutting out cloth ", as given in both the *Dai-Nihon Kokugo Jiten* (1929) and the *Gensen* (1929-1930), seems just as suitable, or even better than either of the significations proposed by the two commentators.

In view of the fact that the *Makura-no-Sōshi* has many different texts, whose authenticities remain to be proved, the first book of Dr. Beaujard's can broadly be described as " a reliable translation of Mr. Mizoguchi's version of the *Makura-no-Sōshi* " (cf. *N.C.*, p. xiii, n. 1). The reader must not imagine that every word he reads in this version was actually written by Sei Shōnagon. This unfortunate circumstance makes it the more difficult to draw out facts from the *Makura-no-Sōshi*. Almost all that can be inferred in the present uncertainty is set forth by Dr. Beaujard in his second volume.

The book is divided into four parts, preceded by " Notes préliminaires ", under which are explained (1) the transcriptions used by the author for Japanese, Chinese, and Sanskrit words, (2) Japanese and Chinese proper names, and (3) matters concerning the reckoning of time in ancient Japan. Part i is devoted to a general study of the age in which Sei Shōnagon lived. It opens with a brief account of Japanese history from the earliest times to the tenth century and of Chinese history till the T'ang period. This is followed by " Le Japon au x^e siècle ", under which heading the author discusses (1) the world

in which Sei Shōnagon lived, (2) the organization of the State, and official titles, (3) the religions (including Shintō, Buddhism, Confucianism, and Taoism), divination, magic, and superstitions, (4) science, arts, and recreations, (5) contemporary thought, manners, customs, and clothing, and (6) life at the Court.

These are but preliminary to part ii, in which a particular study is made of the important families, touching upon the origin of Sei Shōnagon. After a careful examination of the events told in the *Makura-no-Sōshi*, Dr. Beaujard ascribes her parentage to Kiyowara Motosuke, without however, referring to the clear statement made in the *Dai-Nihonshi* (A.D. 1657-1906), where we read: "Sei Shōnagon was the daughter of Kiyowara Motosuke, Governor of Higo." Part ii is concluded with a chronologically arranged list of the events quoted in the *Makura-no-Sōshi*.

The remaining 155 pages are the cream of the book. In part iii Dr. Beaujard dwells on the nature of the *Makura-no-Sōshi*. He begins with a discussion of the circumstances in which it was written and an explanation of the commentaries, followed by a study of the language and style of the *Makura-no-Sōshi*. Then he compares Sei Shōnagon's poems with those of which they are adaptations, and asserts that her poems do not excel those of her contemporaries (p. 232). The contents of the *Makura-no-Sōshi* are classified into eight categories by the present author: (1) Énumérations, (2) Descriptions et tableaux, (3) Divers (les sons, les parfums, . . .), (4) Récits, (5) Réflexions, (6) Portraits physiques et moraux, (7) Les personnages—Types généraux, and (8) Personnages particuliers. These, however, may ultimately be brought under the three broader categories: (1) Classification, (2) Gossip, and (3) Reflections and observations, as suggested by Professor Ikeda.

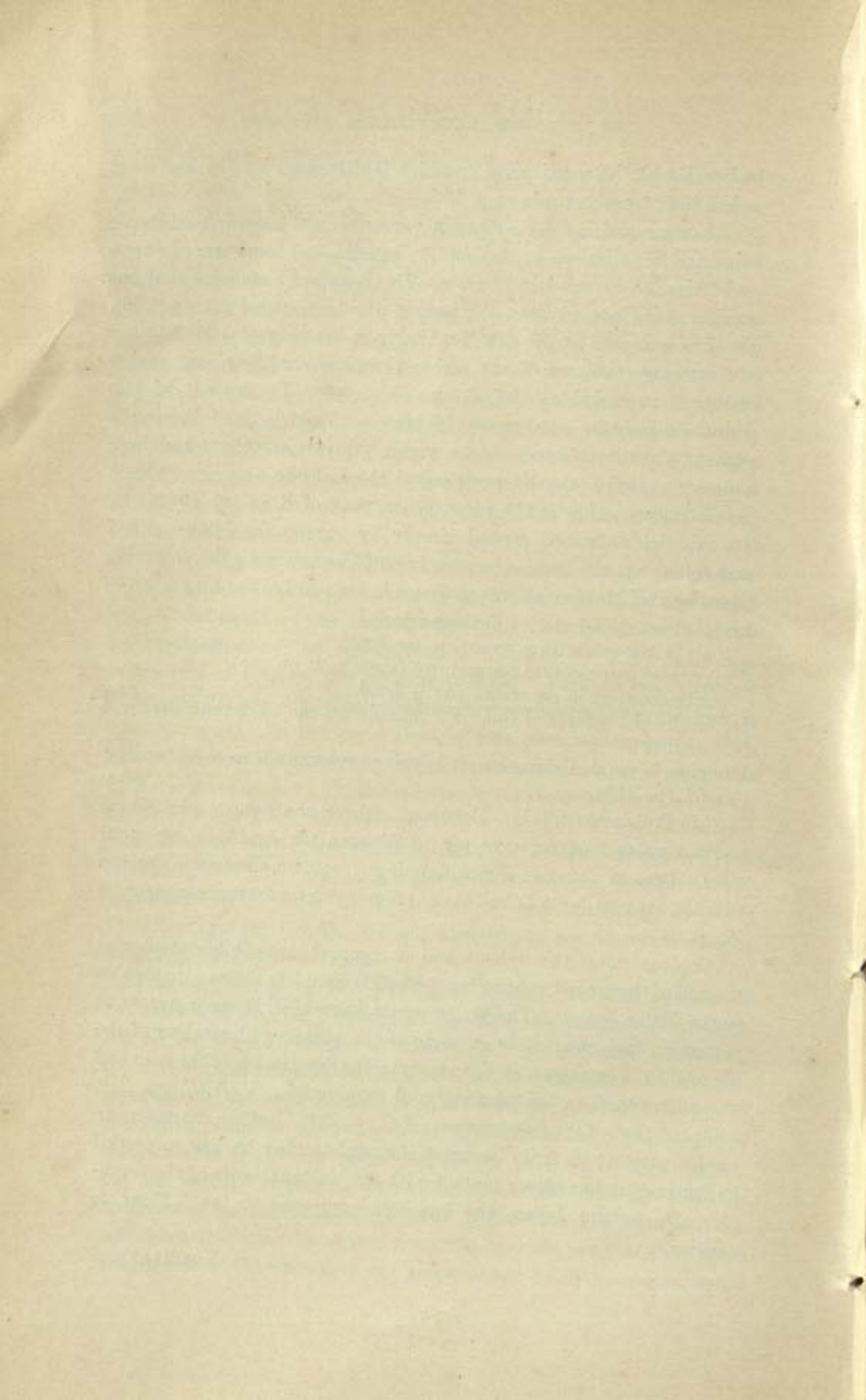
Part iv treats of Sei Shōnagon herself. In the opinion of Dr. Beaujard, she was "coléreuse" (p. 258) and "ingrate" (p. 258), but proved herself sometimes "charitable" (p. 258) and "délicate" (pp. 258-9); knew how to be thankful when she was informed of something she did not know (p. 259), does not seem to have had a very good opinion of people in general (p. 260), appreciated the æsthetic side of things rather than their moral aspects (p. 261), and was a sincere, but not ardent, believer in Buddhism, and in the main observed the doctrines of the Tendai school (p. 266). If these are, among others, the inferences that may be drawn from the *Makura-no-Sōshi*, the more tender side of Sei Shōnagon can be perceived in the poems collected

in her *Kashū* "Recueil privé", which is dismissed by Dr. Beaujard in less than twenty words on p. 187.

After scrutinizing Sei Shōnagon's scientific and geographical knowledge and her allusions to the history, legends, and literature of Japan and China, as revealed in her work, Dr. Beaujard concludes that she was no more learned than the people who surrounded her (p. 350). He thus seems to agree with Mr. Waley in his judgment that "it is her extreme readiness of wit rather than her erudition that makes Shōnagon remarkable" (cf. *S.*, p. 351, n. 3). In support of this deduction may be cited many instances, of which the following is perhaps the most famous. One winter's day, when there had been a heavy snowfall, the Empress asked the Lady-in-waiting: "Well, Sei Shōnagon. How is the snow on the peak of Kōro (香爐峯)?" To this Sei Shōnagon replied simply by having the lattice raised and rolling up the bamboo screen herself in allusion to the following poem by Po Chū-i (which was no doubt in the mind of the Empress):—
 Le soleil est déjà haut, et j'ai assez dormi;
 mais je paresse encore avant de me lever.
 J'ai entassé (sur moi) les couvertures (aussi haut qu'une)
 petite tour, et je ne crains pas le froid.
 La cloche du temple d'I-ai, je l'entends en me soulevant sur mon oreiller;
 La neige du pic de Hsiang-lou, je la vois en relevant le store de bambou (*S.*, p. 343).

"Il faut avouer," Dr. Beaujard rightly observes, "que Séi ne pouvait guère montrer avec plus d'élégance son érudition, ou, pour mieux dire, sa présence d'esprit, puisque, comme elle-même l'ajoute aussitôt, les vers de Po Tchu-i étaient familiers à toutes ses compagnes" (*S.*, p. 343).

Copious notes throughout and a comprehensive bibliography at the end of the second volume (pp. 363-374) complete the two invaluable works under review. The study would have been brought nearer to perfection had mention been made of the passages illustrative of the life of the lower classes, as, for example, the description of the men and women engaged in the planting and reaping of rice (*N.C.*, pp. 248, 249), and that of the fisherwomen (*N.C.*, p. 294). But the omission can hardly prevent us from assuring the author that he has succeeded in bringing us to a closer contact with the brilliant figure of the tenth-eleventh century Japan who has been compared to the "Fleur de cerisier".



OBITUARY

Professor Alice Werner

The death of Dr. Alice Werner, which occurred at Welwyn Garden City on 9th June, 1935, was an irreparable loss not only to African studies but to all who knew her personally. Born at Trieste on 26th June, 1859, she had lived in her early youth in New Zealand, Mexico, the United States of America, and on the European Continent, and was educated partly in Germany and later on in England, eventually going to Newnham College, Cambridge. Thus she became a good linguist, with a cosmopolitan outlook in the best sense of the word.

But the ultimate goal of her destiny was Africa, and a visit in 1893 to Nyasaland, followed by one in 1894 to Natal, laid down the main lines of her subsequent career. In 1899 she undertook the task of teaching Afrikaans and Zulu in London, and another African tour in 1911-13, this time to East Africa, brought her into contact with Swahili and other languages of that region.

In 1917 she joined the School of Oriental Studies as one of the original members of its teaching staff; and, rising through the grades of Lecturer and Reader, she eventually became Professor of Swahili and the Bantu languages. During the years that intervened till her retirement at the end of the session 1929-1930 hundreds of students passed through her hands and benefited by her teaching. During part of this time she also gave instruction at Oxford and Cambridge, and both there and in London her sister, Miss Mary Werner, co-operated with her.

In 1928 Dr. Alice Werner received the degree of D.Lit. (London) and in 1930, after her retirement, she was given the title of Emeritus Professor by the same University; in 1931 she was awarded the silver medal of the African Society, of which she was a Vice-President, and also received the honour of a C.B.E.

In addition to her varied activities as a member of the teaching staff of the School, she made a number of contributions on African subjects to our *Bulletin*, as well as to other journals, and produced several standard works of permanent value on African philology and mythology. But those of her colleagues who are not specialists in the

African field, while fully recognizing her great achievements as a scholar, will chiefly remember her as an amiable and genial friend and fellow-worker in our School.

C. O. B.

In Memoriam : Jarl Charpentier

There are many who grieve for the loss of the great orientalist who passed away with startling suddenness last summer, and amongst the sincerest mourners are his friends in this School, with which for many years past he was associated by intimate ties. Here he delivered a lecture of very high importance on the original home of the Indo-Europeans, which was printed in this *Bulletin* (IV, 147 ff.); and our pages were often enriched by other articles and reviews by him. In losing him we have lost very much.

Jarl Hellen Robert Toussaint Charpentier was born in Göteborg on the 17th December, 1884. His father, Major Robert Charpentier, was of French extraction, and the blend of Gallic and Scandinavian blood bore happy fruits in his son. His Alma Mater was the ancient University of Uppsala, where he became Docent in Sanskrit and Comparative Philology in 1908. He speedily made his mark. He had very great powers of work, with a notably retentive and orderly intellect, to which was added the rarer gift of a sound and vigorous judgment. In his short life he wrote much—innumerable articles in learned periodicals and not a few books in his native Swedish, English, French, and German—but all that he wrote was of high quality, and his University duly recognized his outstanding talents by promoting him in 1927 to the chair of Sanskrit and Comparative Philology in succession to his master Johansson. In purely linguistic studies his best work was perhaps *Die Desiderativbildungen der indoiranischen Sprachen*, which appeared at Uppsala in 1912 as vol. 6 of the *Archives d'Études Orientales*; but he produced many other excellent philological studies, e.g. *De indoeuropæiske Språken* (Uppsala, 1915), and *Die verbalen r-Endungen der Indogermanischen Sprachen* (ibid., 1917). He gave more attention to the ancient languages of India—Sanskrit, Pali, and Prakrit—with their literatures, and to Indian history and antiquities. His *Paccekabuddhageschichten*, of which the first part was issued in the *Uppsala Universitets Årsskrift* of 1908, and his *Buddha* (Stockholm, 1910) revealed wide knowledge of Buddhist texts; and his critical edition of the *Uttarādhyaṇa*, a Jain Prakrit canonical

book, which he published with notes and commentary as vol. 18 of the *Archives d'Études Orientales* at Uppsala in 1922, bore striking evidence to his mastery of Jainism. Between these two he published a very valuable work on Brahmanic literature, *Die Suparnasage* (no. 26 of the publications of the Vilhelm Ekmans Universitetsfond, Uppsala and Leipzig, 1920), in which he edited with translation and full exposition the *Suparṇādhyaṃya*, a curious semi-dramatic poem of the later Vedic period narrating the myth of Garuḍa. Another notable contribution to the study of Hinduism is his *Brahman*, which was issued in the *Uppsala Universitets Årsskrift* of 1932, bd. 2; this is an investigation into the origin of the term *brahman* and the religious and mythical ideas attached to it in ancient India, including a vigorous criticism of Professor Hertel's theories on the subject. In history and antiquities also his pen was very active. He contributed to vol. i of the *Cambridge History of India* an excellent chapter on the Jains; in 1924 he brought out at Stockholm a handy little *Stora Moguls Dynasti*; and his last work was an able study of the Indian travels ascribed to Apollonius of Tyana.

No less important was his work upon the relations of the early European travellers in the East, especially the Catholic missionaries. Many years ago his keen eye perceived the value of these neglected sources, and he set himself to examine them, with fruitful results. The first of these studies saw the light in the pages of this *Bulletin* (II, 731 ff.), under the title "Preliminary Report on the 'Livro da Seita dos Indios Orientais' (Brit. Mus. Sloane 1820)"; then came "A Treatise on Hindu Cosmography from the Seventeenth Century (Brit. Mus. MS. Sloane 2748 A)" in this *Bulletin*, vol. III, 317 ff., and "The British Museum MS. Sloane 3290, the Common Source of Baldaeus and Dapper", *ibid.*, III, 413 ff. Father Fenicio's *Livro da Seita dos Indios Orientais*, the subject of the above-mentioned "Preliminary Report", was at last edited by Charpentier with introduction and notes in 1933 at Uppsala, as no. 40 of the publications of the Vilhelm Ekmans Universitetsfond.

These notices of a few of his works will give some conception of the great and fruitful energies which were crowded into Charpentier's short life. Would that he had been spared to the full span of years. But in his brief time he achieved much, marvellously much, and he leaves with us a cherished memory of a great scholar and a loyal friend.

Professor Basil Hall Chamberlain

It is with deep regret that we have to record the death at Geneva on the 15th of February of Professor Basil Hall Chamberlain.

A son of the late Vice-Admiral William Chamberlain and a grandson of Captain Basil Hall, the navigator, after whom he was named, he was born at Southsea on the 18th October, 1850. From childhood he was delicate, with a weak constitution, and it was perhaps for this reason that his earlier education in England was left in the hands of private tutors. At a later age he was sent abroad to the Continent to learn French and German, and when, after some years spent in French lycées, he returned to England with his education finally completed he was given a post in the house of Barings. But work on an office stool proved quickly unsuitable and, his health breaking down, he left home on a prolonged voyage. It was in the course of this that, after various wanderings, he eventually, in 1873, reached the shores of Japan, a country which was henceforth to be his real home for nearly forty years.

At the moment of his arrival enthusiasm for the learning and the things of the West was intense and general; and young Chamberlain, already an accomplished classical scholar and possessed of an exceptionally intimate knowledge of French and German, had no difficulty in obtaining an appointment as teacher of English in the newly founded Imperial Naval Academy. A linguist by predestination, he at once set himself to the study of Japanese; and, mastering its initial difficulties with exceptional ease, he quickly passed from the stage of student to that of scholar and authority. In 1880 the first fruits of his industry appeared in the shape of a volume on the *Classical Poetry of Japan*. This was followed in 1886 by a *Romanized Japanese Reader* and a *Simplified Grammar of the Japanese Language*, modern written style; then came in quick succession a *Translation of the Kojiki, with Commentary*, and his *Handbook of Colloquial Japanese*. The last and Aston's slimmer and more concise work on the same subject were for years the standard textbooks for English students of the language. In the meanwhile, he was also a constant contributor of learned papers to the *Journals of the Asiatic Society of Japan*, an association founded in 1872 under foreign auspices for purposes of research. In 1890 he published *Things Japanese*, a vademecum of miscellaneous information which enjoyed a wide popularity and proved invaluable to serious student and casual globe-trotter alike. Next he brought out, in collaboration with the late Mr. W. B.

Mason, a revised and up-to-date edition of *Murray's Guide Book to Japan*, based on the singularly comprehensive and learned work, compiled originally by Satow and Hawes. Long before this he had severed his connection with the Naval Academy; but in recognition of his services in the field of linguistic knowledge he had been subsequently appointed Professor of Philology in the Imperial University of Tokyo. In 1895 he published a Grammar of the Luchuan Language; in 1902 he wrote for the Asiatic Society of Japan a paper on "Bashō, and the Japanese Epigram"; and in 1905 appeared his *Moji no Shirube—a Practical Introduction to the Study of Japanese Writing*, a sumptuous and beautifully printed work destined to lighten the labours of generations of unfortunate students. His paper on "Bashō and the Japanese Epigram", in the opinion of some the most brilliant and perfect piece of work that ever came from his pen, was subsequently published in book form in combination with his earlier volume on Japanese poetry. His last contribution in the field of Japanese knowledge was a small pamphlet entitled *The Invention of a New Religion*, an arresting essay but unpalatable to many Japanese.

Long before this, however, ill-health and poor eyesight, the latter doubtless aggravated by the strain of reading the Chinese ideograph, had made him a semi-invalid; and, never a frequenter of the fashionable world in Tokyo, he now lived in practical retirement, accessible only to his more intimate friends. Finally, in 1911, he decided to leave the country and returned to Europe, settling ultimately at Geneva. There, having laid aside for good the work which had occupied him for so many years, he turned to the study of French literature later embodying the results of his labours in a work entitled *Eight Centuries of French Poetry*. His last book appeared as late as 1933 and is called *Encore est vive la Souris*, a title taken from a poem of Charles of Orléans in which the latter protested against rumours that he was dead, Chamberlain having seen himself similarly referred to.

He was a great scholar and a great linguist in the true sense of the term, a trained philologist, with a profound knowledge of the languages of the Far East and of the West alike, gifted with amazing powers of intellectual application, and a master of style, whether the medium of expression was French or English, gentle and retiring in manner and address, but accessible always to the humble student in search of advice or assistance.

Thus has left the stage one of the greatest authorities on Japan and the Japanese language that this country has produced.

HAROLD PARLETT.

Professor Zoltán Gombocz

In Dr. Zoltán Gombocz, Professor of Hungarian Linguistics in Budapest University, Hungary, has lost one of the finest combinations of Hungarian and Western culture.

A peculiar many-sidedness characterized his whole scientific activity. His researches comprised all the fields of Hungarian linguistics—phonetics, sound history, accident, syntax, and word history. The results of his labours are concentrated in two comprehensive works, the *Etymological Dictionary of the Hungarian Language*, which, in collaboration with his friend Professor John Melich, he began to compile in 1914, and which, though still unfinished, is the most exhaustive dictionary of its kind, and in his famous monograph on Bulgaro-Turkish Loan-words in Hungarian, published in Vol. xxx of the *Mémoires de la Société Finno-Ugrienne*. The latter work threw a new light on the prehistoric wanderings of the Hungarians and on the main problem of Hungarian folk-lore, the genesis of the Attila legend.

His amazing mastery of languages and his exhaustive bibliographic knowledge enabled him to make himself familiar with all the results of foreign methodology and to apply these results to the particular problems of Hungarian linguistics. But he did even more than that: he supplemented these results with researches of his own dealt with in his "Linguistic Methodology" (*Nyelvtörténeti módszertan*, 1922) and in his "Semasiology" (*Jelentéstan*, 1926), as well as in a number of important articles and presidential addresses. Although his whole—purely psychological—philosophy of language is based upon the functionalism of the Geneva school (Saussure, Bally, Vendryès), he remained open to other foreign influences too. He was, of course, deeply interested in English linguistics in the work of phoneticians like Miss Soames and Daniel Jones, and in the methodological researches of Otto Jespersen, some of whose views he discussed in the very last article written by him ("Funkcionális nyelvészlelet" = "Functional Aspects of Linguistics" in *Magyar Nyelv*, 1934).

It was in his inaugural address at the Eötvös College in October, 1914, that he summed up his creed when he said that "in the life of every scientist there is one decisive moment, when the sacred enthusiasm of the search for truth gets possession of his mind". And his paramount significance consists, not only in his undying scientific achievements, but also in that noble and generous educational activity of his which aroused this sacred enthusiasm in two generations of young Hungarian scholars.

STEPHEN ULLMANN.

TITLES AND SUMMARIES OF THESES

BY STUDENTS IN THE DEPARTMENT OF ANCIENT INDIA AND IRAN,
1921-1935

STUDIES IN SANSKRIT POETICS. By Sushil Kumar De (D.Lit., 1921).

Published in altered and enlarged form under title : Studies in the History of Sanskrit Poetics. London : Luzac and Co., vol. i, 1923 ; vol. ii, 1925.

THE ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE BENGALI LANGUAGE. By
Suniti Kumar Chatterji (D.Lit., 1921).

Published by Calcutta University Press, 1926.

THE FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES OF ŚĀMĀKARA-VEĀĀNTA. By
Bibhutibhushan Raychaudhuri (Ph.D., 1922).

Copy in University Library, London.

Doctrinal evolution and literary history of Śāmkara-Vedānta. Śāmkara's theory of Adhyāsa, Brahma, Māyā, Jīva, and its relation to Brahma and Ātman. His doctrine of salvation.

THE PURĀṆAS : THEIR COMPOSITION AND CORRELATION. By
Kullidaikurichy Naranyier Sitaram (Ph.D., 1922).

Copy in University Library, London.

THE HISTORY OF PALI LITERATURE IN CEYLON. By G. P. Malalasekera
(Ph.D., 1925).

Published under title : The Pali Literature of Ceylon. (R.A.S. Prize Publication Fund, No. 10.) London : Royal Asiatic Society, 1928.

THE DIVINE POWER : Being an historical study of the conception of the Śakti in Hindu thought interpreted from the original texts.

By Sudhendu Kumar Das (Ph.D., 1925).

Copy in University Library, London.

Development of the idea of *śakti* from R̥gveda through Brāhmaṇas and Upaniṣads. *Śakti* in the Trika School of Kashmir and in the Liṅgāyata School.

THE PHONOLOGY OF PANJABI AS SPOKEN ABOUT LUDHIANA. By
Banarsi Das Jain (Ph.D., 1926).

Published under title : A Phonology of Panjabi and a Ludhiana Phonetic Reader. (Panjab University Oriental Publications, No. 12.) Lahore : University of the Panjab, 1934.

THE IDEA OF KARMA AND REINCARNATION IN HINDU RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY. By P. M. Yevtitch (Ph.D., 1926).

Copy in University Library, London.

Traces growth of the idea of Karma in Ṛgveda and Brāhmaṇas, older Upaniṣads, early Buddhism, Mahābhārata, Śaṅkara, Rāmānuja, and the Sūrya-gīta. Bibliography.

THE PHONOLOGICAL DATA OF THE INDIAN SYSTEMS OF PHONETICS. By Siddheshwar Varma (D.Lit., 1927).

Published under title : Critical studies in the phonetic observations of Indian grammarians. (James G. Forlong Fund, vol. vii.) London : Royal Asiatic Society, 1929.

INFLUENCE OF KANARESE ON MARATHI SYNTAX. By Rangacharya Vasudevacharya Jahagirdar (M.A., 1928).

Copy in University Library, London.

Influence of a Kanarese substratum is suggested to explain certain peculiar uses of postpositions in Jñāneśvarī and some details of the syntax of the old present tense and the optative.

VIṢṆU IN THE ṚGVEDA. By Margaret S. Gladstone (Ph.D. Cambridge, 1928).

Copy in University Library, Cambridge.

Collection of hymns and verses in RV. addressed to Viṣṇu and Indrāviṣṇu, with translation and notes. Summary of changes brought about by ritualism in the character of Viṣṇu attested in AV., YV., SV., Brāhmaṇas, Sūtras, Bṛhaddevatā. Further developments in Mahābhārata and Rāmāyaṇa.

SOME PROBLEMS IN THE NASALIZATION OF MARATHI. By Bidyadhan Nahar Sardesai (M.A., 1929).

Published in *JRAS.* 1930, pp. 537-565.

ACCENT IN GUJARATI. By Narhar Govind Saswadkar (M.A., 1929).

Copy in University Library, London.

An examination of the theories as to the part played by accent in the development of Gujarātī. The penultimate accent followed by an initial accent. Where \times represents a syllable containing a short vowel followed by two or more consonants, we have the following developments (1) $\bar{\times} - \bar{\sim} > \sim -$; (2) $--- \bar{\sim} > \sim -$; (3) $\times \times \bar{\sim} > \sim -$. Sk. $-m-$ > Ap. $-\tilde{v}-$ > Guj. $-m-$ in certain conditions. Description of accent in modern Gujarātī.

HISTORICAL AND DOCTRINAL RELATION BETWEEN THE HĪNAYĀNA AND MAHĀYĀNA SCHOOLS OF BUDDHISM. By Nalinaksha Datta (D.Lit., 1929).

Published under title: Aspects of Mahāyāna Buddhism and its relation to Hīnayāna. (Calcutta Oriental Series, No. 23.) London: Luzac and Co., 1930.

A STUDY OF METRES IN THE OLDER UPANIṢADS. By Purendra Nandkrishnalal Majmudar (M.A., 1930).

Copy in University Library, London.

Analysis of the metres of the following Upaniṣads: Kena, Kāṭhaka, Īśa, Muṇḍaka, Śvetāśvatara. Comparison with the corresponding metres of RV. and the epics. Suggested emendations of text to correct certain metrical irregularities.

A CRITICAL EDITION OF THE KAPIṢṬHALA-KAṬHĀ-SAMHITĀ, AṢṬAKA I. By Raghu Vira (Ph.D., 1930.)

Published in Kapiṣṭhala-Kaṭhā-Samhitā, a text of the Black Yajurveda, critically edited for the first time. (Mehar Chand Lachhman Das Sanskrit and Prakrit Series, vol. i.) Lahore: Mehar Chand Lachhman Das, 1932.

INDEX TO SĀYAṆA'S BHĀṢYA ON ṚGVEDA II. By Govinda Rangacharya Raddi (M.A., 1930).

Copy in University Library, London.

Index of all the words explained by Sāyaṇa in his *bhāṣya* on RV. ii, together with the explanations arranged under each word.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE BODHISATTVA DOCTRINE. By Har Dayal (Ph.D., 1930).

Published under title: The Bodhisattva doctrine in Buddhist Sanskrit literature. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co., Ltd., 1932.

RĀMĀNUJA'S CONCEPTION OF THE DEITY. By Bharatan Kumarappa (Ph.D., 1930).

Copy in University Library, London.

Life of Rāmānuja. Rāmānuja influenced by views of the Deity in (1) Upaniṣads, (2) Bhagavadgītā, (3) Pāñcarātra and Purāṇic literature, (4) religion of the Ālvārs. Rāmānuja's own view.

THE THEOLOGY OF THE ŚAIVĀGAMAS: Being a survey of the doctrines of the Śaiva-Siddhānta and Viraśaivism. By Shivalingayya Channabasawayya Nandimath (Ph.D., 1930).

Copy in University Library, London.

Full account of the doctrines of Śaiva-Siddhānta and Virāśaivism. Bibliography of the subject and lists of Sanskrit and Kanarese texts.

AN EXAMINATION OF SIKHAVALAṆḌA. By M. D. Ratnasuriya
(Ph.D., 1931).

Copy in University Library, London.

New edition of the tenth-century Singhalese text *Mulsikha* or *Sikhavalanda*, based on three MSS. in the Neville collection of the British Museum. The introduction contains a discussion of the interpolated passages and their origins, a note on the date, and a systematic collection of grammatical data. Text with *apparatus criticus* and a translation. Complete glossary with full references to the text, and etymological indications.

A STUDY OF GUJARATI IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY (V.S.) AND AN EDITION OF BĀLĀVABODHA TO UPADEŚAMĀLĀ. By Trimbaklal Nandikeshwar Dave (Ph.D., 1931).

Published under title: A study of the Gujarati language in the sixteenth century (v.s.). (James G. Forlong Fund, vol. xiv.) London: Royal Asiatic Society, 1935.

AN HISTORICAL SURVEY OF THE PĀÑCARĀTRA RELIGION. By Dhirendralal De (Ph.D., 1931).

Copy in University Library, London.

Historical account of Pāñcarātra philosophy. Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva an historical figure. Short account of the four principal *Saṁpradāyas* of Bhāgavatism: Śrī, Sanakādi, Brahma, Rudra. The Bhāgavata philosophy as described in the Nārāyaṇīya episode. The philosophy of the Pāñcarātras as described in their *Saṁhitās*.

INTERPRETATION OF SOME DOUBTFUL WORDS IN THE ATHARVAVEDA. By Tarapada Chowdhury (Ph.D., 1931).

Published in the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, vol. xvii, 1930-1, part i, pp. 25-100.

EARLY BUDDHIST BALLADS AND THEIR RELATION TO THE OLDER UPANISHADIC LITERATURE. By Sumitrarao Mangeshrao Katre (Ph.D., 1931).

Copy in University Library, London.

Nature, origin, and growth of the Buddhist ballad. Social conditions of the period under consideration, and the literature known to the ballads. Full treatment of some fundamental problems both in the Upanishads and in the ballads, such as the nature of the ātman, the

theory of karman, and the problem of existence and emancipation. Conclusion that the majority of the Upanishads are older than the Buddhist ballads and that there is a marked influence of the Upanishads on the ballads.

STATE OF BUDDHISM IN CEYLON AS REVEALED BY THE PALI COMMENTARIES OF THE FIFTH CENTURY A.D. By K. K. D. E. W. B. Adikaram (Ph.D., 1933).

Copy in University Library, London.

The Pali commentaries, their character and sources, the various schools of bhāṇakas; a short survey of the spread of Buddhism in Ceylon after Mahinda's arrival. Writing down of the texts and growth of dissentient schools. Main chapter describes the Buddhist faith in the fifth-century as preserved in the great Buddhist centres (vihāras), marking the golden era of Buddhist learning and preaching in Ceylon. Short historical description of the development of the ritual and the position of the deities in the religion of that time.

THE EDITING OF THE PEṬAKOPADESA. With critical apparatus and commentary. By Arabinda Barua (Ph.D., 1933).

Copy in University Library, London.

Critical edition from four MSS. of Peṭakopadesa. Introduction discusses date and authorship. References have been traced for most of the quotations from other texts.

INDO-ARYAN LOANWORDS IN MALAYĀLAM. With a study of some Dravidian loans in Sanskrit. By Kilimanur Godavarma (Ph.D., 1933).

Copy in University Library, London.

Extract under title: The change of *a* to *e* in the Indo-Aryan loanwords in Malayalam. *BSOS.*, VIII, 2.

Indo-Aryan loanwords in Malayalam classified under three heads: Sanskrit (mostly only old loans), Middle Indo-Aryan (Prakrit), Modern Indo-Aryan. Historical conditions of their entry into the language. Loans from MidIA. due to Jaina and Buddhist influence. Some MidIA. forms not otherwise recorded. Systematic discussion of the phonetic changes in the loanwords. Index containing about 1,750 loanwords.

STUDIES IN THE WORD-ORDER OF SANSKRIT PROSE. By Prabodh Chandra Lahiri (Ph.D., 1933).

Copy in University Library, London.

Collection of references to word-order in orthodox systems of

grammar and works on poetics and logic, followed by statistical examination of word-order in prose passages selected from Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, Mahābhārata, Rock and Pillar Edicts of Aśoka, Majjhima-Nikāya, and Daśakumāracarita. Occasional comparisons with word-order in ModIA., esp. Bengali.

AN EDITION OF NALA KĪ BĀTA. By Bhairao Prasad Shiwnath Pandit (Ph.D., 1933).

Copy in University Library, London.

Extract under title: Syntax of the past tense in Rājasthānī. *BSOS.*, VIII, 2.

Text and translation of an East Rājasthānī MS. (Royal Asiatic Society, Todd Coll. No. 81) dating from latter half of eighteenth century A.D. Full and systematic grammatical analysis. Vocabulary containing all words in the text with full references thereto, and etymological indications.

A GRAMMAR OF THE OLD KANARESE INSCRIPTIONS. Including a study of the Sanskrit and Prakrit loanwords. By Agaram Narasimha Pandit Narasimha (Ph.D., 1933).

Extract under title: The history of *p* in Kanarese. *BSOS.*, VIII, 2.

Copies in University Library and School of Oriental Studies, London.

Descriptive grammar of the language of the Kanarese inscriptions of the sixth and seventh centuries A.D. Discussion of the relationship between some of the forms and those of Modern Kanarese. Some remarks on word-order. Discussion of the origin and subsequent history of Old Kan. *p* and *pp*, *ṛ*, *v*, double consonants and consonant groups. Text of the inscriptions studied. Index of all words in the inscriptions, with etymological notes.

STUDIES IN INDIAN DANCING. As depicted in painting and sculpture and the representation of the musical *rāgas* in painting. By Moti Chandra (Ph.D., 1934).

Copy in University Library, London.

Description of dancing and musical scenes in paintings and sculpture; description of musical instruments with their Sanskrit and vernacular names. Connection between Rajput painting and Vaiṣṇava poetry in Brajbhāṣā. Attempt to date the Rāgamālā paintings on stylistic grounds. Brajbhāṣā text and English translation of all thirty-six *rāgas* and *rāgiṇīs* in British Museum Or. 2821, Or. 8838, Or. 8839, and Add. 26550.

AN EDITION OF THE PADĀVALĪ OF GOVINDADĀSA. By Sudhakar Jha (Ph.D., 1934).

Copy in University Library, London.

Text and translation of a hitherto unpublished Maithilī MS. of 1730 A.D. in the Raj Library, Darbhanga, containing a poem on Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa. Grammatical analysis. History of the development of final syllables in Maithilī. Syntax of verbal forms. Vocabulary of all words in the text with full references thereto and etymological indications.

THE POSITION OF WOMEN IN THE VEDIC RITUAL. By Jatindrabimal Chaudhuri (Ph.D., 1934).

Copy in University Library, London.

Based mainly on the original texts, *Mantra*, *Brāhmaṇa*, and *Sūtra*, it includes material from some less known *Gṛhya*- and *Śrauta-sūtras*, and from MSS. of unpublished *Paddhatis* and commentaries. Exact references are given to all authorities. Separate chapters on Daughter, Wife, and Mother.

THE LANGUAGE OF THE KHAROṢṬHĪ DOCUMENTS FROM CHINESE TURKESTAN. By T. Burrow (Ph.D. Cambridge, 1935).

Copy in University Library, Cambridge.

Detailed discussion of the phonology and grammatical forms of the language of the *Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions discovered by Sir Aurel Stein in Chinese Turkestan*, ed. Rapson, Boyer, Senart, and Noble. Translation and discussion of numerous passages. Index of all words referred to in the text.

BOOKS RECEIVED FOR REVIEW

- AHMAD KASRAWI. Five hundreded year's (*sic*) history of Khuzistan. Persian text. Teheran ; London : Luzac, 1934. 6s.
- AKHBÂR AR-RÂPÎ WAL-MUTTAÎ. From the Kitâb al-awrâk by Abû Bakr Muḥammad b. Yahyâ ar-Sûlî. Arabic text edited by J. Heyworth Dunne. London : Luzac, 1935. 10s.
- AL'AMURAN DUNIYA DA NA MUTANE. Hausa tales. Published by the Translation Bureau, Zaria, 1935.
- BERBERA, D. GIUSEPPE M. Arabo e Berbero nel linguaggio Italo-Siculo saggio. Beyrouth : Imprimerie catholique, 1935.
- G. BERGSTRÄSSER'S GRUNDZÜGE DES ISLAMISCHEN RECHTS. Bearbeitet und herausgegeben von Joseph Schacht. Lehrbücher des Seminars für orientalische Sprachen zu Berlin. Band xxxv. Berlin, 1935.
- CHAKRABARTI, A. Cultural Fellowship in India. Calcutta : Thacker, Spink, 1934. 6s.
- CHINESE AND ENGLISH MODERN MILITARY DICTIONARY. Compiled by J. V. Davidson-Houston and Lieut. R. V. Dewar-Durie. Peiping, 1935. 20s.
- COLLUM, V. C. C. The Tressé Iron-age Megalithic Monument. Oxford University Press, 1935. 10s. 6d.
- COOMARASWAMY, ANANDA K. Elements of Buddhist Iconography. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts. London : Oxford University Press, 1935. 15s.
- COOMARASWAMY, ANANDA K. The R̥g Veda as Land-nāma-bók. London : Luzac, 1935. 3s. 6d.
- DAŚOPANISHADS WITH THE COMMENTARY OF SRI UPANISHAD-BRAHMA-YOGIN. Volume I. Edited by the Pandits of the Adyar Library under the supervision of Professor C. Kunhan Raja. Adyar, Madras, 1935. Rs. 4.8.
- DRISCOLL, LUCY, and KENJI TODA. Chinese Calligraphy. United States of America : University of Chicago Press. Great Britain and Ireland : Cambridge University Press, 1935. 9s.
- THE DOCTRINE OF THE ŠŪFĪS (Kitâb al-Ta'arruf li madhhab ahl al-taṣawwuf). Translated from the Arabic by Arthur John Arberry. Cambridge University Press, 1935. 10s. 6d.
- GOODRICH, LUTHER C. The literary inquisition of Ch'ien-lung. Baltimore, 1935.

- GOPAL, M. H. *Mauryan public finance*. London : George Allen and Unwin, 1935. 12s. 6d.
- A GRAMMAR OF THE BRAJ BHAKHA BY MIRZA KHÂN (A.D. 1676). The Persian text critically edited . . . with introduction, translation, and notes . . . by M. Ziauddin. Calcutta : Visva-Bharati, 1935.
- HASLUND, HENNING. *Men and gods in Mongolia*. London : Kegan Paul, 1935. 15s.
- JOHNSON, F. *Kamusi ya Kiswahili yaani Kitabu cha maneno ya Kiswahili*. Swahili-Swahili dictionary. London : The Sheldon Press, 1935. 2s. 6d.
- THE JOURNAL OF ROBERT STODART. Being an account of his experiences as a member of Sir Dodmore Cotton's Mission in Persia in 1628-9. Published from the unique manuscript in the Bodleian Library, with an introduction and notes by Sir E. Denison Ross. London : Luzac, 1935. 5s.
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निर्खनामे उस देश की भाषा

Hebrew.

קטלוגים בשפות המתולכות
הם הכרחיים לצורך השוקים
בארצות נכרות

Chinese.

在 外 國 市 場 非 用 本
地 話 之 價 目 表 不 可。

Phonetics.

ηγιβὸ ναβὰ:ntʔa úkumó:kɛʔa
sathò:lamá:ndga oe ŋkʔó:mo

Greek.

Κατάλογοι εἰς τὴν καθομιλουμένην
γλώσσαν εἶναι χρήσιμοι διὰ τὰς
ξένας ἀγοράς

Burmese.

ဗိုင်းခြားတွင်အရောင်းအဝယ်ပြုလုပ်ရန်
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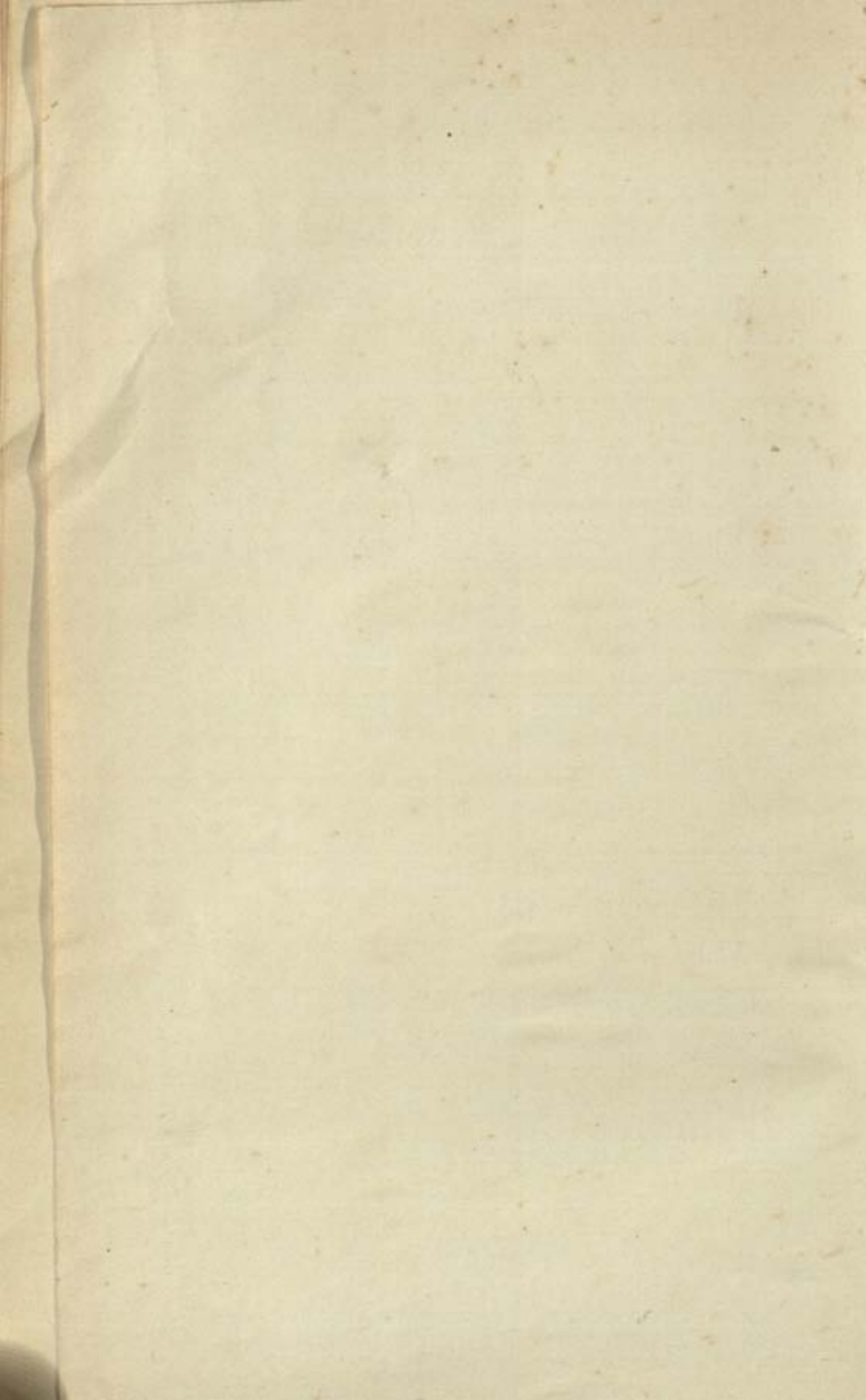
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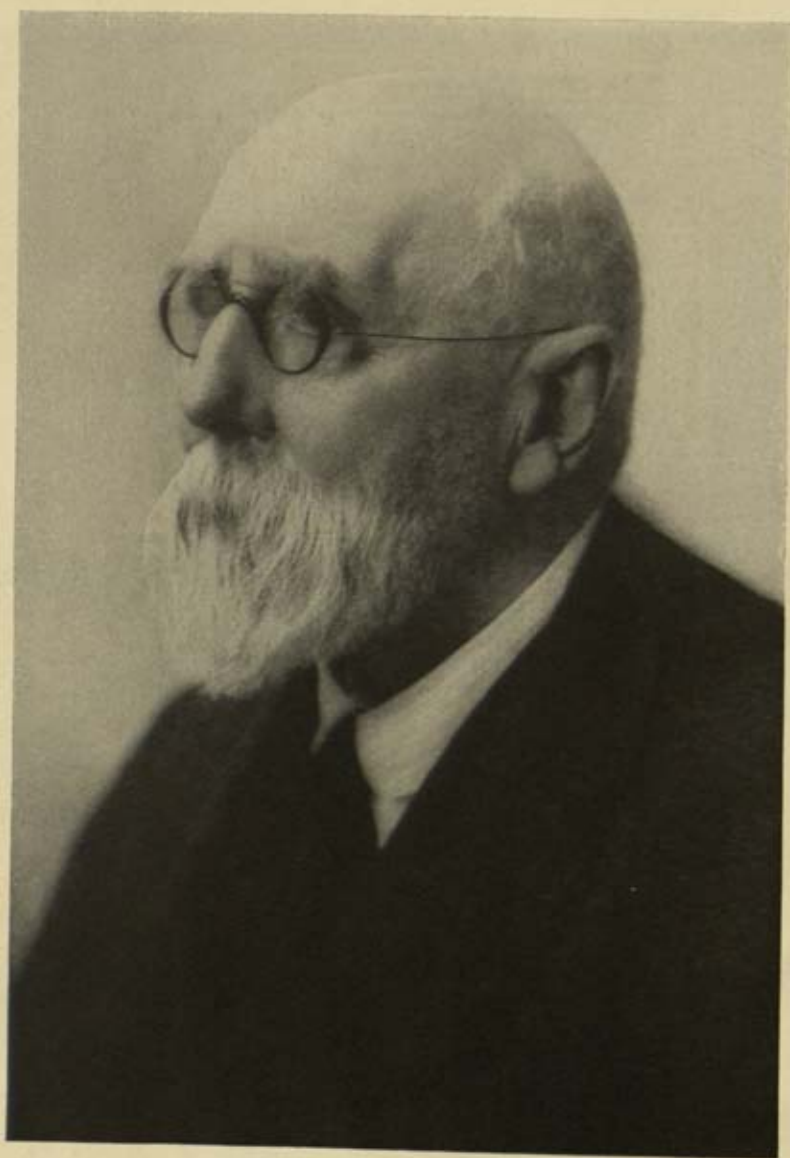
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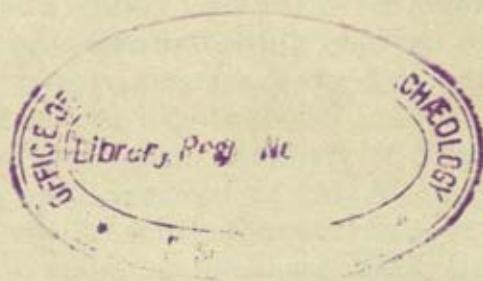
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The long list of your publications, extending over nearly sixty years of devoted labour, bears witness to the boundless energy and enthusiasm and to the firmness of spirit which, held undeviating on the path you have chosen, has triumphed over every difficulty of circumstance. Neither age nor sickness has diminished that enthusiasm nor dimmed that spirit. In your twenty-third year, already a student of Sanskrit and appointed a member of the Indian Civil Service, you left Ireland for India, to enter upon that strenuous and fruitful combination of the life of action and the life of letters of which half a century later we saw the crowning achievement. In your seventy-seventh year you completed the last of the twenty volumes of the Linguistic Survey of India, and in your eighty-second year the fourth and last part of your great dictionary of Kashmiri. You, author in early manhood of the *Bihar Peasant Life*, creator of the Linguistic Survey, compiler of so many grammars of known and unknown languages, editor and translator of so many Middle and Modern Indo-Aryan texts, have more than any other contributed to our knowledge of the innumerable languages and dialects of India. Your work, beyond that of all others, has stimulated in Indians themselves a just pride in their own vernaculars and a deep and enduring interest in the long history that lies behind them. Contributors to this volume of studies in a field which owes so much to your

own work come from nearly every country of Europe and from America, as well as from that dear land of India, to whose service you gave the strength of your youth and middle age. Yet they are but a small proportion of the many who admire the greatness of your achievement, who draw inspiration and encouragement from your example, or who enjoy the inestimable privilege of your friendship.

In conclusion we to whom was entrusted the grateful task of editing this volume desire to express our thanks to the Governing Body of the School and to Sir E. Denison Ross, the general editor of the *Bulletin*, for placing this part at our disposal, and to Miss Murray Browne, whose labour in preparing it for press has greatly lightened our own; and to all our fellow-contributors who have striven to make this volume worthy of the great man and scholar to whom it is offered as a birthday gift.

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- BSOS. : Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies.
IA. : Indian Antiquary.
JAOS. : Journal of the American Oriental Society.
JASB. : Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
JRAS. : Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.
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ZDMG. : Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.

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1878

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1880

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1881

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1883

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The Vasudevahiṇḍi, a Specimen of Archaic Jaina-Māhārāṣṭrī

By L. ALSDORF

Abbreviations used: Vh = Vasudevahiṇḍi; M = Māhārāṣṭrī; JM = Jaina-Māhārāṣṭrī; Ś = Śaurasenī; JŚ = Jaina-Śaurasenī; AMg = Ardhamāgadhī; P = Pischel's *Prakrit Grammar*; JErz = Jacobi's *Ausgewählte Erzählungen in Māhārāṣṭrī*; Mah. Nis. = Schubring, *Das Māhānisiha-Sutta*; Pkt, Skt = Prakrit, Sanskrit.

IN the Introduction to his edition of the Āvaśyaka tales¹ the late Professor Leumann wrote on p. 1: "Since—as may be easily understood—Jacobi, when he endeavoured to utilize the language and contents of the Jaina tales for Indology, started with the Uttarādhyayana Tīkā of Devendra which was in his possession, and since this author, belonging as he does to the period of decadence and therefore more familiar with Sanskrit, writes a rather doubtful Prakrit—therefore the editor was chiefly concerned with the establishing of a thoroughly reliable Prakrit text . . . that was to be suitable for clearing the way for a more correct judgment and utilization of medieval Jaina Prakrit." The appearance of the first portion of Leumann's text was welcomed by Pischel in his Pkt grammar (§ 21) in the following terms: "The most important text in JM is: Die Āvaśyaka-Erzählungen. Herausgegeben von Ernst Leumann. 1. Heft. Leipzig 1897. The absence of any commentary unfortunately renders the understanding rather difficult; some passages remain wholly obscure. But even these few forms show that from texts in JM we may yet expect much new and important material."

In spite of all that has been done since then in the domain of Pkt literature and grammar, the hope expressed in Pischel's last sentence can hardly be said to have been fulfilled. The work so ably begun by Leumann has never been continued: the first portion of his *Āvaśyaka-Erzählungen* has remained the last. Many other texts have become accessible, but they are almost without exception open to Leumann's criticism of Devendra: works like those of Haribhadra, Somaprabha, etc., bear witness to the skilful handling of a fixed—not to say "dead"—literary language by later authors, but they are not likely

¹ Cf. the following quotation from P.

to throw much light on those problems that interest us most, i.e. the origin and development of JM and its relations to the other Pkt dialects. Even those JM texts that are available have not received systematical grammatical treatment, so that Pischel's and Jacobi's descriptions of the language (P and JErz), much antiquated as they must necessarily be, are still the standard works to refer to. And there is an almost entire lack of really old texts.

One such text has lately come to light. Five years ago there appeared as vols. 80-1 of the *Ātmānand Jain Granth Ratnamālā* the *Vasudevahindī* by Saṅghadāsagaṇin.¹ The date of the work is not known, but as it is mentioned three times by the *Āvaśyaka Cūrṇi*, "it cannot be later than the sixth century A.D., if we allow an interval of no more than a century between it and the *cūrṇis*, and as much between them and Haribhadra."² There is, however, nothing to prevent us from assigning to the Vh a much earlier date than the sixth century. That it must actually be centuries older will, it is hoped, be clear from the sketch of its language to be given below.

The Vh might well be called unique for more than one reason. The fact that it presents us with a detailed and circumstantial Jain version of Guṇādhya's *Bṛhatkathā*, quite independent of the Kashmirian and Nepalese versions and highly valuable for the reconstruction of the lost original,³ lends it the greatest possible literary importance. Further, the tales inserted into the old commentaries are mostly written without literary ambitions. The aim of the commentators—Devendra being a pleasant exception—seems to be to give the facts of the stories in the shortest possible form—the result often being a kind of telegram style which is sometimes almost unreadable and difficult to understand. The Vh constitutes a continuous prose work of 370 quarto pages—its very scope and plan has no parallel in the older non-canonical Jaina

¹ Edited by Munimahārājas Caturavijaya and Puṇyavijaya. A third fasciculus which was to contain the introduction has not appeared. The text is provided with very useful indices of proper names, a *pratīka*-list, list of inserted tales, etc. Though based on twelve MSS. (of which readings are given) and outwardly a model performance testifying to the praiseworthy application and zeal of the editors, the edition is thoroughly uncritical and—particularly as regards the orthography—in no way better than a moderately good MS. The absence of any kind of commentary or explanative glosses is all the more regrettable because the text is not always easy and often full of mistakes and corruptions.

² Jacobi, Introduction to the 2nd edition of Hemacandra's *Parīśiṣṭaparvan* (*Bibl. Indica*), p. vii. That the *Āv. Cūrṇi* mentions the Vh not once but thrice I found in the papers left by the late Professor Leumann.

³ Cf. the paper read by me at the 19th International Oriental Conference at Rome, entitled "Eine neue Version der verlorenen *Bṛhatkathā* des Guṇādhya".

literature. The style is far from being concise or dry; it presents us with a vivid, characteristic, and highly interesting picture of a living language. The tale is frequently embellished with flowery descriptions so dear to Indian poets, and some of them are—at least partially—in the old Vēḍha metre, hitherto unknown to occur outside the canon—an unmistakable sign of great antiquity.

But it is the language of the Vh with which we are here concerned and which has also quite a number of surprises in store for us. An exhaustive and systematical description and treatment of it would by far exceed the space available for this paper and must be left to a future occasion. Here I can only give, as a kind of preliminary notice, and without any claim to completeness, a brief enumeration and discussion of some of its more important and striking features and peculiarities.

It is the verbal system which offers the greatest variety of new and interesting forms.

In a number of cases¹ the 1st person sing. of the present indicative ends in *-am* instead of in *-āmi*. This use of the secondary ending is normal enough in the future (e.g. *bhavissam*); in the present tense it is unknown to P. Yet at least one such form occurs in the canon. In the sixth *dasā* of the *Āyāradasāo* we read (cf. Schubring, *Die Lehre der Jainas*, p. 181) that a layman, when asked a question, must truthfully and openly say whether he can answer it or not: *kappanti duve bhāsō bhāsittae, jahā: jāṇam vā "jāṇam", ajāṇam vā "no jāṇam"*, i.e. *jānan vā "jānāmi"*, "either, if he knows, 'I know,'" etc. In Vh I have noted the following fifteen cases: *jāṇam* 174, 26²; *na jāṇam*, 145, 23; 174, 8; 353, 27; *na-yāṇam*, 19, 3³; 83, 22; 115, 26; 144, 24 (v. l. *na-yāṇāmi*); *iccham*, 4, 3; 17, 17; 229, 22; 350, 28; *tattha y'aham pāsam*, 283, 16; *ṭhavijjam*,⁴ 109, 7; *jīvam*,

¹ A general remark may not be out of place. An abnormal or somewhat strange form need not be suspected merely because it occurs very rarely, perhaps only twice or thrice. In the papers left by Leumann I found a slip where he had collected variants of the *Viśeṣāvaśyakabhāṣya*. Again and again the variant consisted in an aorist form being replaced by the corresponding form of the present indicative. This is only one instance of how the more uncommon forms were gradually eliminated by the scribes—we have to content ourselves with what little they have left.

² The figures refer to the pages and lines of the printed text.

³ Only one MS. reads "*na-yāṇam kumāram paṇaṭṭham*" "I did not know that the prince had disappeared." The others have the "corrected" reading, "*na ya nāyam*," which, however, is incompatible with the following accusative "*kumāram paṇaṭṭham*". In this and five other cases (19, 3; 83, 12; 109, 7; 115, 26; 144, 24) a woman is speaking, which excludes the possibility of the form in *-am* being regarded as a nom. sing. of the present participle.

⁴ 1st sing. ind. pass., possibly to be corrected to a 1st sing. opt. pass. **ṭhavijjijjam*.

91, 14. To these must be added two optatives : *pāsiṃjam*, 6, 18, and *passeṃjam*, 125, 3. A 1st sing. opt. in *-ṃjam* is also wanting in P where we find only *-ṃjā*, *-ṃja*, *-ṃjāmi*. That both forms (ind. *-am*, opt. *-iṃjam*) are genuine archaisms is proved beyond doubt by the fact that they have counterparts in Pali (e.g. *gacchaṃ*, *labheyyaṃ*, cf. Geiger, *Pāli*, §§ 122, 127, 128). There *-am* instead of *-āmi* is peculiar to the language of the gāthās, i.e. the oldest stratum of the language. The only other Pkt text where a 1st sing. ind. in *-am* occurs seems to be the Mahānisiha Sutta, from which Schubring (*Mah. Nis.*, p. 90) quotes the śloka-pāda "*gacchaṃ cetthaṃ suvaṃ utthaṃ dhāvaṃ nāsaṃ palāmi* um", and three single forms, also from verses, *caraṃ*, *na niṇhavaṃ*, *sakkaṇaṃ* (= *śaknōmi*?). This is interesting because we shall presently see that another peculiarity of the Mahānisiha is also shared by Vh.

In the Mahānisiha, "the 1st plur. is often constructed with *ahaṃ* or is otherwise used as a 1st sing." e.g. *ahayaṃ . . . anuciṭṭhimo*, *nāhaṃ . . . cukkimo*, etc. In Vh we read, e.g. 84, 7, *ahaṃ . . . dacchāmo*; 290, 28, *tao 'haṃ tāo lavāmo*; 291, 24, *lavai ya me* : "*icchāmo . . .*"; 172, 11, *saṃcaramāṇī . . . suṇimo*; 178, 22, *mayā bhaṇṇiyā* : "*jāṇihāmo*" *tti*. *tao niggayā* "*jāṇihisi*" *tti* *vottūṇaṃ*.

According to P, § 457, the 1st person plur. of the ātmanepada is wanting in Pkt. In Vh I have noted it seven times, but in all cases it is used as a 1st sing., twice even with *ahaṃ* : 147, 18, *ahaṃ . . . paḍicchāmahe*; 206, 18, *ahaṃ . . . anuvattāmahe*; 144, 7, *utthio mi* "*kattha maṇṇe vattāmahe?*" *tti* *cintayanto*; 352, 22, *cintemi* : "*kammi paesammi vattāmahe?*" ; 139, 24, *ramāmahe* (v. l., °*mi ya*!); 155, 16, *uvabhunjāmahe . . .*, *bhutta-bhoyaṇo ya . . .*; 330, 19 (in a gāhā!), *bhaṇai* : ". . . *bandhāmahe . . .*".

This form in *-āmahe*, used as a 1st sing., probably helps to explain another very strange and hitherto utterly unknown form. Eleven times there occurs a 1st sing. in *-ahe* : *acchahe*, 180, 14; 206, 12; 247, 1; *aticchahe*, 319, 24; *āsahe*, 289, 13, 29; *dissahe* (pass.), 199, 6; *passahe*, 218, 10; *pāsahe*, 293, 5; *vattahe*, 247, 12. Failing any other explanation, I believe that *-ahe* is formed from *-āmahe* after the analogy of the proportion : 1st sing. act. *-āmi* : 1st sing. med. *-e* (*vandāmi* : *vande* = *vandāmahe* : *vandahe*). And, lastly, a single form may be noted which—if not a mere mistake—looks like a compromise between *-ahe* and *-e* : 156, 17, 1st sing. *acchae* instead of *acche*.

According to P, § 455, the 1st plur. ind. (which is used as 1st plur. imp. as well, § 470) ends in *-mo* which may be replaced by *-mu* in verses only. Yet in the prose of Vh *-mu* occurs not infrequently,

e.g. ind. *aiṇemu*, 108, 11; *ṇa-yāṇāmu*, 117, 8; *acchāmu*, 115, 24; *karemu*, 117, 17; imp. *vasāmu*, 82, 3; *harāmu*, 100, 2; *aṇuvayāmu*, 138, 2; *aṇumaggāmu*, 138, 12; *karemu*, 85, 15; 109, 12; 153, 15, etc. Now since, as we have seen, the 1st plur. may be used as a 1st sing. as well (probably originally as a *pluralis majestatis*), I have little doubt that the 1st sing. imp. in *-mu* taught by the grammarians but—according to P, § 467—not found in literature,¹ is nothing but a 1st plur. used as a 1st sing. In support of this explanation I can quote from Vh at least one 1st sing. imp. in *-mo*: 122, 5, “*na me sobhai ihaṃ acchium, avakkamāmo*” *tti*, “it is no good for me to stay here, I will run away!”—Pischel believed that *-mu*, *-su*, *-u* as terminations of the imperative corresponded to the indicative terminations *-mi*, *-si*, *-i*, and mainly for this reason he disputed the usual derivation of *-su* from Skt. *-sva*. If my explanation of the 1st sing. imp. in *-mu* is accepted, Pischel’s view of *-su*—not very convincing considering Pali *-ssu* (cf. Geiger, *Pāli*, § 126 and note 1)—becomes wholly untenable.²

It has till now been taken for granted that forms of the aorist have survived in AMg only. From Vh we learn that they occur in archaic JM as well.³ We even find in Vh several forms which are either quite new or hitherto known only from grammarians.

The 1st sing. act. of the aorist is “very rare and ends in *-issam*” (P, § 516; e.g. *akarissam*), “with double *s* as in Pāli” (where, however, the more usual form has a single *s*, cf. Geiger, *Pāli*, § 159, iv). One such form occurs Vh 225, 17: “*nāhaṃ tubbhaṃ kuppiṣsam*,” “I was not angry with you.” The context excludes every possibility of the form being taken as a future. Yet the formal identity of a 1st sing. aor. in *-issam* with the 1st sing. fut. cannot be overlooked, and I believe that the doubling of the *s* (for which neither Pischel nor Geiger offer

¹ W. Schubring has now traced it in the Mahānisiha, where a 1st sing. imp. *demu* occurs twice (*Mah. Nis.*, p. 91).

² In Vh there occurs in a number of cases a 2nd sing. imp. in *-āsu* (e.g. *vaccāsu*, 93, 15; 179, 18; *ghaḍāsu* 94, 24; *karāsu* 96, 10). The long *ā* of these forms may, of course, be explained by the influence of the parallel form in *-āhi*. We may, however, also have before us the regular compensative lengthening due to the double *s* (which is seen in Pali *-ssu*) having been simplified.

³ It might be argued that such forms are to be regarded as mere “Ardhamāgadhisms”, which do not prove anything for JM. This argument would perhaps hold good if we had to do with legendary, dogmatical, or disciplinarian texts. Where the contents are so closely akin to those of the canonical scriptures it is not surprising if the language betrays a strong AMg influence (cf. *Mah. Nis.*, p. 86). But, except for some inserted legendary tales, the contents of the Vh are as secular and non-canonical as possible, and there can be no doubt that its language is JM throughout.

any explanation) is actually due to the influence of the similar future form. This assumption receives a welcome support by another form which is hitherto quite unknown and without a parallel in either Pkt or Pali. Vh 289, 27, we read: "*dacchīhaṃ c'ahaṃ*," "and I beheld." Now it is well known that besides the normal future in *-issāmi* (*-issam*), *-issai*, *-issāmo*, etc., there exists in Pkt a second future in *-ihāmi* (*-ihaṃ*), *-ihii*, *-ihāmo*, etc. But if the *h* of these forms—as must obviously be the case—goes back to *sy > ss > s*, we should expect before it *ī* (with compensative lengthening) rather than *i*. This form with a long *ī*, not recorded by the grammarians and not found in P or JErz, actually occurs in Vh, e.g. 51, 22, *ghattīhaṃ*; 22, 28, *bhunjīhaṃ*; 78, 22, *jāñīhāmo*; 89, 21, *pucchīhāmo*; 91, 8, *jīvīhāmo*; 138, 7, *dacchīhāmo*, etc.¹ The 1st sing. belonging to the last of these forms would be *dacchīhaṃ*, i.e. the very same form we have just noted as a 1st sing. aor. This use of a 1st sing. fut. *dacchīhaṃ* as a 1st sing. aor. seems to prove that a connection was felt to exist between the 1st sing. fut. and aor. in *-issam*: the identity of these two forms seems to have justified the use of any 1st sing. fut. as 1st sing. aor.

There are, however, indications to show that the relations between the future and the aorist were not limited to the 1st person of the sing. The grammarians know two aorists formed with *h* instead of *s* which—to conclude from P, § 516—have not yet been found to occur in texts, viz. *kāhī* besides *kāsī* (from *kṛ*) and *ṭhāhī* besides *ṭhāsī* (from *sthā*). Here the *h* may actually go back to the *s* of *kāsī* and *ṭhāsī*. But it is very significant that these *h*-aorists, too, are identical with forms of the future: *kāhī* and *ṭhāhī* are perfectly normal 3rd persons sing. of the futures *kāhaṃ* (P, § 533, where *kāhī* is actually quoted) and *ṭhāhaṃ* (P, § 524, "*ṭhāhii*"). Two other aorist forms (*vocchīya* and *gacchīya*) which can only be explained by referring to the futures *vocchaṃ* and *gacchaṃ* will be discussed below. And, lastly, the Mahānisiha furnishes what might be called a counter-proof. It uses (*Mah. Nis.*, p. 91) a 3rd plur. "*bhavīsum*," once even spelt *bhavīṃsum*, as if the forms were aorists; but the context, where also *bhavīhenti* precedes them, proves beyond doubt that they are futures." Here forms of the aorist have penetrated into the future: the exact contrary of the relations between aorist and future which we have noticed so far.

One of the most common aorist forms in AMg is *vayāsī* "he spoke", which is—like *āsī*—used for other persons, particularly the 3rd plur.,

¹ The "missing link" between *-issam* and *-ihaṃ* is supplied by the Mahānisiha, where futures in *-issam* occur, e.g. *vimuccīsam* *sujjhīsam* (*Mah. Nis.*, p. 91).

as well. In Vh it occurs as 3rd sing. 351, 28; as 3rd plur. 33, 17. But besides it there occurs three times a hitherto unknown by-form with *saṃprasāraṇa* of the root: 284, 9 and 13, 3rd sing. "*īṇaṃ udāsī*" (284, 9, one MS. reads "*īdaṃ vadāsī*"); 324, 3, 3rd plur. "*īmaṃ vayaṇaṃ udāsī*".

Two, as it were, "normal" forms are the 3rd sing. *velavēsī* (291, 20; from *velavai*, "to upbraid") and the 3rd plur. *viṇṇaviṃsu* (216, 2; from *viṇṇavai viṇṇapayati*).

A more doubtful case is found, 29, 11, where a husband, referring to his previous warnings, says to his wife: "*kim idāṇiṃ rodasi? mamaṃ tadā na suṇesi bhaṇṇamāṇī!*" "Why do you weep now? At that time you did not listen to me when I spoke to you!" It is, of course, quite possible to take *suṇesi* as a 2nd sing. of the present indicative. But a 2nd sing. aor. (which does not differ from the 3rd) would have the same form (cf. P, § 516, *kaheṣī*, etc.; the final *ī* may also be short, cf. e.g. *akāsi*, *ahesi*, etc.), and the context seems to demand most categorically a form of a past tense.

§ 466, end, Pischel deals with some rather mysterious forms in -īa which are "mentioned by the grammarians as being used in the sense of the imperfect, aorist, and perfect tenses", and he thinks that, "inexplicable as it seems," *acchīa*, *geṇhīa*, *daliddaīa*, *maīa*, *haīa*, *huvīa*, *dehīa* are really optatives of the present and *kāhīa*, *ṭhāhīa*, *hohīa* are really optatives of the aorist. Whatever the correct explanation of these forms may be, the Vh furnishes the first instances of their actual use. We read there: 289, 17, *gacchīya*, "I went"; 289, 28, *diṇe gamesīya*, "I spent the days"; 278, 32, *vocchīya*, "he spoke"; 111, 22, *kāsīya*, "he made".¹ According to Pischel, we should have to regard the first of these forms as an optative of the present and the other three as optatives of the aorist. But an aorist **vocchī* can hardly be explained except as having been derived from the future *vocchaṃ* (P, § 529), of which the 3rd sing. is *vocchii*, *vocchī*; and this makes it at least very probable that *gacchīya* does not belong to the present *gacchai*, but that an aorist **gacchī* had been derived from the future *gacchaṃ* (P, § 523). Here, again, the very close relations become visible that must have been established in Pkt between the future

¹ As in the text of Vh *ca*, *ya*, *tti*, *ti* are frequently inserted where they are superfluous and even manifestly impossible, there is just the possibility of declaring the final *ya* of the forms in question (or some of them) to be such a spurious *ya*. Considering, however, the unanimous testimony of the grammarians, I feel confident that we have actually to read *gacchīya*, etc.

and the aorist. Unfortunately our material is as yet too scanty to allow of a more definite description of them.

The verbum substantivum calls for a few remarks. The first point to attract our attention is the quite unusual frequency of its use. E.g. the 2nd plur. *ttha* is qualified by Pischel (§ 498) as "very rare". He gives one single reference (to Setubandha 3, 3) and in his paradigm ascribes *ttha* to M only. In Vh it occurs more than forty times! (e.g. 86, 6, 8, 16; 92, 21, 23; 93, 6; 96, 2, 4; 102, 17; 103, 10; 107, 21; 110, 5, 7, 24, etc.). The 1st and 2nd sing. and the 1st plur. are even more commonly used. As we have doubtless to do with old forms that are gradually becoming obsolete in Pkt, their strong vitality in Vh must be looked upon as a sign of antiquity. Another very striking peculiarity points in the same direction. We should expect enclitic forms like *mi*, *si*, *mo*, *ttha* to be normally placed after the word (mostly a past part.) to which they belong,¹ and this is actually often enough the case, e.g. *gao mi*, 182, 20; *patto si*, 146, 16; *pattā mo*, 148, 15; *jāya ttha*, 86, 16; etc. But perhaps even more frequently the forms in question are placed *before* the word they belong to, and they may even be separated from it by one or several other words, e.g. 281, 16, *tao mi niggao*; 196, 2, *tattha ya mi gao*; 283, 16, *tao mi junṇ'anteuraṃ gayā*; 229, 25, *jai si saho puraccaraṇe*; 80, 18, *sumarasi, jaṃ si bālabhāve do vi (?) Aimuttaeṇa nabhacāriṇā bhaṇiyā . . . ?*; 214, 19, *tattha ya mo Mandara-samīve vutthāo*; 86, 8, *kao ttha-m-āgayā?*; 96, 2, *jaṃ ttha devīe ānattā*; 238, 4, *jai ttha jamma-maraṇa-bāhulaṃ saṃsāraṃ chindiu-kāmā*; 125, 2, *tumhe ttha mayā saṃgāmāo paḍiṇiyattā akkhaya-sarīrā diṭṭhā*, etc.; cf. also several of the passages quoted below, p. 329, note, as instances of the conditional.

All these sentences would not only retain exactly the same meaning but they would even look more normal if *mi*, *si*, *mo*, *ttha* were replaced by the personal pronouns *ahaṃ*, *tumaṃ*, *amhe*, *tumhe* respectively. It is thus easy to imagine that these forms of \sqrt{as} could have come to be regarded as equivalents of the nominatives of the personal pronouns. That this has, at least to some extent, actually been the case is proved by four forms which the grammarians enumerate as equivalents of *ahaṃ*. Pischel has pointed out (§ 417) that *amhi*, *ammi*, *mmi* are = Skt. *asmi*, while *ahammi* is = *ahaṃ mi* = *ahaṃ asmi*, and that there is no reason to doubt the statement of the grammarians

¹ Cf. the quotations in P, § 145.

that these forms were used in the sense of *aham*¹—even though none of them was known to occur in a Pkt text. In Vh we read : 217, 19, *amhi pesiyā sumaramāṇīe* (sc. *devīe*) *tubbhaṃ pāya-samīvaṃ* ; 146, 2, *tao teṇa amhi bhaṇio* ; 182, 22, *teṇ'amhi*² *mahuraṃ ābhaṭṭho* ; 210, 24, *teṇa y'amhi bhaṇio* ; 212, 7, *tīy'*³ *ammi mahuraṃ āhaṭṭho* ; 218, 5, *paviṭṭho y'ammi* ; 230, 16, *tehi y'ammi tuṭṭhehiṃ āruho* ; 279, 3, *tass' ammi phalaṃ patto*. It will be seen at once that these sentences cannot be separated from those just quoted above : the use of *amhi* and *ammi* corresponds exactly to that of *mi*, *si*, *mo*, *ttha*. In all cases it would be possible, but is by no means necessary, to interpret the forms of \sqrt{as} as personal pronouns. Two less equivocal passages seem to be 165, 18 : *keriso si kesu bhavesu āsi?* = *kīdṛśas tvam keṣu bhavesu āsiḥ?* and 217, 29 : *tao mi uttiṇṇo vīsamāmi* = *tato' ham uttiṇṇo vīśramāmi*.⁴ But 24, 3, we read : *tumaṃ si me bhāyā kaṇiṭṭho āsī*, and here it seems almost unavoidable to regard *si* as an interpolation. Yet even this passage may be correct : "*tumaṃsi*" = *tvam* would be an exact counterpart of "*ahammi*" taught by the grammarians as nom. sing. = *aham*.

From the 1st sing. *bemi* = *bravīmi*, AMg and JM have derived a 3rd plur. *benti* (P, § 494 ; Vh, 118, 11 ; 223, 15). A 3rd sing. *bei*, not recorded by Pischel, occurs Vh 35, 18.

Hemacandra admits (i, 46) *datta* besides *diṇṇa*, but according to P, § 566, it is found only in a Pallava Grant (6, 21, *datā*) and in proper names. In Vh *datta* and *diṇṇa* are about equally frequent. In one-half of the text I have counted the former about forty times (e.g. 106, 24, 26, 27 ; 181, 3, 5, 6 ; 241, 5, 8, etc.).

Even in Skt *manye* sometimes "has almost got the character of a particle" (Speijer, *Sanskrit Syntax*, § 500, note). In Vh *maṇṇe* is regularly used as such after interrogatives, where it might be translated by German "*wohl*". Examples could be quoted by the dozen, but a few must suffice : *kiṃ maṇṇe*, 13, 20 ; *ko m.*, 18, 27 ; *kā m.*, 101, 8 ; *keṇa m. kāraṇeṇa*, 133, 15, 28 ; *kassa m. rāṇo*, 83, 28 ; *kīsa m.*, 14, 27 ; *kattha m.*, 20, 10 ; *kiha m.*, 310, 15 ; *kayā m.*, 176, 26 ; *kayaro m. esa*

¹ The peculiar use of *atthi* illustrated in § 417 is also familiar to Vh : 57, 10, *atthi koi . . . parivasai* ; 10, 29, *n'atthi koi vāhi-doso dīsai* ; 125, 5, *atthi me puṇo rajja-siri hojjā?*

² There can hardly be any doubt that we have to write *teṇ'amhi*, *y'amhi*, *y'ammi*, etc., and not *teṇa mhi*, *ya mhi*, *ya mmi*.

³ *tīya* = *tīe*, cf. below, p. 328 f.

⁴ It is grammatically possible, but otherwise very unlikely that we have to do with two sentences : *tato smy uttiṇṇaḥ vīśramāmi*.

devo, 78, 13. This use of *maṇṇe* throws new light on the adverb *vaṇe* taught by Hemacandra (ii, 206; cf. P, § 457). It seems now certain that *vaṇe* must be explained as *maṇe* = *manye*.

Turning to the declension of nouns, we shall first of all make the important statement that the nom. sing. masc. of A-stems ends in *-o*, without a single exception. The nominative in *-e* occurs only in two short AMg quotations—a Vaitāliya stanza, p. 30, 2-3, and half a śloka (not recognized as such by the editors), p. 234, 24—the only ones that I have been able to discover in the whole text. The other important characteristic of AMg, the locative in *-msi*, does occur in Vh, but of the very few forms the majority are obvious Ardhamāgadhisms, so that the same may safely be assumed of the rest.¹

In normal AMg and JM the dative sing. m. n. and the inst. gen. loc. fem. of the A-stems end in *-āe*, the inst. gen. loc. of feminine I- and U-stems end in *-īe*, *-ūe*. According to Pischel (§ 361) a dat. sing. in *-āya* is limited to AMg verses and Māgadhī verses. As to the inst. gen. loc. sing. of the feminines, he admits *-āa* only for M (§ 374 f.), *-īa* and *-ūa* only in verses where the metre demands a short vowel (§ 385). He evidently rejects, deeming unnecessary even to mention it, the opinion of Leumann who maintains (*Āvśyaka-Erzählungen*, p. 3 f.) that the feminine forms in *-āya*, *-īya*, *-ūya*, which are not infrequently found in older texts such as the cūrpis and even the bhāṣyas, are genuine, and that *-ya* is the "older form" (as compared with *-e*) "which Pkt has in common with Pali".

In Vh the following state of things prevails. Besides the dative in *-āe* (e.g. *vahāe*, 326, 7; *aṭṭhāe aṇaṭṭhāe ya*, 124, 14; *puttattāe*, 76, 13; 91, 21, etc.), that in *-āya* is also found: *vahāya* (= *vadhāya*), 169, 19; 245, 2, 4; 313, 5, 7; *hiyāya*, 268, 5; *uvagārāya* 163, 4; *viñāsāya*, 313, 8. Feminine forms in *-āya*, *-īya*, though very much rarer than the normal ones in *-āe*, *-īe*, are also not infrequently met with (e.g. instr. *paḍihārāya paṇayāya*, 213, 13; gen. *asuhāya*, 230, 6; *kaṇṇāya*, 311, 1; inst. *tutṭhīya*, 121, 31; *buddhīa*, 10, 24; loc. *velāya*, 150, 20, *pariṇayāya santīya*, 173, 1, etc.). But in addition to them Vh has preserved in a few cases a form which seems to me to prove conclusively that Leumann was right in comparing a Pkt. *kaṇṇāya* to Pali *kañṇāya*. According to Geiger's grammar (§§ 81, 86), Pali forms the inst. gen.

¹ I have only noted the following forms. In an inserted Rṣabha-carita: *kucchiṃsi*, 159, 16; *ulloyaṃsi*, 161, 15; *paraṃsi*, 167, 17. An AMg-phrase: *kucchiṃsi puttattāe* . . . 76, 13; 91, 21. Besides 246, 27, *maṇaṃsi* (in a doubtful passage), 150, 20, *taṃsi velāya* (grammatically wrong!), 36, 25, *sohaṇaṃsi*, and 147, 16, *etaṃsi* (v. l., *etamma*).

sing. of feminine A-stems in *-āya*, but the locative in *-āya* and *-āyaṃ* (= Skt. *-āyām* !); similarly we have of feminine I-stems an inst. gen. sing. in *-iyā*, but the loc. may end in *-iyā* or *-iyam*. Of these locatives in *-āyaṃ* and *-iyam*, the Pkt counterparts are preserved in the following passages of Vh : 280, 20, *pavitthe ya dinayare, virattāyaṃ saṃjhāyaṃ* ; 280, 27, *uttarāyaṃ disāyaṃ* ; 323, 18, *uttarāyaṃ sedhīyaṃ* ; 310, 22, *uttarāyaṃ sedhīya* ; 312, 8, *dattāyaṃ* (sc. *kaṇṇāyaṃ*) *na pabhavai sayāṇo rāyā vā* ; 210, 1, *rāyaṃ* ("at night") ; 310, 24, *Pabhankarāyaṃ nayaṛīyaṃ*.

Feminine locatives in *-āyaṃ* and *-īyaṃ* have hitherto not been known to occur in any literary Pkt dialect. Their genuineness is, however, corroborated not only by the corresponding Pali forms, but also by one solitary form which Pischel (§ 388) quotes from a Pallava Grant : "Loc. sing. *Āpittīyaṃ* (6, 37), i.e. *Āpittīyaṃ* = *Āpittīyām*, i.e. the Pali form." Now if *-āyaṃ* and *-īyaṃ* are genuine archaisms, it is obvious that *-āya* and *-īya* must also be recognized as such—which in the case of the dative in *-āya* has, of course, never been doubted. We have thus throughout an archaic form in *-ya*, a normal one in *-e*, and we may therefore ask ourselves whether we have not here to do with a uniform and purely phonetic development of final *-ya* after a long vowel into *-e*. This would remove the difficulties with which the explanation of the dat. sing. in *-āe* is beset (cf. P, § 364), and would make it unnecessary to have recourse to the Brāhmaṇa form *mālāyai* for the explanation of Pkt *mālāe* (P, § 375). But whether this be accepted or not, it is at least obvious that the substitution of a dative in *-āe* for that in *-āya* cannot be separated from the substitution of fem. *-āe*, *-īe* for *-āya*, *-īya* ; if both changes are not the result of the same phonetic law the former must be due to analogy with the latter.

One of the most interesting and remarkable archaic forms preserved in Vh is an abl. sing. m. n. in *-aṃ*. I have noted it only thrice : 6, 13, . . . *tao nissaranto dukkha-maraṇaṃ* = *tato nirasarisyaḍ*¹ *dukkha-maraṇāt*, "then he would have escaped a miserable death" ; 146, 29,

¹ The use of the present participle as conditional, taught by Hemacandra (iii, 180 ; cf. Jacobi, *Bhavisatta Kaha*, § 35. In JErz no instance occurs, cf. JErz, § 112), is remarkably frequent in Vh. I have noted no less than nineteen cases, of which a few may be quoted here : 149, 11, *jai jānanto, na ento* ! "Had I known (this), I should not have come (with you) !" 126, 6, *jai esa vaggho honto, to paḍiyaṃ mamaṃ langhento*—*na esa vaggho*, "If this were a tiger he would attack me who has fallen down—this is no tiger !" 110, 25, . . . *kiṃ puṇa tumāṃ si aṇṇesiṃ sāhintaṃ*, " (I should love to tell you), but you would tell others !" 120, 14, *aḥaṃ jai pamāṇa niggao honto, to mi bandhaṃ pāvento*, "Had I stepped out by an oversight I should have been arrested." 228, 25, *jai si na intī tise vā rūvaṃ na daṃsentī, to mi vivaṇṇo honto*, "Had you not come

pavvaya-kandaram viniggayā = *parvata-kandarād vinirgatau*; 227, 24, *cukkā si āyāram* = *bhraṣṭāsy ācārāt*. There can be no doubt that the forms in *-am* are ablatives: none of the verbs *nihsarati*, *vinirgacchati*, *cukkai* = *bhraṣyati* could be constructed with any other case. Now an abl. sing. m. n. in *-am* may at first sight appear rather strange and doubtful. Yet the development of final *-āt* into *-am* is in perfect accordance with the phonetic laws of Pkt, cf. P, §§ 339; 75; 114; 181. Pischel says in § 114: "AMg *sakkham* = *sāksāt* (Hc i, 24; Uttar. 116, 370; Ovav.), besides Ś. *sakkhā* (Mallikām., 190, 19). AMg *hēttham* besides AMg JM *hētthā* (§ 107) is an accusative besides an ablative; the same may be the case with *sakkham*." The three forms preserved in Vh enable us to decide with absolute certainty that *sakkham* and *hēttham* are regular ablatives going directly back to *sāksāt* and *adhasthāt*. Their preservation is doubtless due to the fact that they were used as adverbs and therefore no longer felt to be ablatives.

An additional proof is once again furnished by the Pali, where the abl. sing. in *-am* also exists, though it is unknown to the official grammar.¹ Cf. e.g. the well-known stanza Dhammapada 314 (= *Samy. Nik.*, vol. i, p. 49): *akataṃ dukkataṃ seyyo, pacchā tapati dukkataṃ / kataṃ ca sukataṃ seyyo, yaṃ katvā nānutappati*, the first pāda of which is quite correctly rendered in the *Udānavarga* (xxix, v. 53, "B 41" in Pischel's edition) by: *akṛtaṃ kukṛtāc chreyaḥ* . . . It is clear that in the 3rd pāda, too, we have to translate *kṛtāc ca sukrtaṃ śreyaḥ* . . . Or cf. *Jātaka* 458, 13d: *kattha-tthito para-lokaṃ na bhāye?* "Being in which condition need he not fear the other world?" But it is well known that the verb *bhī* is never constructed with the accusative, but regularly with the ablative, exceptionally with the genitive.

or had you not shown me her figure, I should have died." 36, 11, *jai te piyā jivanto, tumhaṃ vā īs'attha kusalo honto, to na esa erisa-sirīe bhāyaṇaṃ honto evaṃ siṃghādagatiya-caukka-caccara-rachāmuhesu uvalalanto viharejja!* "If your father were alive, or if you were skilled in the science of archery, this fellow would not enjoy such prosperity nor would he thus roam about sportively in . . ." Further instances will be found in Vh 13, 26; 16, 25; 51, 21; 71, 22; 135, 16; 137, 2, 21; 106, 18 (read: *devaṃ si* . . .); 168, 14; 169, 2; 228, 1; 248, 19.—The last of the sentences just quoted has already shown that for the expression of the *modus irrealis* the optative may be used as well. Other instances of this occur, e.g. 17, 4; 109, 2; 135, 30; 322, 16. The two conditional periods 16, 25 f., and 17, 4, are both clear examples of the *modus irrealis*. Yet in the first case the present part. is used, in the second the optative. It is very interesting to notice that Hemacandra in his rendering of the story in question (*Parīkṣitaparvan*, i, 46 ff.) translates the present participles by conditionals (i, 60), but the optatives by optatives (i, 72).

¹ I owe the knowledge of the Pali ablative in *-am* and of the passages quoted below to Professor Lüders of Berlin.

The verse Dhammapada 201: *jayam veram pasavati* is usually interpreted: "He who conquers (*jayam*!) creates (*pasavati*) hatred." But a much more natural interpretation, corresponding much better to the last pāda "*hivā jaya-parājayam*", is: *jayād vairam prasravati*, "from victory arises hatred." There can also be no doubt that Dhammapada 49: *yathāpi bhamaro puppham vaṇṇa-gandham aheṭṭhayaṃ/paleti rasam ādāya, evaṃ gāme munī care* must be translated: "And as the bee, having taken the juice, flies away from the flower (*puspāt*!) without damaging its colour and smell, even so . . ." It can be shown that in the dialect from which the Pali scriptures were translated the abl. in *-am* was more frequent. But as in AMg and JM, only those forms are preserved which had the good fortune of being either overlooked or misunderstood.

A few pronominal forms also deserve to be mentioned. In Vh *mayā* = Skt. *mayā* is the most usual form of the inst. sing. of *aham*; it occurs several hundreds of times. This form is nowhere even mentioned in P, though it had been duly recorded by Jacobi (JErz, § 43). It seems, however, that in JErz it occurs only once (10, 1), so that Pischel may have regarded this solitary form as a Sanskritism. In the acc. sing. Pischel restricts the use of *me* to AMg, of *te* to AMg, Ś, Mg, but we find the acc. *me* Vh 43, 26; 44, 8; 105, 18; 140, 7; etc., acc. *te* 65, 11; 81, 29; 84, 7; 87, 30; 221, 20. In the loc. sing. Pischel knows *mai* in Ś only: it occurs Vh 150, 25; 241, 13. Besides, we read Vh 282, 21, the form *mamamhi*, which is wanting in P.

According to P, §§ 419; 422, the plural forms *ṇe* and *bhe* are used as follows: *ṇe*, acc. M, AMg, inst. gen. only AMg; *bhe*, nom. taught by one grammarian (Caṇḍa), acc. inst. only AMg; gen. AMg and JM. In Vh we find: *ṇe*, acc. 121, 13; 134, 27; inst. 233, 27; gen. 43, 3; 70, 24; 73, 23; 94, 16 et passim, besides acc. pl. *ṇam* (read *ṇe*?), 70, 23; 230, 23. *bhe*, nom. 99, 26; 125, 13; acc. 118, 4, 8; 153, 23; 367, 17; inst. 101, 4; 108, 3; 112, 10; 115, 26; etc.; gen. in common use. According to P, § 422, the gen. pl. *vo* = *vaḥ* is used in M, Ś, and the Pallava Grants, but not traceable in other dialects: it occurs Vh 211, 27; 224, 3; 351, 2. Besides, an unmistakable nominative *vo* is found Vh 88, 21.

bhe is explained by Pischel as the result of a weakening of *tubbhe*, due to absence of accent (§ 422). This explanation is confirmed by a hitherto unknown form found in Vh; a genitive *mhe* bears exactly the same proportion to *tumhe* as *bhe* to *tubbhe*. I have therefore no doubt as to its genuineness, even though it occurs only four times

within thirty consecutive lines of the text: 213, 8, *ahavā to [tubbhe]*¹ *bhūeṇa keṇai mhe*² *umhā*³ *hojjā*? "Or should you have got fever through some demon?" 213, 15: *na mhe umhā sarīrassa*, "You have no fever!" 213, 18: *kerisaṃ mhe*⁴ *sarīrassa*? "How is your health (lit. the state of your body)?" 214, 2: *mama pasāeṇa mhe*⁵ *kajja-siddhī*. The readings of the MSS. plainly show that *mhe* was unfamiliar or even unintelligible to the scribes so that they tried to eliminate it—which for us is an additional proof of its correctness and authenticity.

It would be easy to add a long list of other forms, words, etc., occurring in Vh which are either completely wanting in P or attributed by Pischel to AMg only. A brief enumeration of at least some of them may be given in conclusion.

āyā = *ātman* (§ 88, also JŚ *ādā*), 130, 16; -*tra* after long vowel becomes -*ya* (§ 87): *gāya* = *gātra*, 73, 12; 196, 10; 320, 14; 328, 21; *goya* = *gotra*, 159, 14; *vidiyā* = *vidyā* (not in P), 88, 14; *nītiyaṃ* = *nītiyaṃ* (not in P), 178, 27; *ahe* = *adhas* (§ 345), 152, 3; 155, 18; *ahe-loga*, 159, 20; *uyāhu* (§ 85), 59, 9; 151, 13; *udāhu*, 12, 6; 37, 20; 47, 27; 126, 23; 135, 28; 142, 30; voc. *rāyaṃ*! (§ 399, not in JErz), 128, 30; 131, 9; 234, 4, 9; 244, 13, *et passim*; nom. pl. *bahave* (§ 380, "in JM probably wrong for *bahavo*") 52, 19; 234, 27; 310, 22; 323, 26; nom. pl. *gāvo* = *gāvaḥ* (not in P, § 393, but cf. Geiger, *Pāli*, § 88), 181, 28; *gāo* = *gāvaḥ* (§ 393), 182, 3; *kāladhammuṇā saṃjutta* (§ 404, p. 284 bottom), 75, 25; 284, 20, 25; 286, 20; 287, 4; 298, 15; 299, 9; 304, 4, 5, 7, 9. Absolutives: in -*tāṇaṃ* (§ 583): *bharettāṇaṃ*, 53, 27; *pakkhālettāṇaṃ*, 247, 20; *uddissa* = *uddisya* (not P, § 590), 14, 8; *paḍucca* (§ 590), 5, 17; 10, 23; 280, 31; 311, 13; 342, 16; 360, 26; *pappa* = *prāpya* (§ 591 AMg and JŚ), 235, 5; *āyāya* = *ādāya* (§ 591 AMg and JŚ) 163, 20.

Vh has presented us a picture of JM materially different from that which is familiar to us from P and JErz. Its main features are: first, an even much closer affinity to AMg than that prevailing between ordinary JM and AMg (cf. P § 20)—we are markedly nearer the time when JM came first into being as an individual dialect, distinct from AMg. Secondly a great number of archaisms and other interesting

¹ Inserted, because the following *mhe* had become unintelligible!

² Only one MS. reads thus, all others have *se*.

³ The editors print *uggā* which gives no sense; cf. the next passage.

⁴ One MS. reads thus, the others have *he*.

⁵ All MSS. but one read *mhi*.

peculiarities which not only in themselves are valuable additions to our knowledge, but also help to elucidate many a dark point of Pkt grammar and linguistic history. Ultimately the great problems of the origin and true character of AMg and JM, of their development, and their relations to each other as well as to the other Pkt dialects, the Pali, etc., are raised anew and demand new answers.¹ A discussion of them is, however, quite beyond the compass of the present paper, the aim of which has merely been to make known the new material supplied by Vh and to direct the attention of fellow Indologists to a field of research which in my opinion badly needs new tilling.

¹ The conclusions arrived at by Jacobi in his paper "Über das Prakrit in der Erzählungsliteratur der Jainas" (*Rivista degli Studi Orientali*, 1908-9, pp. 231 ff.) will have to be modified.

Yazdi

By H. W. BAILEY

WHILE I was in Isfahān at the end of June, 1932, a young Zardushtī of Yazd, Jamshīd Khodā-morād Rashīdī, came to see me before going on to his school in Shīrāz. We met four times, and before leaving he requested an acquaintance of his, a young man, Jamshīd Qobād, who was visiting Isfahān, to come to see me. Qobād's home was with his parents in Teheran, so that he had little opportunity to use this dialect. In August of the same year I was able to visit Yazd for one week, and there found a young Zardushtī school-teacher, Ardešīr Mehrabān Mazkūrī, born in the neighbouring village of Maryābād (or Mōriābād). We met several times. He gave me the following list of eighteen villages where Zardushtīs lived: xoramšāh, xēirābād, ahrestān, zeinābād, mōriābād, hasanābād, nōsratābād, nasriābād, elābād, hosseinābād, mehdiābād, aliābād, mazree ardešīr, kūče bīūk, yāsemābād, čem, mobāreke, taft. In yāsemābād he said that only Zardushtīs were found. I was able to visit Taft and to spend a short time there, speaking with some Zardushtīs. The words I was able to write down showed little difference from the language used in Yazd. Mazkūrī, however, gave me many differences between town and village pronunciation, and a few differences of vocabulary. It would be useful to have a full linguistic study of the whole district.

The sixteen tales which follow all suffer to some extent by being translations or adaptations either from Persian or from English. The translators have not always freed themselves from the Persian of the original.

In the pronunciation, ō and ū were at times hard to distinguish. As to æ (indicated by a in the texts) it seems to have been the usual sound for Rashīdī and Qobād, whereas a¹ was commoner in Mazkūrī's pronunciation. Length of vowel varied also.

MORPHOLOGY

Pronoun

Nom. independent: me, ta, ū, īn, īne, mō, šemō, šmō, fe, īsūn.

Possessive suffixed: om ot oš mō dō šō.

Obj. infixed:	-m-, me-, om, mē	mō mū
	ta tā de	šmō šemū
	oš	īe

¹ a is used for the sound [æ].

Obj. with ō, vū "wish, must".

me de še mō dō šō.

Agent with Pret. :

em mem	mō mōmō
od tad	dō šemōdō
oš ūoš, ūš	šō iešō, išūnšō

Agent with Perf. and Pluperf. :

mī dī šī	mō dō šō
mi di šī	mo do šo

Verb

Present and Preterite bases are distinguished. Intransitive Preterite is expressed by the -t participle and verb substantive; Transitive Preterite by -t participle and agent form of pronoun.

Verb Substantive.

<i>Pres. Indicative</i>		<i>Copula.</i>	<i>Pres. Conjunctive.</i>
me	he	e	be, vébe
ta	hī	ī	
ū	ha	on, ō, un, ūn	
mō	hīm	hīm	
šemō	hīd	hīd	
išūn	hend	en	

Verbal Paradigm.

<i>Pres. Indicative.</i>		<i>Negative.</i>	<i>Pres. Conjunctive.</i>
mékra	-kre -ékra	me nákrime	-vékre
tákrī	-ekrī	ta nákriye	-vékrī
ūkra	-ekra { mīnfīd sejīt }	ū nákre	-vékra
mōkrīm	-ekrīm	mō nákrime	-vékrīm
šemōkrīd	-ekrīd	šemō nákrīte	-vékrīd
iekren	-ekren	išūn nákre	-vékren
išūnekren			

Imperfect : -ka -ka

méka	mōka
déka	dōka
šéka	šōka

According to Mazkūrī ka was the pronunciation of the town, ka of the village.

Transitive Preterite.

mémká	ómka
tadka	ódka

Negative.

memnáka	-omnáka
tadnáka	

ũošká	óška	ũšnaka
mõmõka	móka	mõmõnáka
šemõdõka	dóka	šemodonáka
išũnšõka	šõka	išũn šonáka

Transitive Perfect.

me mikárta
ta dikarta
u šikarta
momokárta
šmodokárta
iešokarta

Negative

me minekárta etc.

Transitive Pluperfect.

me mikártaba
di-, ši-, mo-, do-, šo-

Negative.

me minekártaba etc.

Transitive Pluperfect II (karde bũde am)

me mikártebda
di-, ši-, mo-, -do-, šo-

Negative.

me minekártebda etc.

Intransitive Preterite.

me	rásõd-e	bõi, bõie
ta	rasõd-i	bõi
ũ	rásõd	ba, bõ, bũt
mõ	rasõd-ĩm	bõĩm
šemõ	rasõd-id	bõĩd
išũn	rasõd -án, -ánd	bõieĩd

Intransitive Pluperfect.

bedábõie	bedáboĩm
bedáboĩ	bedábõĩd
bedába	bedábõieĩd

*Imperative.**Negative.*

2 Sg. mákũ
2 Pl. mákũd
3 Pl. nákren

na- in place of ma- in the 2 pers. was censured by Mazkũrĩ.

Infinitive.

- (1) -tvũn, -tũn, -dũn, -vũn.
(2) -t infinitive.

váχte dævdr̥t

váχte dævõrna

Frequent with *véo* "must": *oš-véū čed* "must gather"; *oš-véo ašnōft* "must hear"; *véo ša* "must go"; *om-vāū parsōd* "I must ask"; *nāūtōma, náōtōma* "must not come"; *nāōša* "must not go"; *nāōka* "must not make".

Passive.

Expressed by the verbs *bōdvūn* and *ōmdvūn*.

venōdábō: *mō gūve venōdábō* "this ball was thrown".

mārt ōma "was broken"; *mārti ōmdabō* "was broken"; *menešti ōmda* "was written"; *menéšte tōd* "is written"; *nōdi ōmdaba* "was placed".

List of Verbs

<i>amōrz-</i>		"pardon"
	<i>biāmōrzī, membīāmōrzūn.</i>	
<i>arōtvūn</i>		"grind"
	<i>méare táari, íne ará, arím, -š ōrt.</i>	
<i>arvāštūn, arvāstvūn, arvāštūn</i>		"leap"
	<i>mene áreveza "mījehad".</i>	
	<i>arvāšt, ārvāšt.</i>	
<i>ašnōftvūn, ašnōptvūn</i>		"hear"
	<i>me šnáve, me šnāvé.</i>	
	<i>memašnōft, memašnōft (tad-, íneš-), ošašnōft,</i>	
	<i>šōašnōft.</i>	
	<i>Inf. ašnōft: ošvéō ašnōft.</i>	
<i>bārtvūn</i>		"bear"
	<i>mébre mébre bren. Conj. méō gī vébre.</i>	
	<i>membārt, šōbā, íēšūbārt.</i>	
	<i>Inf. ošvāū bārte.</i>	
<i>bāštūn</i>		"bind"
	<i>me bénne, meūbénne. Imperat. máben.</i>	
	<i>membāšt, šobāšt.</i>	
<i>baχšōd</i>		"bestow"
	<i>me vebāχše.</i>	
	<i>membāχšōd, ošbaχšōd.</i>	
<i>bōdvūn, bodvūn</i>		"become"
	<i>Pres. 3 Sg. būt. Conj. 3 Sg. vébe, būd.</i>	
	<i>Pret. bōi, bōie, bōi, ba, bō, būt, bōim, bōíd, bōiénd.</i>	
	<i>Pluperf. bedábōie, bedábōe, bedáboi, bedába,</i>	
	<i>bedáboim, bedábōíd, bedábōiénd.</i>	
	<i>Imperat. be, vebe.</i>	

brīdvūn, burīdvūn	(1) "cut", (2) "kill"
me vébrine. 3 Sg. brīna.	
membrīd.	
čar-	"graze"
Pres. 3 Plur. čāren.	
čašnōdvūn	"join"
me čāšne, memčašnōd.	
čedvūn	(1) "gather", (2) "weave"
me véčine.	
memčed, oščed.	
Inf. ošvéū čed.	
čērzōd	"complain"
3 Sg. pret.	
čoš-	"taste"
Imperat. véčoš.	
darīdvūn	"tear"
me védrine, memdrīd.	
dāšvūn	"sew"
me védarze, memdāšt.	
dāvōdvūn	"run"
3 Plur. davén.	
3 Plur. davōden, me . . . davōde.	
dāvōrtvūn	"turn"
me védre.	
me dvārte. 3 Sg. dāvārt.	
Inf. vāχte vedrīt.	
vāχte devārt.	
dāvōrna	"turn" (tr.)
Inf. vāχte dāvōrna.	
dīd	"see"
Pres. see vīn.	
memdīd mōmōdīd omdīd mōdīd	
taddīd šemōdōdīd oddīd dōdīd	
īešōdīd ošdīd šodīd	
me mīdīdāba, dīdīdāba, šīdīdāba, momōdīdāba,	
šemōdōdīdāba, īšūnšōdīdāba.	
Inf. om véō dīdé.	
dōdvūn	"give"
mēte, me . . . ete, me . . . āte, pétē "I give".	
3 Sg. éta.	

	Neg. 2 Sg. nátie.	
	Conj. 3 Pl. áden, aten.	
	Imperat. 2 Sg. adém (be-mé "to me").	
	Pret. memdōd, omdōd, ošdōd, še sár dō, tōt, oštōd.	
	Perf. -š dōde, iešōméidōda "did not give me".	
dortvūn		"have"
	me dōre. Neg. nádōre. 2 Sg. dōrí, dōrí, dōrí. 3 Sg.	
	dōrá, dōra. 1 Pl. dōrím, dōrím. 3 Pl. dōrén.	
	Pret. memdōšt, ošdōšt, -štōš, -šdōšt, -šdōrt.	
dōšōdvūn		"milk"
	me vedūšen, memdōšōd.	
gašvūn		"bite"
	me géze, mešgáš.	
gertvūn		"turn"
	me gérte, me gertōde.	
grāfvūn, grāftūn		"take"
	Pres. mé pnōré. me zém gōre "I learn".	
	Fut. gūrē.	
	Pret. omgrāft, meme zem grāpt, zem grāft.	
henōdvūn		"put"
	Village pron. = town pron. nōdvūn.	
herídvūn		"buy"
	me heríne, me véríne.	
	memhríd, šeherít.	
	Imperat. vérin.	
hermondvūn		"command"
	me véhermōne, memhermōníd.	
hrōtvūn		"sell"
	me véroše, memh ^e rōt.	
jom-		"move"
	3 Sg. jóme.	
jomnōd		"move"
	me jōmne, me jōmnōde.	
kapt		"fall"
	Pres. tebe ka "falls", tebe ke "I fall".	
	Pret. káft, kapt.	
	Pluperf. kápteba.	
kartvūn.	See Paradigm above	"make"
	Inf. ka (náōka, omvéūka).	
	Imperative 2 Sg. mākū, nákūd, nákude.	

kāšt	“ plant ”
kōrén, šōkđšt (village pron.).	
šōkđšt (town pron.).	
kenōdvūn	“ dig ”
me vékene memkenōd.	
kešōdvūn	“ draw ”
me keše.	
memkešōd oškešōd kešōd.	
kōštṽm, kōšvūn	(1) “ throw ”, (2) “ strike ”, “ shoot ”
me békude.	
me me gūlkōš “ I deceive ”.	
memkōšt -škōšt me me gūlkōšt.	
Perf. 3 Sg. kōšte.	
kušt-	“ kill ”
kūsim.	
kušte bōien.	
lešt	“ lick ”
Pres. 3 Sg. lésa, vélesá.	
Pret. -š lešt.	
mart	“ break ”
1 Sg. emare, me vémare. 3 Sg. mārđ,	
memmārt, ommārt, ōšmārt.	
mārtī ōmdabō, mārtōma “ was broken ”.	
Participle mārta “ broken ”.	
mārt ^v ūn	“ die ”
me vé mre.	
Pret. me marte, mārte, ta martī, ū mart, mō martim,	
šemō martid, išūn martan, mārten.	
Partic. mārta “ dead ”.	
mekōd	“ suck ”
īne mékâ, ōšmekōd.	
menōdvūn	“ remain ”
me mīne. 3 Sg. mīna, mīnīd. 2 Pl. mīnīd. 3 Pl.	
mēnan.	
me menōd.	
vō menud “ was exhausted ”.	
mnesōdvūn	“ write ”
me vé mnese.	
me mnēšt, ošmenēš. Perf. 2 Sg. dī menēšta.	
Pass. menēšti ōmda, menēšte tōd.	

mōlidvūn	me mōle, mémōlid.	"rub"
našvūn	našvūn	"sit"
	me nīge, me ūnīge, īne nīga, me nāšte. 3 Sg. nāšt, našt. Pluperf. našta bōien. Imperat. 2 Sg. ma-nīg. 2 Pl. ūnīgīd.	
neftvūn	me vėnīve. me . . . nēf, de . . . nēf, še . . . nēft, ōšnēpte, memnēft. me mī néptaba (-neft-) šīneptaba. ušīnépta.	"send"
nōdvūn; cf. henōdvūn	me tu mōtōr nenóm "put me into the motor". nōd, šonōd, šonūd, ōšnōde. nōdī, ōmdaba.	"put"
ōmvūn, ōmdvūn	tōe tōī tōd, tūd tōīm tōīd tōiénd Pret. me ōmōye mō ōmōyīm Neg. néiōmda. ta ōmōyi šemō ōmōyīd ū ōmā išūn ōmōyénd. Pluperf. ōmdaba. Participle ōmdá. Imperat. bíōr, bíū, bíōīd. Inf. náōtōma.	"come"
ōrtvūn	me tōré, tōré, mé tōre, etōrén. Conj. 3 Sg. bíōra. Pret. ošōrt. Inf. ošvāū tōrté.	"bring"
parōdvūn	me pāré. 3 Pl. parōdén.	"fly"
parsōdvūn	me pāse, memepārsōd, ošparsōd.	"ask"
pāχvūn	me vépeše, mempāχt.	"cook"
pāmōd	pahmend, vėfahme. Conj. 3 Pl. vėfáhmen. Pret. pāmōd.	"understand"
pīčōd	me vėpīče, me pīčōde.	"twist"

pōš-	ōve pōšá "he sprinkles water".	"sprinkle"
prontvūn	me aprone, me pnōré, me pnōre, me prōne. 3 Sg. -e pnōrd.	"take"
	memprōnt, óšpnōrt, pnōrt prōnt, ošprōn, óšoprōnt.	
	Perf. Neg. 3 Sg. naprōnte.	
ranjōdvūn	mé ranje, me ranjōde.	"be troubled"
ranjnōd	mé ranjne, memranjnōd.	"trouble"
rasōdvūn	me ráse, rasīm. Conj. 3 Sg. náresi. Pret. see verbal paradigm above.	"reach"
retvūn	me ríje, me úrije. 3 Sg. ríja. mémret.	"pour"
roft	íne rūvā. ōšróft.	"sweep"
rōnōdvun	me rōne, memrōnōd.	"drive"
sat		"weigh"
senjōdvūn,	me sénje. -š sāt.	
sej-	3 Sg. sejíd, sējī, sejít, séja, sežid.	"burn" (intr.)
sōtvūn	me vésoje. 2 Sg. sōjī. Conj. 3 Sg. vésūja. memsōt.	"make"
sūjnōd	me sūžne, me vésūžne, íne sūžna. Conj. me vésūžne, memsūžnōd, sūjnōd, sūžnōd, sūžnōd.	"burn" (tr.)
sūin-	me sūine. 3 Sg. sūina.	"burn" (tr.)
šálodūn		"to limp"
šemōrdvūn	me véšmōre, memšmōrd.	"count"

šenōsōdvūn	"know"
me béšnāse, memšenāsođ.	
šedédvūn	"take"
mésne, tášni, šiná, inešná, ešná, ášnen, móšnim, šmōšnid, išunešnén.	
Pret. om šedéd, odšedéd, oššedéd, -š šidéd, mōmō- šedéd, šmōdōšdéd, iešōšdéd, šōštéd.	
Perf. me mišdédá, tá dišdédá, šišdédá, mōmōšdédá, šmōdōš- dédá, išūnšōdédá.	
Inf. ošváu šdedé.	
šnōšt	"put"
-ōš šnošt, -ōš šnōžd.	
vaštūn	"run", "run away"
me véze.	
me vášte.	
venōdvūn	"throw"
1 Sg. evéne, ine véna. Conj. 3 Pl. venén.	
Pret. 3 Sg. vén, ošvén, venōd. 1 Pl. venōdím.	
3 Pl. šovenōd.	
Pass. venōdábō.	
vīj	"sift"
me víje, ūvíje.	
vīn-	"see"
vévīne, vévinī, vévīna, vévīnim, šemō, vévīnid, išūn vévīnend.	
Imperat. vévin.	
viōsvūn	"wish", "must"
Pres. ō, vū, ū, vūd, ōde, véō, véū.	
Neg. návate.	
Pret. véviōste, šéviōst, déviōst.	
vīštūn	"stand"
me víšte, me víštōde.	
bári me víšte "stood by me".	
vizdrt (village = town dāvdrt)	"turn"
Inf. vaḡte vézrit.	
vəzorna	"turn" (tr.)
Inf. vaḡte vəzōrna.	
vōptvūn	"weave"
mé vōpe, memvōpt.	

vōrtvūn	"bring"
me bīōre, biōre.	
memvōrt, ošvūrdt.	
me mī vōrta.	
Imperat. biōr.	
vōtvūn	"say"
3 Sg. vaĵa, vaĵa, váĵe, vévaĵa. 1 Sg. me vévaĵe.	
2 Sg. vajī. 1 Pl. naváĵime.	
Conj. bévaĵa.	
Pret. memvōt, -dvōd, ušvōd, ševōd.	
Perf. šévōta, šōvōta.	
Imperat. beva, veva. náva, máva.	
χart ^v ūn	"eat"
me váχre. Conj. 1 Sg. véχré. Neg. náχre. 3 Sg.	
véχrá, véχra, beχra. 3 Pl. váχren.	
Fut. méχre.	
Pret. memχárt, ošchá.	
Imperat. tā véχō.	
χend	"call"
mé χine mō χinim	
tá χinī šmō χenīd	
ū χina íe χinen, χínen.	
Conj. me vū véχine.	
Pret. moχénd.	
χōfvūn, χōftūn	"sleep"
me χōpté. 1 Sg. χōptūde.	
Pluperf. 3 Sg. χōptūdábō.	
zōdvūn	"be born"
Pres. 3 pl. zōyén.	
zōnōdvūn	"bear children"
me zōne, memzōnōd.	
zōnōdvūn	"know"
me zōne. 2 Sg. zōnī. 3 Sg. ezōna, memzōnōd.	
Perf. Neg. néizōnōda.	

VOCABULARY

adō, with	ār (village), with
adovōi, with	'ar'ar, braying
adovói, ādōvōi, adōvōš	arbōb, arbūb, master
ādkī, money	ārō, from

asb, horse
 asbe, asp-davūnī
 ásta, bone
 aváz, return, substitute

babū, father
 bad, bad
 bād, after
 banáfš, violet
 bār, bar, outside
 be, other
 bé, quince
 bedár, bedére, bdér, father
 benōhā, began
 benōška, benūška, began
 beriūn, a roast
 bidí, again
 bidór, awake
 bígūna, stranger
 bland, high
 bōy, garden
 bōyvūn, gardener
 bōlō, above
 bōna, pretext
 bōr, load
 brī, for
 būmās, grandfather
 būr, time
 hešbūr, hešbūre, never
 ya būrī bé ĵī, again

čakakərá
 vō čakakərá, water is dropping
 čap, left
 čarbī (village pron. čārbī) fat
 čápta, polo-stick
 če, what
 čem, eye
 čen, čend, centa, čem (būr). Pers.
 čand

čerūī, a pasture
 čəmuš, shoe
 čō. Pers. čūn
 čōyōlī, complaint
 čōre, means
 čōχ, sound to drive off dogs
 čūyī ō lōkī, in good condition
 čum, thing
 čūv, wood

dašt, dast, daš, hand
 dašti gōrá, grapes
 daváj, bed
 dāvri, around. Pers. dōr-e
 de-, into
 dē, village
 déná, wasp
 deres, derést, correct
 devár, plur. devárūn, brother;
 dəvéri mas, elder brother; be-
 dverī χā to one's own brother;
 devarōna, adj., brother's
 devúte, inkstand
 dəvūrōdəvūr. Pers. barābar
 dī, Pers. ham, also
 dikartvūn, to find
 šōdika, they found
 dīr. 1 Pers. dūr, far. 2 Pers. dīr,
 late
 dōy. Pers. dāy
 dom, tail
 dombōl, dūmbōl, behind
 dōnī, world
 dōz, dōzz-, thief
 dravš, banner
 draxt, derdχt, tree
 drújna, window
 drūv, false
 émōma, turban; Pers. 'amāmah
 emrūĵ, emrū, to-day

eškám, belly	hešt, mill (?)
ezm, permission	heze, hezze, yesterday
galihém kartvün, to mix	hezvün, tongue
gáli mól, neck	bō zvün, bō zün, with tongue
gap, words	hōdéri asb, horse-keeper
gap kartvün "to speak";	hōl. Pers. ḥāl
gápe-ro, gáfe-ro Acc.	hōša, ear of corn
gārm, hot	hošk, xošk, dry
gāv, gau, (1) down, (2) deep	ja, barley
gāš. Pers. negahdārī kardan	jédī, gum
gennúm, wheat	jegár (village pron. jexár), liver
genz, room	jeldverī. Pers. rū-be-rū
gerd, round	jevün, fine, beautiful
gīr, gīrī, capture	jōlá, yoke
gōmbūr. Pers. gāhānbār, festival	kad, yadd. Pers. qadd
gōr. Pers. gabr; used of the	kalečča, jar
Zarduštī	kappa kartvün, to tear to pieces
górba, cat	kapál. Pers. sarīn
gōri, rūjgōriáka, rūžgōriyáka,	kásōgī, childhood
greeting during the day.	kasók, kasuk, kasōye, small
gōš, ear	ke, who
gōš še gaf ka, he heeded	kémōgī, a little
gōše, corner	kezí (village, kezđ). Pers. kadū,
gū, gūve, ball	gourd
gū, ox. Pers. gāv	kī, that
gūre xer, gūra xer, wild ass	kīe. Pers. kūčah, street
gūra, gōrá, unripe grapes	klóp, cheek
gurg, wolf	kluft, thick
hama, hámá, all	kói, kōyū, where; de-kói, to
hardō-rō, hardutá, both	what place
hárūja, every day	kōná, old
heči, none	kōr, kūr, work
hendī, water-melon	kūr, blind
herdú, to-morrow	korbūn. Pers. qurbān
heš, hīš, plough	lōyar, thin
heš, none	lōkī, see čūγī
heš vaχt, never	lōnj, lip
hēske, no one	lop, mouth (?)

mārd, kind of grape
 mas, mas, great
 massére, greater
 māšīn, motor car
 mǎxe, lost
 mehr, friendliness
 meimūn, (1) guest, (2) monkey
 memás, grandmother
 memū, mother
 mer, mother
 mérdōg, man
 meš, sheep
 méyūne, middle
 mīd, hair
 mīr, husband

mīre xā, one's own husband

mō, this
 mōl, neck
 mōmne, now
 mōne, mūne, here
 mōr, seal. Pers. muhr
 mōšg(e), mouse
 mosolvūn, Musulman

nafahmī, lack of understanding
 nam, wet
 nārm, soft
 narmī,
 nāšt, uneducated
 naḡaš, unhappy
 náḡod, lentil
 nē, now
 nebdí, now. Pers. ḡālā dīgar
 nemak', salt
 nīmrú, mid-day
 nūm, name
 nūma. Pers. nāmāh
 nūr, pomegranate

ō. Pers. ān
 ō, vō, water

ō, vō, and
 ōbéd, religious man
 ōbí, blue
 ōhessá, softly
 ōhōša, lamenting
 ōhōnōla, lamenting
 on. Pers. ān
 ōné, there
 órt, flour
 ōsúrí, a headstall
 oštor, hoštor, camel
 ōtés, fire
 otráfe, ōtrápe, surroundings
 ōḡári kōr, finally

palí, side
 pān, wide
 parande, bird
 parr, wing
 pássīn, evening
 peiōm, message
 pešōr, pressure
 pešsheherdú, day after to-morrow
 pī, fat
 pīr, old
 pīši, to
 pō, pū, foot
 por, pōr, pūr, full
 porzūr, strong
 pōr, son
 pórike, son
 pōrōg, pl. pōrōgūn, son, boy
 pōška, put on one's back ?
 prū, down. Pers. furūd. prū šō,
 furūd raft

ra, ra, rā, road
 rauza. Pers. rauzah
 raz, grapes
 reš, beard

rī, upon. Pers. rū	šau ⁷ , šāv, night
še rī, upon	šáχ, šaχ, firm, hard
rō, road	še, to
rōγ, vein	šékar, sugar
rōst, true	šiv, down
rōsvō, cheat	še šivī bōr, under the load
rúbás, fox	šōd, happy
rūj, day	šūná, shoulder
ya rūjī be, another day	
rūj gōriáka, ružgōriyáka, greeting	tāl, bitter
during the day	tang, narrow
rūja, a fast	tar, fresh
rūva, soft skin (Pers. sifāle narm)	tāšna, thirsty
(of wheat)	tāšnegī, thirst
	tavīla, stables
sábō, morning	téki ra, small part of the way
sábōxeir, sábōxeira, sábōxára	tel, body
greeting in the morning	tenhō, alone
sag, dog	tep, tep káft, he fell; tebe ke,
sára bōlūi. Pers. gardanah	I fall
sarbōzī pír, an old soldier	tīd, mulberry
sarošiv, head down	tīj, sharp
sarvōn, leader of caravan	tolōpī, recompense
sáuzi, greenness	tong, vessel
savz, green	tōrfik, dark
sején, sējén, needle	troš, trōš, sour
senjéd. Pers. sinjad	
serv, cypress-tree	váčča, child
sīō, black	vaččegī, childhood
sīrat. Pers. šūrat	vārf, snow
sōát, hour	vāšná, hungry
som, hoof	vāšnegī, hunger
sōr, red	vāter, vātér, vātár, better
sū—ū-sū, at that time	vaxt, time
svid, sevíd, white	verrá, lamb
	veš, more
šabexara, šavōxeir, šavōxeira,	véster, more
greeting at night	vī, víkār. Pers. bī-kār.
šār, šahr, city (village pron. šār,	vī-pōida. Pers. bifāidah
šār)	vid, willow

vīōvūn, desert	χīb (village pron.), χūb, good
vīr, memory	χīn, blood
vis-sōlegī, twenty years of age	χīšōγōm, relatives. Pers. χ ^{vis} u
vō, ō, water	gaum
vōdēm, man	χodo, χado, with
vōdīm, almond	χodō, God
vōj, voice, shout, noise	χōmūš, silent
vōkre, I open	χórdekra, he grinds
vōvizūn—me vōvizūnka, I	χošk, hošk, dry
suspend	χrōv, ruined. Pers. χarāb
vōzōd (village pron. ōzōd), free	χūb, good
	χūnendegī, calling
χadoš, himself.	
χā, one's own	
χālōni, desolation, ruin	zārd, yellow
χam gardeši, winding road	zē, bowstring
χar, ass	zem, memory. Pers. yād
χargerī, folly	zénda, alive
χaš, well	zéndegī, life
χašhūl, happy	zevin, earth
χevār, sister	ziōd, ziūd, more
χda, χədə, house	zūr—me . . . zūršekre, I press it

I

ya rūji ya χarī χado yak hoštōr piše yak arbōb kōr eška. voske kōr eškardaba lōyari bedāba. arbūboš hardōrō be-sahrū še sār dō. mie hem šōénd va yak čerūī šōdfika. va tō čend vaχtī vō uō sāuzī šoχa va hōl ōmoyen. yak rūji χar vōj ošdōšt o 'ar'ar oška. hoštōr bīčora harči dōd oškōšt vōje χa mākū χadōmī páhmend va tōen va mōprōnén va dobōra bōr mō bōr ekrén va dar mosibát mōvenén. vali χar χeili χargerī-š ka va gōše gap náka ušvōd ki χūnendegīye bedérom me vīrī ōmda va me vū véχīne. dar on vaχt be-hokme χodō yak χadōmī az ōtrapé devárt. sarvōn vōjoš ošašnōft va dombōli vōjoš ša. χeili ra naša gī yak χam-gardeši ōma. ošdid gī ya χar o ōštōrī čūyī ō lōki dar mūne čāren. ōsūri hardutá ōšprōn ošvūrdt va še šivī bōr oškešōd. hoštōr ōtés be-del vōji kasōye dōšnūm še χare dōt. az nafahmiye χar dōbora šō girī venōdīm. hoštōr dōyī ziūd ke dar déloš nōdī ōmdaba piši χadoš ševōd dobāra tolōpī še vōkreh dōy o margī χar vaχtoš gi būd ya téki ra ki ša χar benōška šalodūn. šodid ki χar šali bedá. bōroš šōšted [va bōroš šōšted] va šonōd sar bōri oštōrī bičora. hoštōr

I

Once an ass with a camel was working for a master. So much did they work that they became thin. The master let them both loose in the fields. They went and found a pasturage, and for some time they drank the water and ate the herbage and came to a good condition. One day the ass gave voice and brayed. Although the unfortunate camel cried out, Stop braying, someone will hear, and come and take us and again bring us to our burdens and throw us into misfortune, yet the ass persisted in his folly and would not listen, but said, The braying of my father has come into my mind, and I wish to bray. At that time by command of God someone passed by. The caravan-leader heard his voice, and followed his voice. He had not gone far when he came to a winding way. He saw an ass and a camel grazing there in a fat condition. He took hold of the headstalls of both, and brought them and placed them under the loads. The camel, fire in heart, in a low voice cursed the ass, Through the ass's stupidity we have again been taken. The camel, with great indignation in his heart, said to himself,

ðhessá piši xádoš ošvôd bah bah xûb kôri môka. bedî yak téki rá ki ša xar vomenud va dast o pōyoš šobašt va šonūd sar bōri hoštór čéroki. bōrōš kešôd. hoštóri bičōra piši xádoš čērzdôd va šō tō rásūden be yak sára bōlūi. injō sarošiv vauvyôsti ša. hoštōr benôška arvâštūn. xar benûška ðhônôla késodūn ki máne tébe ke. hoštór jēvūboš ošdôd ke de-vîr etôd ki narmî devôd xūnendegîye badêrôd de-vîrî ômda. va mé dî arvaštūni mérôm me vîrî ômda. hoštór arvâšt va xar šē gáu venôd. xar ke az béri oštór gáu kapt va ásta-š márt oma va mart.

az mo hekāyatē mālim on nasihāte xádōmî ki gōš nákrime vaḫti mukôpôt rasim mēslî ki xar rasôd. temūm ba.

See *JRAS.*, 1897, 103 ff., and *JRAS.*, 1932, 403-5. An Ardistāni version is published in *BSOS.*, vii (1935), 775-6.

II

yak pôdešôî adô nōkároš ajamî dar yakî kaštî naštábôien. nōkároš hēšvaḫt deryô šî nēdídaba o sáḫti késti fékrôši nekárdaba. ðhōšá šésurūî kardaba vo larz še bádenôš kápteba. harče mehrabūnî šohōká ôrūm naprōnte. pôdešôirō eišōš monayyas va heš čōreî fékrošōš náka va yak tabfî dar mō káštî ba. pôdešô adô tábíboš vōd ta heš čōreî zōnî ošvôd áger hoḫm vékrî me ūrō xōmūš ekre. pôdišô ošvôd xeilî me xáše tōd. tabîb ošvôd tō nōkár rō tū deryô vénen. vaḫti kapt tū deryô γōta čénd ošxá. pas mîd ôšoprōnt šo vénôd tū késti. vaḫtîki šovenôd tū késti ša vō yak gōše nášt. pôdešô rō ajaboš ômá. in če hékmatî ba ke tádka. ošvôd čūn nōkárôd mehnátî γary bodvūn še néizōnôda vo γadri salūmati kaštî rō še fahmî neikartébda. hemčenūn γadri tenderēstî xádōmî ezōna ki yak mosibátî gir vékra.

III

pôdešôirō hama šōašnôft ke bekōšvūne yak bičōréî hókmoš ká. mō bičōre dar hōlāti naḫáš va bífekrî bō zvūnî pōr tēyát gî-š tōš bepôdešô došnūm oštôd va badozēš bepôdešô šésūroka mēsleki šōvōta harke dášt az jūne xadoš bēšūrá ónčiki dar del dōrá bévajā. pôdešô adô nōkároš ôšparsôd ke mō čîčî vajā. yaki az mî vāzîre ge hózer ba ošvôd ei sōhéb mo vāje gî ta bîxôd hoḫm dekoštenî ūni kardá. váḫtîki mō ošašnôft az vei ráhmoš ôma vo az sare xīnoš devárt. vazîri digar ke zedde mō bičōre ba ošvôd pôrogūn jénsi mōrō nāšnāsene ke dar hazrati pôdešôūn joz berôstî sohbat kartvūni ū pôdešôrō došnūm ošvôd badozēšt ošvôd pôdešô sar o riše tūhém kešôd va ošvôd me az

I will requite him for this, when pain and death will befall the ass ! When he had gone a short way the ass began to limp. They saw the ass was limping. They took the load and put it upon the load of the unfortunate camel. The camel said softly to himself, Ha, ha, we have done a good work. Again, as he went a little way, the ass was worn out. They bound him hand and foot and put him upon the camel's load, so that he carried his load. The unfortunate camel lamented to himself and went on till they came to a defile. Here it was necessary to go with head down. The camel began to jump about. The ass began to complain, I shall fall down. The camel replied, You will remember that you said softly (?), The braying of your father had come into your mind. And now I too remember the jumping about of my mother. The camel jumped about and he threw the ass down. The ass fell down from the camel and his bones were broken and he died.

From this tale it is clear if we do not pay heed to one, we shall come to a time of recompense, as the ass came.

II

A king with a foreign servant was seated in a boat. The servant had never seen the sea and greatly feared the boat. He began to weep and his body trembled. Whatever kindness they did him, he was not quieted. The king's pleasure was spoiled and he could think of no remedy. A physician was on the same boat. The king said to the physician, Do you know any remedy ? He said, If you command, I will make him silent. The king said, It will please me greatly. The physician ordered to cast the servant into the sea. He fell into the water and was immersed several times. Then they seized his hair and brought him into the boat. When they had brought him into the boat he went and sat in a corner. The king was surprised. What is this wise thing you have done ? He said, Your servant had not known the distress of being drowned and had not understood the safety of the boat. As one knows the value of health when a calamity seizes upon him.

III

Of a king it is related that he commanded to slay a certain unfortunate. This unfortunate in his evil and desperate condition with the powerful tongue that he had spoke ill of the king and began to abuse him. As it has been said, whosoever washes his hands of his

dorûyi ô mo xâš ema ke az röst vötvûni ta. va ke hõkemû šévõta
dorûyi maslahât-õmiz vâterûn az röst vötvûn i bad.

harki pôdešõ ô vekra či o vévaža

heif-on ke xûb vévaža

bar tõyi faridûn naveštá ba

heš vaxt takya bar molki donyõ mákû

ke xeili mardom mó kõre šeka vó kušte bõien çûn vödém váxti
martûn vošká va jûni pôk . . . če bar taxt bût če bar xõk.

heš fary nákre maxsûdoš mõnegi vödém váxti martvûnoš ba če
bar taxti zárrin bûd če bár zevín.

IV

õvarde and ke enõširovûni õdélrõ dar yak šekõri yak seid ošká
va dar hemûn sûtát šeberiúnka nemaķ nabá nõkarõš še dé næft tõ
nemaķ bfõra. enõširovûn ošvõd nemákrõ beyeimati manõséb vérin
tõ rasmî nabût va dé ri beẁarõbi našût. šovõd az mó ré če xálõni
zõhére bût. ševõd asli zolm dar dõni kémî beda. harki õmá bar û
ziõd ba. Tõ be mó ẁoyat rasõd.

ager ze bõye pôdišõ yak sõi beẁra

nõkarûn dráxt rõ az zevín bar etõren

dar dõni sétemkõr az bein ešût

bar û lânatî minid tõ põyadõr.

V

gadûi pôdišõirõ ošdid adõrõš ošvõd ke ta xeili pûl dõri va xda va
mélki ziõd dõri emmõ me ki devári ta hé heçi nádõre. davlátî xárõ
adém bemé. pôdišõ ošvõd beyákî ke pûli siõ õšáden. gadû ošvõd
ke mó če ma'ni dõra čéraki bemé sáhmî devárõna omnátie. pôdišõ
ẁandáš ka õšvõd ki gap nákuð ki age devárûni bé vefáhmen mó di
beta náresi. yõ ba.

VI

yáke hárûja šašta nûn šeherit. yak rû yakî az refiyoð adovoš ošpársûd
ke hárûja šašta nûnrõ če ševõhrî. adovõš ošvõd ke nûni beri xá tayá
kre . . . va yak nûni béro péte va dûta nûni béro ẁarz eté. refiyoð
ošvõd aslen moltefet ná bõie ke ta čiçidvõd. vâter béva ke multafét

own soul, whatever he has in heart, will say it. The king asked his servant, What does he say ? One of them a minister who was present said, Lord, he says that you have given a foolish command to kill him. When he heard this, he pitied him and turned from shedding his blood. Another minister who was hostile to the unfortunate said, Do not the children of our kind know that in the presence of kings one must not speak save the truth ? He abused the king and spoke ill of him. The king frowned and said, I was more pleased by his falsehood, than by your truth-speaking. And he who is a ruler has said that a falsehood mixed with good is better than bad truth-speaking.

Whatever a king does or says,
Alas, if he speaks aught but good.

On the arch of Farīdūn was written :—

Never trust the wealth of the world, for many men have laboured and been slain. When a man has reached the time of death and the pure soul (has resolved to go), what matters it on a throne or on the ground ?

It makes no difference to his purpose when a man has come to the time of death whether it is upon a golden throne or upon the ground.

IV

It is related that Anūšīrvān the Just on a hunt secured his quarry and at once he roasted it. There was no salt. He sent his servant to the village to get salt. Anūšīrvān said, Buy the salt at a fair price that it may not become customary and the village fall to ruin ! They said, From this course what ruin will come ? He said, At the beginning the oppression in the world was little. Whosoever came increased it, till it has come to this pass.

If a king eat an apple from a peasant's garden,
his servants will pull out the tree from the earth.

In the world the oppressor shall perish.
On him curses rest for ever.

V

A beggar saw a king. He said to him, You have much money, and house and great property, but I who am your brother, have nothing. Give me of your wealth. The king told someone to give him some small coins. The beggar said, What does this mean ? Why do you not give

be. ošvōd ō yaki nūnī ki bēri ɣa gōš ekre va ō yaki ki dīr evēne beɣevāri mīram etē va ō dūte nūnrō ki pete bēbedār ō mérom etē beavāze ōiki fe šō méidōda dar kāsōgī va ō dūtē rō ke ɣārz etē bepōrōgūnī ɣādom etē ke dar vaɣti pīri bedārdi me vāɣren ve avāzo šomāten. yō ba.

Variants proposed by Mazkūrī:—

béva : véva.

be : vébe.

[véfahme ki maɣsūde čiči ne : variant of Qobād.]

etē : atē.

VII

tōjérirō vāɣtiki var-šekestaba hezūr tomān ɣarɣz ošdōšt. adovōj pōr ošvōd ki mo gāpero adovōi hēski náva. poroš ošvōd ki étōāt ekre va navājime bešārti ōigī fōide mo gāfero ki nákode čiči ne. bedāroš ošvōd vāɣtiki ya mosibāti dūta nábūd yákiš ahamiyātī nádora va yáki beš zārari mōiā ne va dovomīš šemotāti hemsōiegūn on.

šār—

hešvāɣt náva ɣemi ɣáro adovōi došmenūnot

ki henómgi az lopi ta bari néhomda ɣašulī kre

Variants (of Mazkūrī):—

náva : máva

fōide mō : pōida mō

šār : beit

VIII

yág rūj ardavūn ve səvōrūn šūané šekōr. yáki gūr e ɣer tū viōvūn é devárt. erdešīr ɣādō pōr e máse ardavūn šedūmbōl davōden. erdešīr yáki tīrōš kōšte tū télōš gī tō párroše prū šō va otráfe bār ōma va gūr e ɣer sārī yōgāš mārt. ardavūn ve səvōrūn sar rāsōden. vāɣtike mō dāšt, ō tīr šodīd heirūn ménan. vé šōparsōd ki ke mōš kōšt. erdešīr ošvōd ki mé mikārta. pōr i ardavūn ošvōd ki na mé mikārta. erdešīre yōš ōma ve be pōrī ardevūn ošvōd ki šujōātī merō ɣādō drūv ve tayallob be ɣā máben ve ɣāra azíz mākū. mōne viōvūn más-on gūra ɣér jī pūr-an. brī mázenna va émtēhūn yá būri bé jī kúšim tō mālīm vébūd. ardevūn moškél ōš bō ve ézmōš nádōd ge erdešīr sovōr ásbe būd. va ardavūn erdešīr ošnēpte tū tavīla. ošvōd ki hōdéri asb būd ve bidī meidūne gū vō čápta ō asp-davūnīš náūt ōma.

me a brother's share ? The king laughed and said, Be silent, lest if your other brothers understand, this too should not reach you. Ended.

VI

A person bought each day six loaves. One day a friend asked, Why do you buy six loaves every day ? The person said, I keep a loaf for myself . . . and another one I give away, and two I lend. The friend said, I have not fully understood what you have said. Say it more clearly that I may understand. The person said, One loaf I keep for myself and the one which I throw away I give to the sister of my husband, and the two which I give, I give to my father and my mother in return for what they gave me in childhood and the two that I lend, I give to my children that in the time of my old age they make eat . . . and give it me in return. Ended.

VII

A merchant when he became bankrupt owed a thousand tumāns. To his son he said, Tell no one of it. The son said, I obey and will not speak of it, on condition that you say what is the advantage of not speaking of it. His father said, So long as a calamity does not become two, it is not important, and one is the loss of capital and the second is reproach of neighbours.

Verse.

Never tell your own trouble to your enemies,
Since from your mouth he will be rejoiced.

VIII

One day Ardavān went hunting with his horsemen. A wild ass passed in the desert. Ardašīr followed with the eldest son of Ardavān. Ardašīr shot an arrow into its body so that the feather went in and came out the other side and the ass died on the spot. Ardavān and his horsemen came up. When they saw the hand and the arrow they were amazed, and he asked, Who shot this ? Ardašīr said, I did. The son of Ardavān said, No, I did. Ardašīr was angered, and said to the son of Ardavān, Do not take to yourself my prowess by falsehood and deceit, and do not exalt yourself. Here the desert is large and there are many other asses. As a test and proof, let us shoot a second time, that it may become clear. Ardavān was angered, and refused to give permission for Ardašīr to ride a horse. Ardavān sent Ardašīr to the stables. He ordered that he should be a keeper of horses, and should not again come to the racecourse for ball and stick and horse-racing.

IX

yáki rūbas yáki deráχti ráz ōš did. ševīōst ki raz véχrá váli daš nárasōd. čém būr ji arvūšt váli vīpōidá bō. ōχári kōr bidí heš kōrōš náka. ōšvōd kī mō ráze trōš un. age véχré hōli nádōre bé. pa váterūn kī náχre.

X

yáki ōbéd yak rūj yáki kálečča šé máχe bedábō. χódi nōkerhōš vōt ki ké šišdēda. héšta jāvōp šō nadōd. ōbéd ōšvōd ki me be har yáki yáki čūvi yak-yádd ete. hárki dōzz ō čūvōš yák kémōgi massére būd. benō bar in be har yáki yáki čūvi hem-kad ōsdōd. ōige dōz bō yák kémōgi sári čūvoš še bar ka. rūje bād ōige čūvoš kások bō malīm bō ki dōzz ō. yō ba.

XI

yáki mérdōge gadú χīōlōš ka ki áge bōna vékra ki gong-on véšter pūl še gīr etūd. benō bar in yáki táχtaš šidéd ō rī-š ōš menés gōng ō še gáli mōl vén. yáki bé mérdōgi gadú gī dōšménōš bō ševīōst gī še rōsvō vekra. yáki mérdōg ōtrápe dāvārt. yáki āldiš dōde gōng ō gadúe kī dōšménōš bō vōj še sar dōd ki mō gōng ná ha. drúve vája. mérdōg i gōng ōšvōd ná tá drúve vaǵí. mōne malīm bō gī gōng ná ha. rōsvō bō. yō ba.

XII

yáki pōdešō dāvri yáki šār ōš pnōrt. ševīōst ki χrōv ekra. peiōm ōš népte tū šār ki kūri be yénūn nádōra. hārči čume γeimátī dōrén ášnen ve hērdō bár šen. yénūn ōmōien ō mīre χā šō pōška ō bár šōen. pōdešō švōt gī čīči dō pōšda.¹ šōvōt čume γeimátī mō pōdešōš pāmōd ve χéndáš ka ve mie hamá ōšbaχšōd. yō ba.

XIII

yōgi χatarnók

yáki káštibūn be rafīyōš ōšvōt ki me bdéro mērō būmāsō memásom hamá tū kéštī mārtn. rafīyōš ōšvōt gi mé be tá nasihát ekre hēs būr tū kéštī mášū brī gī yōgi χatarnókī né. kéštibūnoš parsōd ki bādérō mērō memáso būmáse tá kōyū mārtn. ōšvōd hamá tū daváji mārtn. be ta nasihát ekre heš būre tū daváj mášū brī gī yōgi χatarnókī ne.

¹ Read pōška.

IX

A fox saw a grape vine. He wanted to eat the grapes, but he could not reach them. He leaped up several times, but it was useless. At last he did nothing more. He said, These grapes are sour. If I ate them, I should be ill. Then it is better for me not to eat them.

X

A religious man one day lost a jar. He said to his servants, Who has taken it ? No one replied. The religious man said, I will give each one a stick of the same size. Whoever is the thief, his stick will become a little bigger. Then he gave each one a stick of the same size. The one who was the thief cut off a small part of his stick. The next day the one whose stick was smaller was evidently the thief. Ended.

XI

A beggar thought, If I claim to be dumb, more money will come to me. So he took a board and wrote on it "dumb", and put it around his neck. Another beggar who was his enemy wished to show him a cheat. A man passed by. He gave money to the dumb one, and the beggar his enemy cried out, He is not dumb. He lies. The dumb man said, No, you lie. Then it was evident that he was not dumb, but a cheat. Ended.

XII

A king invested a city. He intended to lay it waste. He sent a message into the city saying, I have no concern with women ; whatever valuable thing they have, let them take and to-morrow go out. The women came and carried (?) their husbands and went out. The king said, What have you on your back (?). They said, valuable things. The king understood and laughed and pardoned them all. Ended.

XIII

A dangerous place

A ship's captain said to his friend, My father and mother, grandfather and grandmother, all died on a ship. His friend said, Let me advise you : never go on a ship, since it is a dangerous place. The captain asked, Where did your father and mother, grandfather and grandmother die ? He said, They all died in bed. Let me give you advice : never go to bed, since it is a dangerous place.

XIV

yákí mérdōge píri mosolvún rēsōš še rangi siō ikártabō váli mǐdi sárōš siō [read: svǐd] bō. yák rūj χōptūdábō. émōma še tép káft. čenta ráfiγōš rásōdén šodíd ke mǐdi sároš sevíd ō váli mǐdi rēsōš siōne. χeili taaǵjúb šo ká. mérdōgi píř šō bídōr ká šō pǎrsōd čerá mǐdi sárod svíd on ve mǐdi rēsod siōne. Jəvōb ošdōd ki dar váččegǐ mǐdi sár me bárí ōmda váli mǐdi rēšom dar vīs-sōlegǐ bárí ōmda brí mōne, gǐ mǐdi sárom pírtéri mǐdi rēšom ō.

XV

yákí pōrōg bō χīōlōš ka gi χeili hošyúr on bedvéri χā ošvōd gǐ mé yákí yūz dōré tā ji yákí dōri mené yákí ve dōta sēta būd. dəvéri kások ošvōd na dōta yūz dōrím. dəvéri mas ošvōd na sēta yūz dōrím. mǐ méyūne bedér šō sár rasōd. pōre kásugi čōγōlí e pōri másoš kà. bedérōš vōt yákí yūz méχre, yákí ji tā véχō sévvom ji in véχra gi vajá sēta ne.

XVI

yákí sarbōzi píř dar Jéngǐ pō še mǎrtǐ ōmdabō ve ávazōš pōie čūvǐš dōšt [var.: dōrt]. yák rūj šé viōst ke vēsūte χedáš dar meýūnǐ rā mōtōr še ri bársō ve pōye čūvǐ še mǎrtōma. vōj še sar dōd ki ei mōtōrčǐ me pō nádōre me tū mōtōr nenóm vé bū. mōtōrčǐ ji gōš še gáf ka ō ošnōde tū mōtōr ō ošbārte tū marizχūna. váχtǐge doktōr ošdíd ošvōd ke vōje naǵjúr kren ki pū-š vésūja. mōtōrčǐ χandáš ka. ošvōd ki me tablb máu na naǵjúr. yō ba.

XVII

Lālāi for children of two years

gádū ōma dári χōna
nūnom dūd χásoš ōma
χádoš šá vō ságoš ōma
čōχom ká bádoš ōma

For children of four to six years

ō lālālā nemúnōt būd
memú korbūnǐ júnōt būd
babú bendá γolūmōt būd
babú harūnǐ nūmōt būd
kǐ mémū kōrbūnǐ júnōt būd
babú harūnǐ¹ nūmōt būd

¹ harūn is of uncertain meaning.

XIV

A man, an old Musulman, dyed his beard black, but the hair of his head was white. One day he fell asleep, and his turban fell off. Several friends came, and saw his hair was white, but his beard black. They were surprised. They awakened the old man and asked, Why is the hair of your head white, but the hair of your beard black ? He replied, In childhood the hair of my head came, but the hair of my beard came at the age of twenty years ; therefore the hair of my head is older than the hair of my beard.

XV

A boy thought he was very clever. He said to his brother, I have one walnut, you too have one. Now one and two are three. The younger brother said, No, we have two walnuts. The elder brother said, No we have three walnuts. Meanwhile their father came. The younger boy complained of the elder boy. The father said, I will eat one walnut, you too will eat one, the third he shall eat who says there are three.

XVI

An old soldier had a leg broken in war, and in place of it had a wooden leg. One day he wished to go to his house. In the road a motor went over him and his wooden leg was broken. He called out, Motor-man, I have no leg, put me into the motor. The motor-man agreed and put him into the motor and took him to hospital. When the doctor saw him he said, Call a carpenter to mend his leg. The motor-man laughed, and said, I want a physician not a carpenter. Ended.

XVII

A beggar came to the door of the house.
I gave him bread, he was pleased.
He went and his dog came.
I drove him off, he was angry.

Does Khaṛī Bolī mean nothing more than Rustic Speech ?

By T. GRAHAME BAILEY

(Before proceeding to the discussion of the question I would draw attention to the important quotations from Dr. J. B. Gilchrist on pp. 366, 7 below, which show that at least four times in 1803, and twice in 1804, he used the name Khaṛī Bolī, and tell us in what sense he used it.)

THIS question arises out of some remarks made by Professor Abdul Haq of the Osmaniya University, Hyderabad, Deccan, who, criticizing views on Khaṛī Bolī (= KB) which I had expressed in my *Hist. of Urdu Lit.*, pp. 5, 8, 9, 13, said :—

hamē is se khushī hūī ki dākṭar sāhab ne is mugālīṭe ko rafa' kiā hai, lekin aṣl galaṭī mē yeh bhī mubtilā hai : khaṛī aur kharī kā farq inhō ne bahut ṣaḥīḥ batāē hai, lekin ma'ne taqriban vohī rakkhe hai jo kharī ke hai, ya'ne muravvaja, 'ām, mustanad (standard) zabān ; aur dūsra gaṛab kiā hai ki Khaṛī Bolī ko ek khāṣ zabān qarār diā hai, aur us kī do shākhē batāī hai, ek Hindī aur dūsri Urdū . . . Khaṛī Bolī ke ma'ne Hindostān mē 'ām ṭaur par gāvārī bolī ke hai jise Hindostān kā bacca bacca jāntā hai ; voh na koī khāṣ zabān hai, aur na zabān kī koī shākh. (*Urdu*, July, 1933, p. 590.)

“ We are pleased to note that Dr. Bailey has corrected this mistake (made by some Europeans, of confusing *khaṛī* with *kharī*, T.G.B.), but he too has fallen into what is essentially the same mistake ; for though he has clearly shown the difference between *khaṛī* and *kharī*, he has given *khaṛī* almost the same meaning as *kharī*, i.e. current, common, accepted ; and he has made another amazing statement—that KB. is the name of a particular language ; he has further divided it into two branches, Hindī and Urdū. In Hindustān KB. usually means ‘rustic speech’, a fact which every child in Hindustān knows. It is not a particular language or branch of a language.”

I must stop here to correct the statement that I have given *khaṛī* and *kharī* “almost the same meaning”. I have never done so. *kharī* means “unadulterated” or “pure”, and while it may be applied as an adjective to a language, it has never been the name of any variety of speech, whether rustic or not. The word *khaṛī* means “standing”, and when first used of a language appears to have

signified "current". Only it must not be forgotten that it has never been used of any language except that which we know as KB.

That the word does mean "standing", and has nothing to do with *khari* "pure", is further evidenced by the corresponding words in other Hindī dialects or languages. I am indebted to you, sir (Sir George Grierson) for a reference (in a private letter) to Kāmtā Prasād Guru's *Hindī Vyākaraṇ*, p. 25. We read there that "in Bundelkhaṇḍ KB. is known as *ṭhāṛh bolī*". This word *ṭhāṛh* of course means "standing". Again, Dr. B. S. Paṇḍit, whose native language is Mārvārī, told me that in Mārvārī KB. is called "*ṭhaṭh bolī*", where *ṭhaṭh* has the signification of "standing". We thus have three names for this dialect, and in each case it is called "the standing language".

In Urdu for January, 1934, p. 158, Paṇḍit Manohar Lāl Zutshī replies to Professor Abdul Haq, and says he is mistaken, for KB undoubtedly is the name of a language. The Professor in a note on p. 160, rejoins "in my opinion KB means simply the opposite of polished and literary; it is used in that sense to-day, i.e. rustic speech. Lallū Jī Lāl probably used it with the same meaning. European writers have fallen into error about it, saying it is a particular language. The Hindi authors quoted by Paṇḍit Zutshī have merely followed these Europeans".

It will be noticed that by the phrase "in my opinion" and the word "probably" he has toned down his previous statements, but even so the matter rests simply on his assertion; he gives no references and quotes no authorities, nor does he name any of the Europeans who supposedly have misled later generations of Hindi scholars. In matters of *Urdū* his opinion commands respect, for Urdu is his mother tongue, and he has devoted his life to Urdu scholarship; this, however, is a question not of Urdu but of Hindi, and it must be decided from a study of Hindi literature.

In Urdu literature the term has no meaning, for it does not occur; it has practically never been used in an Urdu book, nor is it found in Urdu *taẓkiras* (anthologies). Even Urdu dictionaries rarely contain it. The *Farhang i Aṣāfiya*, of which Urdu scholars speak with bated breath, does not mention it. The meaning "rustic speech" which we are told every child in Hindustān knows, is not known to the compiler of the voluminous *Nūr ul Luḡāt*, for all he says is "*Khaṛī Bolī* is conversation in the style and pronunciation of men" (*mard*, men, as opposed to women; T. G. B.); nor is it found in 'Abdu'l Majīd's huge Urdu dictionary, *Jāmi' ul Luḡāt*, which explains KB

simply as *mardō kī bolī*, "the speech of men." We see then that the compilers of the two large modern Urdu dictionaries, themselves Indians, have never heard that meaning of KB which we are told every child in Hindustān knows. There is nothing about rustic speech in either.

In modern conversational Urdu usage *khari bolī* occasionally does mean, not exactly village speech, but uncouth, boorish speech, though the dictionaries know nothing of this. But again we must remark that Urdu usage does not concern us. We are dealing with a Hindi term, and want to know what it signifies in Hindi. In my *History of Urdu Literature* I gave the term its literary meaning, using it exactly as Hindi writers do to-day.

Three points arise :—

(i) Who are the Europeans who have used the name KB? And in what way, if any, can it be said that they misled Hindi authors who followed them?

(ii) What have Hindi writers in the last hundred years meant by the name, what do they mean by it now, and what do they think Sadal Misr and Lallū Lāl meant by it?

(iii) What did Sadal Misr and Lallū Lāl, who were the first Indians to use the term, mean by it?

(i) The idea that certain Europeans have led Hindi writers astray by their statements about KB is strange. It would have been helpful if Professor Abdul Haq had told us who they are. The fact is that Europeans have rarely mentioned the name.

I have recently made the very interesting discovery that Dr. John Gilchrist used the term KB at least four times in 1803, the first year in which any Indian is known to have used it, and twice in the year following. He therefore shares with Sadal Misr and Lallū Jī the honour of priority. In fact, as he wrote the name four times in 1803, and they only once, he deserves it perhaps even more than they.

What happened is clear. He was Professor in the College of Fort William for four years, and for nearly the whole of this time Lallū and Sadal Misr worked with him. He learned the name from them, and in his daily intercourse with them had every opportunity of finding out its exact meaning. He often spoke of Hindustani as the colloquial speech of India or the grand popular language of Hindustān. He said on several occasions that it had various styles. The court or high style was Urdu, full of Arabic and Persian. At the other extreme

was the "pristine or rustic idiom of that extensive language indefinitely called Bhasha", while between them came KB. He has told us further that in order to facilitate the transition from Urdu to Bhasha he had caused a KB version of *Sakuntalā* to be prepared.

The state of affairs, as he saw it, was this. In the towns, especially those with a large Muḥammadan population, Urdu was the ordinary spoken language, in the villages some variety of Bhasha, while KB or even simple Hindustani, was the language which appealed to Hindus, particularly those away from Muslim centres. KB, owing to its avoidance of Arabic and Persian words was compelled to use words derived from Sanskrit which were familiar to the rural population. Gilchrist states that the desire to teach these words to his students was one of the reasons for bringing out books in that dialect. To this extent it has, as compared with Urdu, a rural appearance.

There does not, however, seem to be any evidence that in those days the words *khaṛī bolī* in themselves meant village talk. In no books of that or any other period do we find such expressions as "the *khaṛī* talk of Bengal or Madras or the Panjab or of English villages"; one does not find "so and so has a *khaṛā* pronunciation" or "his conversation is very *khaṛī*". Now if *khaṛā* (fem. *khaṛī*) meant simply *gāvārī*, rustic, one ought to be able to say all these things. The fact is that Hindi writers always used KB as the name of a dialect, and Urdu writers never used it at all.

The testimony of Gilchrist's *English-Hindustani Dictionary* (1786, 2nd ed., 1810; revised 1825) is important. Under "country" he has the entry "the language of the country, opposed to the town *bahur kee bolee*"; under "colloquial" it has (1810 ed.) *rozmurru*, *mooḥavuru*. In neither case is *khaṛī bolī* given as a translation, nor do we find it under words like rural, rustic, etc. So far as I know, it does not occur anywhere in the dictionary or in any of the many vocabularies which Gilchrist prepared, though *khaṛā* with the common meaning of "standing" is frequent.

Similarly in the numerous English-Urdū or English-Hindi dictionaries which have been published, one never finds rustic, rural, or country speech translated by *khaṛī bolī*.

As Gilchrist's early references to KB are of great interest, I quote them here:—

(1) *The Hindee Story Teller*, vol. ii, 1803, p. ii: "Many of those (stories) are in the Khurree Bolee or the pure Hinduwee style of the Hindoostanee, while some will be given in the Brij Bhasha."

(2) The *Oriental Fabulist*, 1803, p. v.: "I very much regret that along with the Brij B,hasha, the *Khuree bolee* was omitted since this particular idiom or style of the Hindoostanee would have proved highly useful to the students of that language."

(3) ib. "the real K,huree bolee is distinguished by the general observance of Hindoostanee Grammar and nearly a total exclusion of Arabic & Persian."

(4) ib., p. vii: (The learner) "will find another specimen of the K,huree bolee in the *Story Teller*, p. 24."

(5) The *Hindee-roman Orthoepigraphic Ultimatum*, 1804, p. 19 (foot): "Another version of Sukoontala in the K,huree Bolee, or sterling tongue of India. This differs from the Hindoostanee merely by excluding every Arabic & Persian word."

(6) ib., p. 20 (foot), 21 (top) : "The Prem Sagur, a very entertaining book, rendered with elegance and fidelity from the Bruj B,hasha into the K,huree Bolee by Lalloo Jee Lal expressly to effect the grand object of teaching our scholars the Hindoostanee in its most extended sense, and with proper advantages among the grand Hindoo mass of the people at large in British India."

Gilchrist always marked in one way or another the cerebral *ṛ* which occurs in the name *Khari Bolī*.

In 1814, Lieut. William Price published a "K,huree Bolee and English Vocabulary of all the principal words occurring in the Prem Sāgar" of which the Directors remarked "these (words) are in constant use in other K,huree Bolee and Bhakṣa compositions". Although the name KB occurs in the Introduction to the *Prem Sāgar*, it is not given in the vocabulary. The only meaning given to *khari* is chalk, a signification, which, so far as I remember, is not to be found in the *Prem Sāgar*.

This vocabulary was reprinted in *Hindoostanee Selections*, 1827, 2nd ed. 1830.

The next whom one should quote is Garcin de Tassy. In his *Hist. de la Litt. Hindouie et Hindoustanie*, 1st ed., vol. i, p. 307, he says that Lallū's Prem Sāgar was "non pas en urdū, mais en khāri-bolī ou thenth, c'est-à-dire en hindoustani pur, en hindoustani hindou de Dehli et Agra, sans mélange de mots arabes ni persans." This is a paraphrase of Lallū's own words, but, mistaking *khari* for *khari*, he interprets it of Lallū's phrase "omitting Arabic and Persian words", thinking that it means "pure language". G. de T. does not mention *Khari Bolī* at all, but speaks of *khari*, "pure," i.e. without *mlecch*

"unclean", words of non-Sanskritic origin. He wrote the words quoted (and almost the same words on p. 1 of the Introduction) in 1839, and repeated them in 1870; as they were French, not English, the confusion between *kharī* and *kharī* passed unnoticed in India.

Eastwick, in his vocabulary, 1851, says that *kharī bolī* means *kharī bolī* "pure language".

Platts, *Urdu. Dict.*, 1884, under *kharā* has "*kharī bolī*, vulgar *kharī bolī*, pure language".

The language which Hindi authors call KB English writers prefer to call High Hindi or Classical Hindi, names which correspond to nothing in Hindi itself.

(ii) The name KB is Hindi; the first Indians to use it were, as we shall see below, Lallū Jī Lāl in 1803 and 1818, and Sadal Misr in 1803; it is in constant use now by Hindi writers. We are therefore bound to ascertain what they mean by it. The Urdu meaning, if any, does not matter.

Have any of them given it the sense of rustic speech? If so, when and where? For many years after the time of Lallū and Sadal Misr they did not employ it at all. The first I know of to use it since those days was Rājā Śiv Prasād in his Introduction to *Hindī Selections*, 1867.

He regarded it as essentially artificial and literary; in fact, he says that Lallū Jī, though he strove to preserve its literary character, yet failed sometimes to exclude the Braj village words to which he was accustomed in his own speech. His words are: "Whether this new dialect, the Prakrit enriched with Persian and Arabic words, be called Hindī or Hindustānī, Bhākhā, or Braj Bhākhā, Rekhta or Khari Bolī, Urdū or Urdū-i-Muṣallā, its seeds were sown here by the followers of Mahmūd of Ghuznee" (op. cit., p. vi).

On p. xi he goes on: "When Dr. Gilchrist asked Mīr Amman and Lallū Jī Lāl Kavi, to write some vernacular books in prose, they must have felt themselves very puzzled: it was quite a new thing to them. They wrote, but they both wrote in an artificial language." Six pages further on, p. 17, he says: "Lallūjī has not allowed foreign words, Persian or Arabic, a place in his book (*Prem Sāgar*, T. G. B.), but he could not so well keep clear of the patois of his native place Agra." He has the same statement, but in Hindi, on p. 32, of Part I of his *Nayā Guṭkā*, 1900 ed., first published 1867, "he wrote in the *kharī bolī* of Agra; although he excluded Persian and Arabic words, he was not able to keep out Agra village words."

By Hindi writers the name KB is given to a particular language

or dialect, viz. that form of Hindi which is used in every-day Hindi prose (and increasingly in verse), the Hindi which we find in all Hindi magazines, in translations such as the Hindi Bible, scientific works and all school books. This fact is so well known that proof is hardly necessary. In an article (*JRAS.*, Oct., 1926, pp. 717-723) I mentioned and quoted twelve Hindi authors to this effect. This is the ordinary meaning of KB, but the Urdu language itself is sometimes spoken of as a branch of it. KB is contrasted with Braj, Avadhī, and other Hindi dialects.

There is no need to labour this point; I will content myself with one or two further quotations, to illustrate what they mean by KB, and to show that they do not think of it as rustic.

The Miśr Brothers in *Miśr Bandhu Vinod*, vol. i, p. 119, say that "Sital (A.D. 1723) wrote all his poetry in KB". Sital's language is far removed from rustic speech.

Badri Nāth Bhaṭṭ in *Hindī*, p. 31, after mentioning that he lives within twenty yards of Lallu's old home in Agra, says that every Hindu household in Agra city speaks the same language as Lallu's in *Prem Sāgar*, the only difference being that which naturally exists between literary language such as Lallu's, and conversational speech, such as is heard in the Hindu homes. He calls Lallu's KB literary, not rustic.

The best known of modern Indian writers on Hindi literature and languages, Shyām Sundar Dās, says in *Hindī Bhāṣā kā Vikāś*, p. 54, "between 1250 and 1450 A.D. the older Hindi dialects gradually assumed the form of Braj, Avadhī, and KB," and on p. 55, "KB was used for poetry not only by Musalmāns but by Hindus also."

Ramā Śankar Prasād in *Hindī Sāhitya kā Sankṣipt Itihās*, p. 128, writes "Sadāl Miśr and Lallū wrote in KB mixed with Braj bhāṣā". He thus contrasts Braj and KB as two distinct dialects.

There is an important reference in Ramā Kānt Tripāṭhī's *Hindī Gadya Mīmāṃsā*, p. 33 of Introduction, "the language of the *Prem Sāgar* is adorned to this extent that all through it there is the splendour of Braj bhāṣā. Not only so, but it is characterized by a great pomp of words and by poetical style; it is not the plain idiomatic language of conversation, but poetical prose."

From these quotations and from those in the article referred to (*JRAS.*, Oct., 1926), and indeed from the works of any Hindi author who writes on the literature, it is plain that KB is regarded not as rustic speech, but as a dialect of Hindi, and practically all Hindi writers would deny Śiv Prasād's statement that it was artificial.

(iii) We come now to the important question : What did Sadal Misr and Lallū Jī mean when they said in 1803 that they were translating into KB ? Did they mean “into rustic speech” ?

Sadal Misr in the Introduction to his *Nāsiketopākhyān* says : “Some people cannot understand the *Nāsiketopākhyān* because of its being in Sanskrit, so I have translated it into KB.”

Let us recall the facts. Lallū belonged to Agra, Sadal Misr to Arrah (Ārā) in Bihār, 450 miles away. To get from the former to the latter we must leave the Braj area where Agra is situated, pass through the country where Bundelī and Kanaujī are spoken, into the Avadhī country, and finally after entering Bihār traverse the Bhojpurī region to a few miles west of Paṭnā, the capital. The only rustic speech Sadal Misr knew was that of his native Arrah and the country round it ; it was entirely different from that of Agra ; the former was Bihārī, the latter Braj, and the whole country of still another language, Avadhī, lay between. Rām Candr Śukl in his *Hindī Bhāṣā aur Sāhitya* (at the end of the *Śabd Sāgar*, p. 210, also published separately) tells us that KB in those days and previously was the language of educated and polite conversation among Hindus from Delhi to Bihār. It is interesting to note that Sadal Misr, though he lived so far from the real home of KB, wrote it better than Lallū who lived very near it. Lallū's is too much tinged with his native Braj. The style of both men, though simple, was literary, not rustic.

A dozen or so years earlier Sadāsukh Lāl, of Delhi, a man learned in Arabic, Persian, Urdu, and Hindi, wrote KB still better than Sadal Misr and Lallū. He wrote just the straightforward Hindi which he was accustomed to talk to his educated Hindu friends, at least on formal occasions.

We turn now specially to Lallū Jī. In the introduction to his *Prem Sāgar* he stated that avoiding Arabic and Persian words, he had told the story *Dillī Āgre kī KB mē*, in the KB of Delhi and Agra. Did he mean “rustic speech” ? The rustic speech of the district round the two towns was different. The people round Delhi spoke what we now call KB, those round Agra, 120 miles away, spoke Braj. If he had written in the rustic speech of the former it would not have been the rustic speech of the latter. Secondly, like Sadal Misr, he is literary not rustic. It is true that he sometimes failed to exclude Braj words and forms (perhaps he never tried), but Braj forms are not KB ; indeed, we have seen above that KB is contrasted with Braj.

Fifteen years after the *Prem Sāgar* Lallū Jī wrote the *Lāl Candrikā*,

a commentary on Bihārī's *Satsaī*; this was also in KB, and showed less Braj influence. In the Introduction he distinguishes three dialects in which he had written books, viz. Braj, KB, and Rekhte kī Bolī (i.e. Urdu). In his Braj and KB books he usually endeavoured to avoid Persian and Arabic words, but in the Introduction just mentioned he used them rather freely.

CONCLUSION

We may sum up by saying :—

(i) KB is a Hindi term, and its meaning must be sought in Hindi writings.

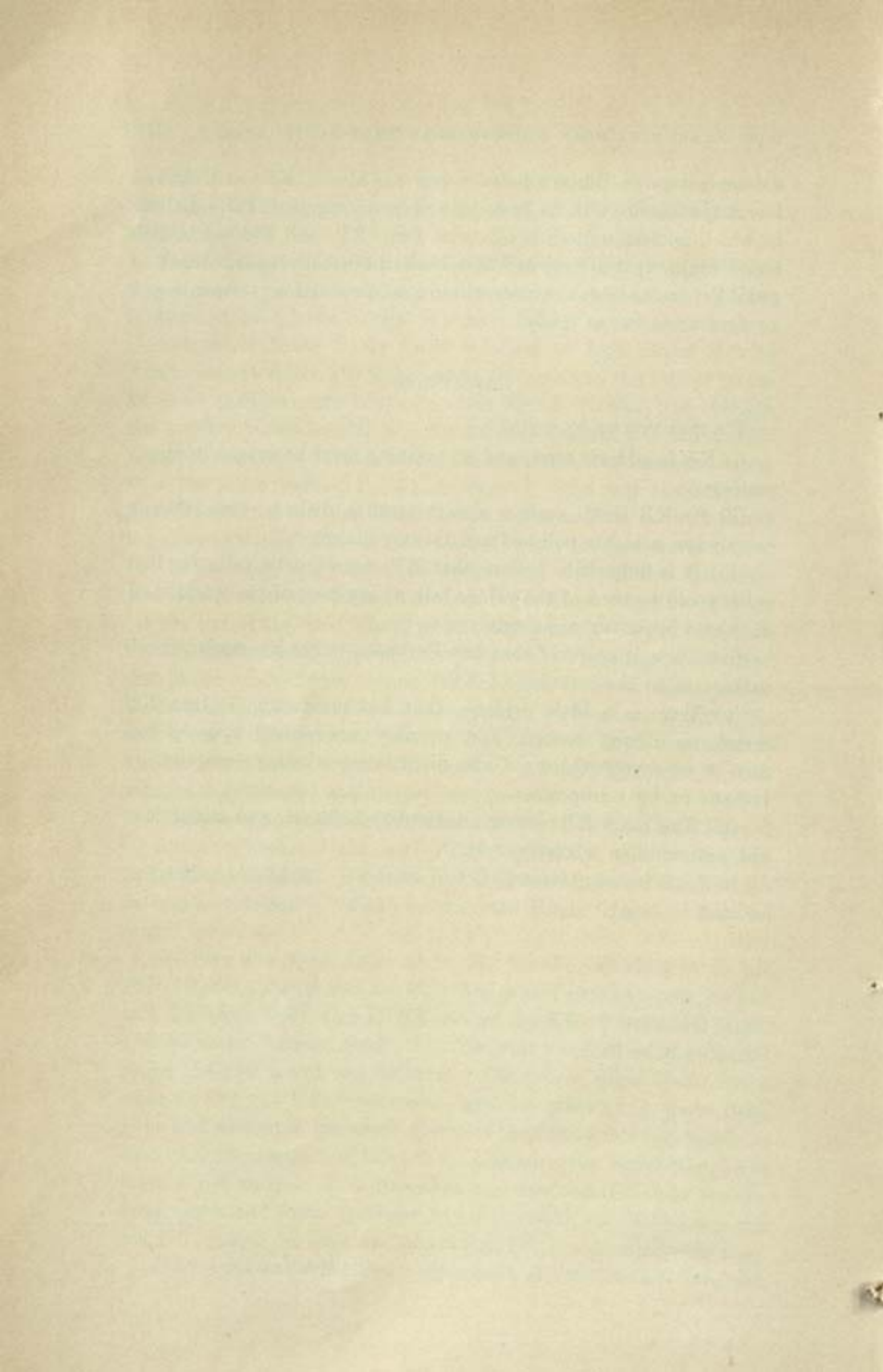
(ii) By KB Hindi authors always mean a dialect, often, though not always, a highly polished and literary dialect.

(iii) It is difficult to believe that KB means rustic talk, for if it did it could be used of the village talk of any part of the world, and one never hears this meaning given to it.

(iv) There is no proof that any European writer has misled Hindi authors as to the meaning of KB.

(v) There is a little evidence that in conversational Urdu KB sometimes means boorish and possibly uneducated speech, but this is not supported by Urdu dictionaries whether compiled by Indians or by Europeans.

(vi) The early KB writers, Sadāsukh, Lallū Jī, and Sadal Misr did not write in a rustic style.



Modern Literary Hindī

By A. BARANNIKOV

THERE was a prevailing opinion in English linguistic literature that the modern prose Hindī, High Hindī, or Khari bolī, was invented by the English.

This point of view was maintained some time ago by such a highly authoritative scholar as Sir G. A. Grierson. Thus, in the preface to his work on the history of Hindī literature he says¹: "The first half of the nineteenth century . . . was the period of the birth of the Hindī language, invented by the English, and first used as a vehicle of literary prose composition in 1803 under Gilchrist's tuition, by Lallū Jī Lāl, the author of the Prem Sāgar."

In another place of the above-mentioned work Sir G. A. Grierson explains in what sense the term "invention" he uses should be understood. He says²: "In 1803, under Gilchrist's tuition, Lallū Jī Lāl wrote the Prem Sāgar in the mixed Urdū language . . . with this peculiarity that he used only nouns and particles of Indian, instead of those of Arabic or Persian origin. The result was practically a newly invented speech; for though the grammar was the same as that of the prototype, the vocabulary was almost entirely changed. This new language, called by the Europeans Hindī, has been adopted all over Hindustan as the *lingua franca* of Hindūs, for a want existed which it fulfilled. It has become the recognized medium of literary prose throughout Northern India."

Further investigations into the domains of the history of Indian languages, investigations in which Sir G. A. Grierson himself has taken such an eminent part, have shown that the history of the Hindī and Urdū languages is much more complicated than it was supposed even at the end of the last century. In conformity with the results obtained by these investigations, Sir G. A. Grierson to a great extent modifies his point of view with regard to the formation of the High Hindī. In his article "Indo-Aryan Vernaculars", he says³: "The

¹ *The Modern Vernacular Literature of Hindustan*, Calcutta, 1889, Introduction, p. xxii.

² Op. cit., chapter x, p. 107.

³ "Indo-Aryan Vernaculars," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, 1918, vol. i, pt. 2, p. 52.

present form of literary Hindī or High Hindī, is a reversion to the type of the non-Persianized vernacular of the Upper Doab, brought into use by the teachers at the College of Fort William in Calcutta in the early years of the nineteenth century. It was desired to create a Hindustānī for the use of Hindūs and this was recreated by taking Urdū, the only form then known, as the basis. . . . Owing to the popularity of the Prem Sāgar of Lallū Jī Lāl, one of the first books written in this newly devised speech, and also owing to its supplying the need for a *lingua franca* which could be used by the strictest Hindūs . . . etc.”

A whole number of European authors recur to the version of the English having invented a new language. However, after the appearance of the above-mentioned article of Sir G. A. Grierson it is generally said with reference to the invention of this language that it was not invented by the English themselves, but by the teachers at the College of Fort William, under the direction of the English. In the *Encyclopædia Britannica* we read : “ the Hindī form of Hindustānī was invented simultaneously with Urdū prose by the teachers of Fort William . . . ” etc.

This European point of view up to recent times was popular in India not only among Mussulmans, but among Hindūs as well.

As an illustration one may bring forward the views of the brothers Miśra upon this question and suggested by them in their history of literature of the Hindī. The brothers Miśra say ¹: *Varttamān gadya ke janmadātā Sadal Miśra aur Lallūjī Lāl māne jāte hai* “ The parents of modern prose are considered to be Sadal Miśra and Lallū Jī Lāl.” Of course the brothers Miśra are not considered to be the best authorities in the domain of linguistic problems but we quote their opinion because these words reflect the point of view widely spread in India itself.

However, after the war, when national and confessional relations and contradictions became strained, this conception regarding the origin of modern literary Hindī underwent a revisal on behalf of the Hindū scholars.

It should be said that this criticism was not altogether fruitless, as owing to it, it was possible to ascertain a series of historical facts, which were heretofore unknown to science.

On the other hand one must acknowledge the fact that criticism

¹ *Miśrabandhusrinod athavā Hindī sākhyā kā itihās*, dvitīya bār, dvitīya bhāg. Lakhnāū, sam^o 1984, p. 852.

was and is carried on in a mode quite different to an unprejudiced study of historical facts. Very often a series of circumstances are based not upon a thorough study of historical facts, but merely upon personal impressions and emotions evoked by an upheaved national and confessional proper pride.

It is impossible to fully envisage the question of the origin of the modern literary Hindī in the frames of a small note, therefore I shall only stay for the chief statements of Bābū Śyām Sundar Dās, one of the most eminent connoisseurs of Hindī, the chief editor of the large Hindī dictionary, *Hindī Śabdasāgar*, author of the first course of general linguistics (*bhāṣā-vijñān*) in Hindī and other important scientific works; and also upon the views of the collaborator of Śyām Sundar Dās in reference to the mentioned dictionary, Rām-candra Śukla, expressed by him in a short essay on the history of Hindī literature supplemented to the above-mentioned dictionary, and Śrī Jagannāth Prasād Śarmā—author of an essay regarding the development of Hindī. All the three authors quite agree as to the question of the origin of prose Hindī.

Their chief objections with regard to this question are as follows :—

In the history of the Hindī language neither prose nor the dialect *Khari bolī* upon which the modern prose literary language is based are considered to be new phenomena. Hindī prose existed even before the nineteenth century. As to the *Khari bolī* dialect, its history is ancient and has been known since the thirteenth century. *Khari bolī* was not invented by the Mussulmans, but it is a colloquial language of the educated Hindū merchants, scholars, etc.; the Mussulmans merit the wide spreading of the language only. The literary language of the Mussulmans, the *Urdū*, based upon the *Khari bolī*, is only a dialect of the Hindī language. The *Urdū* is merely an artificial language and therefore cannot be considered as a basis of literary Hindī. The honour of "invention" or introducing and spreading the prose Hindī does not belong only to Lallū Jī Lāl and to Sadal Miśra who acted under the guidance of the English, but much more so to the authors that worked independently of them and whose language, by the way, was much better than the language of Lallū Jī Lāl, for which reason this latter cannot be considered the inventor of the modern prose literary language.

The above-mentioned Hindū scholars, as well as a number of others who have written before and after them, point out that prose in the Hindī language, carrying its incessant tradition since the nineteenth

century, is not considered to be an absolutely new appearance in the Hindī literature.

It is true, that the works written in the literary dialects of Braj and Avadhī in their majority are composed in verse; but equally with these, prose works are also known. Thus Śrī Jagannāth Prasād Śarmā after the historians of Hindī literature, points out¹ that one of the works attributed to Gorakhnāth, an author of the fourteenth century, although, probably, it was written by one of his followers, represents the earliest sample of Braj prose. In the middle of the sixteenth century, in the same prose language were written the Vartās of Viṭṭhalnāth as well as comments of some of his followers.² However Jagannāth Prasād Śarmā himself points out that this prose in Braj did not continue any further. The prose of a few commentators—Viṭṭhalnāth's followers—is to such an extent formless and helpless that it rather obscures the sense of the original than serves to explain it. The helplessness and uncertainty of this prose was one of the causes why the Braj prose tradition was soon smothered, not to be renewed in future.

Still less successful was the attempt to create prose in the Kharī bolī, i.e. the dialect which served as a basis later on (in the nineteenth century) to the development of the modern literary Hindī. The poet Gang, who belonged to the court of the emperor Akbar, wrote a little story in prose Kharī bolī. This attempt of Gang's was not upheld by the following authors and remained a solitary instance.

For this reason Śyām Sundar Dās is quite correct in his remark,³ when he says the prose which existed in Kharī bolī before the nineteenth century was but nominal (*nām mātra*).

The cause of the failure of these attempts to create a prose language in Braj and Kharī bolī are quite natural: authors of the Hindī literature of that period belonged in their majority to the high castes, whose prose language was the Sanskrit, therefore there was no necessity of creating another prose language which neither possessed such a standard form nor the possibilities of being as widely spread as Sanskrit.

With regard to the question of prose the Hindū scholars themselves come to the conclusion that single sporadic attempts of writing in

¹ *Hindī kī gadya śailī kā vikās*: Nāgarīpracāriṇī Patrikā, navin saṃskaraṇ, bhāg 11, aṅk 2, Saṃ 1987, p. 187.

² See also F. Y. Keay, *A History of Hindī Literature*, pp. 30, 100, etc.

³ *Adhunik Hindī gadya ke ādi ācārya*, Nāgarīpracāriṇī Patrikā, navin saṃskaraṇ, bhāg 6, aṅk 1, p. 13.

Hindī prose, being of an interest by themselves and from the point of view of the history of this literary language, were of no practical consequence and could, in no manner, influence the future formation of quite a new literary language, new in principle to the Hindī literature.

The circumstances of the Kharī bolī dialect are much more complicated. The Hindūs declare the question of its development to be involved with many delusions, and its history is generally represented erroneously. Such a point of view is expressed by Śyām Sundar Dās.¹ This idea is repeated in a series of his works, in particular in an essay on the history of the language attached to the large Hindī dictionary *Hindī-Śabd-sāgar*.² The same idea is repeated by other scholars, for instance Rāmacandra Śukla in his essay on the history of Hindī literature, supplementing the same dictionary.

One must acknowledge that in reference to the question of the rise of Kharī bolī the Hindūs are quite correct in many points.

Firstly, among the Indian Muslims, up to very recent times, an opinion was widely spread that the Urdū had risen from the mixing up of different languages and dialects, the speakers of which thronged the court of the Mogul emperors. This point of view upon the Urdū, mentioned in a well-known work of Mīr Ammān, was accepted by several European scientists as well, part of whom up to the present consider the Urdū to be an artificial language—originating from the mixture of various dialects and languages.

Secondly, with regard to the formation of the Kharī bolī the representatives of this opinion declare the literary Hindī to have originated from the Urdū by the way of a mechanical exclusion of Persian and Arabic words and by replacing them with Sanskrit, pure tatsamas or tadbhavas.

Thirdly, up to very recent times a view was widely spread among the Hindūs themselves to the effect that the modern Hindī originated from the Braj and was reformed under the influence of the Mussulmans. Rāmacandra Śukla points out that such opinions were expressed not so long ago (in 1928) by the President of the Society Hindī Sāhitya Sammelan.

In order to show the error of these ideas, the Hindū scholars quite justly point out that Kharī bolī was not a new language. In

¹ *Bhāṣā-vijñān*, Kāśī, sam^o 1982, p. 342.

² *Hindī bhāṣā kā vikās*, p. 38.

particular Śyām Sundar Dās says¹: “Kharī bolī has existed from the same time as Avadhī and Braj. The only distinction between them is that the literary production both in Braj-bhaṣa and Avadhī began to develop a long time ago, whereas that in the Kharī bolī has begun quite recently.”

Śyām Sundar Dās himself as well as Rāmacandra Śukla and Jagannāth Prasād Śarmā point out that, besides being used as a spoken language, the Kharī bolī crept into literature from ancient times.

Thus, Amir Khusro (1256–1325), known more as a Persian poet, has written a series of small productions, riddles, etc., in the Kharī bolī. And not only historians of the Hindī language and literature, but also historians of the Urdū literature consider Amir Khusro’s verses nearer to the Hindī than to the Urdū. Bābūrām Saksena² in particular says: “These verses though they employ Hindī words are scanned according to Sanskrit prosody and can scarcely be regarded as Urdū verses, though Persian words are found there and here.”

After Amir Khusro the traces of Kharī bolī are partly observed in the works of Kabīr, Nānak, Dādū, in Bhūṣaṇ’s “Śīva Bhāvanī”, in one of Lalit Kiśori’s verses, in the verses of Sītal Kavi, in one of the already mentioned prose works of Gang—who belonged to the court of emperor Akbar—also in Jatmal’s (about 1624) “Gorā bādal kī kathā” etc., and in other poetical works.

The above-mentioned authors give short extracts from the works of the enumerated poets. These extracts, in a most convincing manner, certify to the existence and development of Kharī bolī from the thirteenth century; thus, we may speak of the Kharī bolī as one of the dialects of Hindī literature which was used in the latter to a very limited extent and only in single cases as we may observe it in Amir Khusro and in the works of the poet Gang—it was used as an independent dialect and not as a special stylistic means as it appears in Bhūṣaṇ’s works and in those of a few other Hindū authors.

The fact of using Kharī bolī in the Hindī and Urdū literature undoubtedly testifies to the Kharī bolī being employed also as a spoken language.

In this manner we may consider the antiquity of Kharī bolī as

¹ *Bhāṣa-vijñān*, p. 342.

² *A History of Urdū Literature*, Allahabad, 1927, p. 10.

proved. Therefore the idea of the Khari bolī being a language which has risen from the intermingling of different dialects, or having been founded on the Braj, completely falls away.

The Khari bolī is an independent idiom, having risen on the basis of one of the local dialects. But whether it is founded on one of the dialects used near Delhi, Agra, or Meerut, as is presumed by the Hindū scholars, or whether upon the basis of one of the Panjabi dialects, as is presumed by Grahame Bailey,¹ does not enter the scope of the present note.

However, the Hindū scholars, when looking into the correlation between Khari bolī, the modern literary Hindī, Urdū, and Hindustānī, come to conclusions with which one may undoubtedly disagree.

For instance, Śyām Sundar Dās, on the one hand, says²: "There are three forms of Khari bolī: (1) the pure Hindī, which is the literary language of the Hindūs; (2) Urdū, which is used specially among Mussulmans and is their literary language as well as the spoken language outside their homes, the language of educated Muslims and several Hindūs; and (3) Hindustānī, in which are used, without any difference, words of both Hindī and Urdū languages and which is used by all as a spoken language."

In the above cited quotation Śyām Sundar Dās considers Khari bolī as a more general conception and in the literary Hindī, Urdū, Hindustānī, he observes different aspects and different forms of the language based upon the Khari bolī.

Whereas, a little further on, in the same work³ Śyām Sundar Dās, following Paṇḍit Candra-Gulerī, states: *Urdū koī bhāṣā nahī hai, Hindī kī vibhāṣā hai* "Urdu is not a language, but a dialect of the Hindī language".

Evidently Śyām Sundar Dās put a mark of equality between Khari bolī and Hindī as, if he had understood the term "Hindī" as the whole of all dialects (from Bihar to the Panjab), he would have had to acknowledge this dialect to be not only Urdū but the literary Hindī and the Khari bolī itself.

How to reconcile these contradictory statements is not clear.

Exactly from this point of view Urdū is represented by the scholars mentioned as a purely artificial dialect (*kr̥trim vibhāṣā*).

Hindū scholars declare the merit of spreading Khari bolī

¹ "Urdu, The Name and the Language," *JRAS.*, 1930, April, pp. 391-400.

² *Bhāṣā-vijñān*, p. 342.

³ *Bhāṣā-vijñān*, pp. 346-7.

all over Northern India and over the Deccan to belong to the Muslims as well as the fact of the Muslims being the first to use Khari boli as a literary form. According to their opinion, however, Khari boli in the hands of the Muslims obtained an artificial form; owing to the introduction of a large number of foreign, Persian, and Arabic elements, the Urdū lost its national Indian character, all the more so because the Urdū had taken up some of the elements of Persian grammar.

One cannot deny the fact that the Urdū in the hands of the Muslims underwent many changes, greatly removing it from the spoken language. Nevertheless, these changes were quite natural, in so far as this literary form began to be used for expressing ideas of another Muslim culture, the scope of conceptions of which differ from the notions peculiar to Hinduism. Besides this the Khari boli dialect, modified by the Muslims and changed into Urdū, appears to be no more artificial than the very same Khari boli in the hands of some Hindū writers, who sometimes exclude the elements of tadbhavas, replacing them by elements of Sanskrit tatsamas and by heaping up most complicated compound nouns, some of which are composed of ten or even more components. Both the overloading with Muslim elements as well as with Sanskrit elements, especially with compounds not properly pertaining to the spirit of Khari boli, attributes to it an artificial form. The Hindūs are justified by the Sanskrit elements being national elements, but for the Muslims, educated on Arabic and Persian culture, borrowing from Arabic and Persian languages it also seems natural to have "the national elements" presented.

Hindū scholars insist upon the artificial, hybrid character of the Urdū, especially so because very many authors interpret the expression of Lallū Jī Lāl: *Yāvanī bhāṣā chor . . . khari bolī mē kah* "excluding Muslim elements and narrating in a pure language", in such a manner, that the modern literary Hindī is created by Lallū Jī Lāl from Urdū through excluding from it Muslim elements.

Trying to refute this statement, the Hindū scholars attempt to prove first of all that the Khari boli existed separately, independently of the Muslims and their "artificial" literary language; secondly—that Lallū Jī Lāl, who was employed by the English, was not the creator of the modern literary Hindī.

It is quite natural and absolutely comprehensible why the Hindūs objected to a simplified, purely mechanical, understanding of the formation of a modern literary Hindī, as though

it were formed exclusively by the substitution of some lexical elements to others.

Even Lallū Jī Lāl personally, when creating his work, does not mention the fact of his departing from the Urdū, he says he writes in a "pure Delhi and Agra language", i.e. his point of departure was that of the spoken language of these cities.

The Hindū scholars, however, try to prove that this pure Khari bolī language was mainly cultivated amidst purely Hindū surroundings; this language being used by Hindū paṇḍits, sādhus, merchants, etc.

These statements, of course, surmised in the ardour of Hindū patriotism, lead the Hindū scholars to contradict themselves, as they are obliged to acknowledge that the most ancient samples of Khari bolī are to be found either in the works of Muslim authors (Amir Khusro, Kabīr) or in those parts of the works of the Hindū authors, where Muslims are represented.

Thus Śyām Sundar Dās writes¹: *Hindū kaviyō ne bhī apnī kavītā mē is khari bolī kā prayog kiyā hai. Prāyaḥ Musalmānō kī bātcūt ve khari bolī mē likhte the* "Hindū poets also used the Khari bolī in their poetry. In general they used to render the conversation of Muslims in Khari bolī".

Rāmcandra Śukla as well, in the above-mentioned essay on the development of literary Hindī,² says that from the point of view of Hindū poets the Khari bolī is understood to be specially a Muslim language. *Is se Bhūṣaṇ, Sūdan ādi kaviyō ne Musalmānī darbārō ke prasaṅg mē yā Musalmān pātrō ke bhāṣaṇ mē is bolī kā vyavahār kiyā hai* "For this reason Bhūṣaṇ, Sūdan, and other poets when representing Muslim durbars or depicting the language of Muslim personages used to employ this language".

It is quite evident the Hindū poets considered the Khari bolī as a special spoken language of the Indian Muslims. Undoubtedly the Khari bolī was the language of educated Hindūs, but in the midst of the Hindūs it was a spoken language used by them (as is mentioned by paṇḍit Gulerī and other authors), outside the home, for the spoken home language was more or less coloured by local dialectical peculiarities varying in different provinces.

Although the Khari bolī has for long been used by Muslims not only as a spoken language, but also in Muslim poetry, where it

¹ *Bhāṣa-vijñān*, p. 343.

² *Hindī sāhitya kā vikās*, p. 207.

appeared mostly in a form saturated with Persian and Arabic elements, the Hindūs absolutely ignore the use of Khari bolī elements in the Urdū literature, although elements of Sanskrit tadbhava occupy quite an eminent place with several authors of the Urdū literature.

Completely ignoring the use of Khari bolī elements in the Indo-Muslim literature, the Hindūs speak of its existence only in the form of a spoken language.

However, from the history of no matter whatever language, we know if it lacks a literary language its spoken form is void of stabilization both from a lexical point as well as in respect of grammar, which in no case may be asserted with regard to the Khari bolī, for it comes forward in quite a uniform style with various Hindū poets who sporadically use it in their poems written in the Braj. Besides, having no uniformity in the spoken language, Khari bolī could not appear in such an analogous literary form at the beginning of the nineteenth century with authors who wrote in different parts of the country, as did Lallū Jī Lāl, Lāl Sadāsukh, and Inshā Allā Khān.

Up to the nineteenth century the only form of a literary language which to a certain extent directed the free development of colloquial Khari bolī and communicated a certain steadiness and stability to the latter, was the literary language of the Indian Muslims—the Urdū. That is its historical merit which the Hindū scholars cannot efface.

Our acknowledging the exclusive role of the Urdū as a literary language, which has, during several centuries, influenced the Khari bolī spoken language and added to it a certain stability, preventing it from splitting up into a number of dialects, does not mean to assert the literary Hindī to be considered as having risen from the Urdū. Both the Urdū and the literary Hindī are grounded upon the spoken Khari bolī. The difference is merely that the Urdū began to develop much earlier, therefore it was able to exercise a strong influence on the development of spoken Khari bolī, attributing a certain steadiness to it.

The undoubted influence of Urdū upon the formation of literary Hindī is also proved by the fact that Lallū Jī Lāl, Munshī Sadal Miśra, Sadāsukh and Inshā Allā Khān all had a perfect knowledge of the Urdū; the priority in that respect belonging naturally to Inshā Allā Khān and Sadāsukh, the former being one of the most eminent poets of the Urdū literature, the second the author of several books in the Urdū and Persian languages.

It is quite comprehensible, therefore, that the Urdū did not

immediately affect the literary Hindī, but through the medium of a spoken language which, in the hands of the above-mentioned authors, was moulded into a completeness of form only owing to their perfect knowledge of the Urdū.

The patriotism of the Hindū scholars is manifested not only in their inclination to deny an obvious fact of the effects of Muslim Urdū upon the formation of literary Hindī, but also in that they try to disparage the role of Sadal Miśra and especially Lallū Jī Lāl—the authors who worked over the creation of a literary Hindī under the direction of the English, chiefly under John Gilchrist.

In the introduction to "Prem Sāgar" of Lallū Jī Lāl (edition issued by Nāgarī Pracārīṇī Sabhā) the editor says that Lallū Jī Lāl is considered to be the first author of the Hindī prose as well as the first writer in the Hindī in its modern form,"¹ Śyām Sundar Dās and other authors repeatedly deny this role of Lallū Jī Lāl. In this manner Śyām Sundar Dās, in his course of general linguistics,² says : *Lallūjī Lāl Hindī gadya ke janmadātā māne jāte hai. Vāstav mẽ unhō ne Hindī gadya ko ādhunik rūp nahī diyā* "Lallū Jī Lāl is considered to be the parent of prose Hindī. In reality it is not he who gave the prose Hindī its modern form." The same is repeated by Śyām Sundar Dās in an essay treating of the development of the Hindī, supplement to the dictionary *Hindī-Śabdāsāgar*,³ and after him a number of authors, in particular Śrī Jagannāth Prasād Śarmā.⁴

The most essential of all their arguments is firstly that Lallū Jī Lāl did not act independently, but by the direction of the Administration of Fort William College; secondly, his weak knowledge of Sanskrit and insufficient preparedness for such an important business as the creation of a literary Hindī.

The Hindū scholars point out that besides Lallū Jī Lāl and Sadal Miśra the creators of literary Hindī are to be considered Munshi Sadāsukh Lāl and Syed Inshā Allāh Khān, whose activity in that line is all the more important as they both acted on their own behalf and initiative, and not upon the directions of the administration of Fort William College. According to their assertions this fact is principally of great importance, as it is a proof that Indian society realized the

¹ Compare also : Śyām Sundar Dās : *Hindī gadya ke ādi ācārya. Nā° pra° Pa°*, navin saṁskaraṇ, bhāg 6, aṅk 1, 1982, p. 19.

² *Bhāṣā-vijñān*, pp. 348-9.

³ *Hindī bhāṣā kā vikās*, p. 41.

⁴ *Hindī kī gadya śailī kā vikās*, pp. 197-8.

necessity of having a prose literary language; attempts were made, independently of the English, to satisfy this need.

Munshī Sadāsukh Lāl was a native of Delhi. He was born in Sam. 1803. For a long period he was an employee of the East India Company. He knew the Urdū and Persian languages perfectly and wrote several works in those languages. He made a translation in prose of the Bhāgavat and gave it the name of Sukhsāgar. Besides that, Sadāsukh wrote ¹ several articles of which one was even printed.

Rāmcandra Śukla emphasizes that Sadāsukh wrote in prose language not according to the directions of some or other English official and not according to some kind of given standard, but according to his own initiative. As follows from the above, Sadāsukh wrote in the spoken language of educated Hindūs.

One may doubt the proximity of Sadāsukh's language to the spoken language, anyway as far as his lexicology is concerned, because of his using Sanskrit tatsamas to a great extent. It is certain, however, that he followed the same way as most of the workers of the modern Hindī literature, who also use Sanskrit tatsamas to a large extent.

As Sadāsukh began to write a little before the other workers of the beginning period of the Hindī prose literature, his activity in this respect was considered to be of great import.²

Syed Inshā Allā Khān (died in 1817) was the most eminent poet of the Urdū literature. He was a poet at the court of Delhi and afterwards of Lucknow and finally he was in Murshidabad at the court of the Nawab of Bengal. Wishing to prove to his friends it was possible to write in a pure spoken language, Inshā Allā Khān wrote a story called "Rānī Ketkī kī Kahānī", in which he used only the vocabulary and terms of style of the spoken language of the educated circles of his time, avoiding both vulgarity and pretentious expressions typical of literary Urdū of his epoch. Inshā Allā Khān's independence of topic, the simplicity, refinement, picturesqueness and vividness of style, imbued with expressions of everyday life, force the historians of literature to acknowledge Inshā Allā Khān's pre-eminence in the way of masterly use of the new prose style of literary Hindī, although historians generally point out the influence of Urdū in his lexicology and syntax.

The third creator of the modern literary Hindī the Hindū scholars consider to be Paṇḍit Sadal Miśra. As well as Lallū Jī Lāl, he served

¹ Śyām Sundar Dās : *Ādhunik Hindī gadya ke ādi ācārya*, p. 18.

² Rāmcandra Śukla : *Hindī sāhitya kā vikās*, pp. 210-211.

in the East India Company in the capacity of teacher at Fort William College. In the year 1803 he translated into Hindī the tale "Nāsiketopākhyān". Although, according to the opinion of Hindū scholars, the language of Paṇḍit Sadal Miśra is much better than that of Lallū Jī Lāl, it nevertheless has some deficiencies, of which the most important are : The using of the Eastern Hindi forms such as *phūlanh*, *cahūdis*, *sunī*, etc. ; placing auxiliaries before participles of the verb, for instance, *uttam gati ko haī pahūcte*, etc. ; the dropping out of the copula, for example, *kanyā sab gāṭī* ; instability of orthography, such as *kad hī* and *kadhī* and several other defects. Notwithstanding these trifling deficiencies, the language of Paṇḍit Sadal Miśra is considered to be better than the language of Lallū Jī Lāl.

Especially Lallū Jī Lāl and his language are subjected to harsh criticism.

Jagannāth Prasād Śarmā¹ points out that the work of Lallū Jī Lāl is much inferior to the mentioned works of Sadāsukh and Inshā Allā Khān, because Lallū Jī Lāl acted not upon his own initiative but according to the directions of others, being in the capacity of teacher at Fort William College. Besides all that, his "Prem Sāgar" written in 1803 at the same time as "Nāsiketopākhyān" of Sadal Miśra and "Rānī Ketkī kī Kahānī" of Inshā Allā Khān is not considered to be an original production. The language of Lallū Jī Lāl, according to the opinion of the mentioned author, is subjected to many deficiencies, of which the chief are : there is no steadiness in grammar, Sanskrit tatsamas are used to a great extent, but their spelling differs from the standards of orthography. The orthography of *tadbhava* is also not strictly kept to. Lallū Jī Lāl has quite excluded Arabic and Persian elements from his vocabulary, whereas these elements have been without doubt substantially introduced into the Hindī and, on the contrary, he often uses Braj and introduces into "Prem Sāgar" a large quantity of verses in that dialect. In other parts of his works besides poetry in the Braj language he sometimes makes use of rhymes.

Based upon the above deficiencies, Lallū Jī Lāl's language, which, according to the opinion of the Hindū scholars is not void of some positive traits, cannot be considered as an example of literary Hindī. For that reason Lallū Jī Lāl cannot be considered to be the founder of that language.

¹ *Hindī kī gadya bāilī kī vikāś*, p. 197.

Of the four authors who wrote at the beginning of the nineteenth century in prose Hindī, according to the opinion of Rāmacandra Śukla,¹ the best should be considered to be the language of Sadāsukh Lāl, and for this reason he must be considered to be the creator of the modern literary language. Śrī Jagannāth Prasād Śarmā is of the same opinion in this respect as Rāmacandra Śukla.²

From the point of view of purity and correctness of the literary language Śyām Sundar Dās ranks the three authors as follows: "The first place is to be occupied by Inshā Ullā Khān, the second by Sadal Miśra, and the third by Lallū Jī Lāl."³

In this way Lallū Jī Lāl, who in the European literature is considered to be the inventor of modern prose Hindī, from the point of view of Hindū scholars occupies the last place, or is even completely excluded from the ranks of parents of the Hindī prose.

In order to estimate the cause of such varying conclusions both on the part of European authors and Hindūs, it is necessary to dwell upon the arguments used by Hindū scholars and their criterion of a model literary language.

Hindū scholars consider the deficiency of Lallū Jī Lāl to be in the following: his grammar is not stable and has no standard; for instance, he uses several variations for the same form; in order to express the Conjunctive Participle he uses such forms as: *kari*, *karke*, *bulāy*, *bulāykari*, *bulāykar*, *bulāykarike*. Further, in Lallū Jī Lāl's works we come across Braj dialect, such as: *bhaī*, *soī*, *nirakh*, *lījai*, and others.

Diversions from the standard modern language are to be found in the works of all four authors. In Sadāsukh Lāl we come across such forms as: *āvtā*, *jāvtā*, etc., *ko* instead of *koī*, etc.; Inshā Allā Khān uses such forms as *ātiyā*, *jātiyā*, etc.; Sadal Miśra employs forms already noted like *phūlanh*, etc. Thus this deficiency is observed in the works of all the mentioned authors. It is doubtful whether one should reckon these deviations as a deficiency, for most probably the spoken language of the latter period of the eighteenth century possessed a greater number of forms than the modern literary language, and different authors introduced variations of these forms into their works. Only the subsequent development of the literary language actuates a certain standardization.

¹ *Hindī sāhitya kā vikāś*, p. 214.

² *Hindī kī gadya śailī kā vikāś*, p. 195.

³ *Ādhunik Hindī gadya ke ādi ācārya*, p. 33.

Secondly, even at the present time, the literary Hindī is not standardized to a great extent among different authors, not mentioning noticeable discrepancies both from a lexical and grammatical side. As an example we may take the forms of the Conjunctive Participle, for which any grammar provides several variations, for example *bol*, *bolkar*, *bolke*, *bolkarke*, or the Conjunctive form *jāe*, *jāye*, *jāy*, *jāve*, or the form of the Past Participle such as *diye*, *die*, etc.

There is no doubt, of course, that some of these variations will gradually drop off with the further development of the literary Hindī.

The fact of Lallū Jī Lāl employing verse in the Braj dialect can by no means be considered as a deficiency of his language. The adoption of verse in the Braj should be looked upon as a peculiar method of composition practised by Lallū Jī Lāl in his "Prem Sāgar". Epic narration is carried out by him in prose language, moments of high lyrical tension are reproduced in a lyrical language, which the Braj dialect was ages ago considered to be. Neither of these dialects are mixed up with each other. Only single forms of Braj are sometimes used in prose, which can evidently be explained by the fact of their being in affinity to the spoken language of the end of the eighteenth century.

Hindū scholars consider Lallū Jī Lāl's language to be greatly deficient by his using Sanskrit tatsamas differing from the orthography generally used.

Evidently Lallū Jī Lāl, attempting to write in a language the nearest possible to the spoken, without doubt wrote Sanskrit tatsamas in such a way as they were pronounced at that time. It is a defect of orthography, but not a defect of the language.

Orthographical questions are very complicated ones, and Lallū Jī Lāl, creating a new literary form, solved the difficulties as he considered to be more correct. Secondly the orthography of the literary Hindī is its weakest point, and is to be further improved.

The Indian Press has recently discussed various projects of reforming the devanāgarī. In case one of these projects should be accepted, naturally the orthography of many modern authors will become obsolete, but this does not mean that their language will become obsolete as well.

Because of the digressions from the Sanskrit tatsama orthography many authors state that Lallū Jī Lāl had quite a low knowledge of the

Sanskrit or even did not know it at all.¹ I doubt whether such a conclusion will be correct after a minute survey of the language of "Prem Sāgar". Such conclusions should not be drawn from this fact, all the more so as Lallū Jī Lāl was not prepared for such a role as the creator of a new literary language.² Śyām Sundar Dās who also considers Lallū Jī Lāl hardly prepared enough for his role, still brings forward the opinion of other scholars; "some say if he lived at the present times he would never have attained such fame. But this may be said about Newton and other world famous scientists."³

Besides, the role in history of this one or another promoter is not determined by the degree of his erudition. Most probably at the end of the eighteenth and at the beginning of the nineteenth century there were many scholars who knew the Sanskrit and most likely the Hindi much better than Lallū Jī Lāl, but, nevertheless, they did not participate in this great undertaking as Lallū Jī Lāl did.

Hindū scholars, basing their views upon abstract facts of purity and correctness of language, find it impossible to consider Lallū Jī Lāl the founder of the modern literary Hindī, and they consider that such a role should be attributed to Munshī Sadāsukh and Syed Inshā Allā Khān and to a certain extent to Sadal Miśra.

One may come to such a conclusion only in that case if one is to forget historical facts announced by these scholars. It is well known that the story of Sadal Miśra, "Nāsiketopākhyān", was soon forgotten and was not republished. Śyām Sundar Dās himself says⁴ the collection of Sadāsukh's articles was not even published, and the story of Syed Inshā Allāh Khān⁵ was published for the first time by Rājā Śiv Prasād. Whereas "Prem Sāgar" by Lallū Jī Lāl was published many times and its popularity grew stronger and stronger. It is quite comprehensible that the formation of a literary language should be affected only by such works as are propagated and widely read and not the ones which lie in manuscripts or which are forgotten immediately after their appearance.

For this reason from all the mentioned works of the four authors considered by the Hindū scholars to be the founders of modern literary Hindī, the "Prem Sāgar" of Lallū Jī Lāl is the most noted work to play an honourable part; owing to it the idea of a prose literary

¹ Rāmcandra Śukla: *Hindī sāhitya kā vikās*, pp. 212-13.

² Śyām Sundar Dās: *Adhunik Hindī gadya ke ādi ācārya*.

³ Op. cit., p. 30.

⁴ Op. cit., p. 18.

⁵ Op. cit., p. 32.

language became popular, many authors of the following stages of the development of literary Hindī studied prose language by it.

Hindū scholars attempt to diminish the significance of Lallū Jī Lāl and Sadal Miśra by pointing out their serving at Fort William College and their acting upon the initiative and directions of the administration of the College, whereas Paṇḍit Sadāsukh Lāl and Inshā Allāh Khān were never employed at that College and therefore acted independently and upon their own initiative. But, first of all, Paṇḍit Sadāsukh also served in the East India Company, although not at the College; secondly, the fact that both the mentioned authors started to work upon a prose language only when Lallū Jī Lāl and Sadal Miśra were solving the same problem, and this undoubtedly is a sign they began their work also under the influence of Europeans.

The influence of Europeans upon the development of a prose language is not only to be seen in that they brought to India an idea new to this country of a literary language resembling that of a spoken language, but also as Śrī Jagannāth Prasād Śarmā¹ justly remarks, with the advent of the English and under their influence great changes have taken place in the economic, social, and religious life of India. A new bourgeois class is formed which is in need of a literary language close to that of the spoken, and, with the assistance of the English, this class creates and spreads it by technical means (such as the press, etc.) adopted from Europe.

Out of three literary forms set up on the basis of Khari bolī, viz. High Hindī, Urdū, and Hindustānī, this latter the Hindū scholars consider to be purely artificial, originated by the English "for political reasons".² These scholars imagine the affair to have been enacted in the following way: the English selected out of the Urdū and Hindi words common to both languages, kept the Hindi grammar and in this way invented a new language. Such a mode of explaining the formation of the idiom which the Hindus themselves call Hindustānī is quite mechanical and contradicts their own words, as the Hindū scholars declare that the Hindustānī is just the form of language *jise sab log bolcāl mē kām mē lāte hai*³ "which is used by all in conversation".

From the point of view of proximity to the living spoken speech the Hindustānī is the most perfect form of a literary language which can

¹ *Hindī kī gadya śailī kā vikās*, pp. 189-190.

² Śyām Sundar Dās: *Bhāṣa-vijñān*, pp. 342-5.

³ Śyām Sundar Dās: *Bhāṣa-vijñān*, p. 342, 1.

unite the Hindūs and Muslims. This is recognized by several Hindū scholars, for example by Bābūrām Saksenā.¹

Most of the Indian scholars have another point of view upon the matter and find that the literary language must differ from the spoken language, even of the educated class²; in accordance with this, these scholars see the only way of forming a literary Hindī on the basis of a spoken language by satiating it with as many pure Sanskrit tatsamas³ as possible.

The satiation of literary Hindī with Sanskrit tatsamas is not only done out of "purely theoretical" considerations, but with the purpose of rendering the Hindī comprehensible in other provinces, as in the literary languages of these provinces a great number of Sanskrit tatsamas is also found.

It is omitted in this reasoning that the spoken Hindī or rather the Hindustānī did not need Sanskrit tatsamas in order to be widely spread.

Although a sound judgment is raised in objection to excess of Sanskritizing the Hindī, for example by Rām Dās Gauṛ⁴ and others, also several modern authors of literary Hindī Sanskritize their language to such an extent that tadbhava elements occupy quite an insignificant part in their vocabulary. For instance, in *Viyogī Harī*⁵ we read :
*jab māi . . . srotasvatī-sarīt-taṭ-taru-śākhā-viharīt-kalkaṇṭhī-kokil-
 kuhuk-dhvani suntā hū, prabhāt-ausakaṇ-jhalkit-harīt-tṛṇācchādīt-
 prakṛti-parīṣkṛt-bahu-vanaspati-sugandhit-sukhad-bhūmī par lettā hū . . .*"

From the above specimen we may draw the conclusion that a digression from the principle of connecting together spoken and literary language leads, practically speaking, to the restoration of Sanskrit.

¹ *Bhāratvarṣa kī ādhunik Ārya bhāṣā, Nā° Pra° Pa°, navin saṁskaraṇ, bhāg 11, aṅk 2, pp. 121-162.*

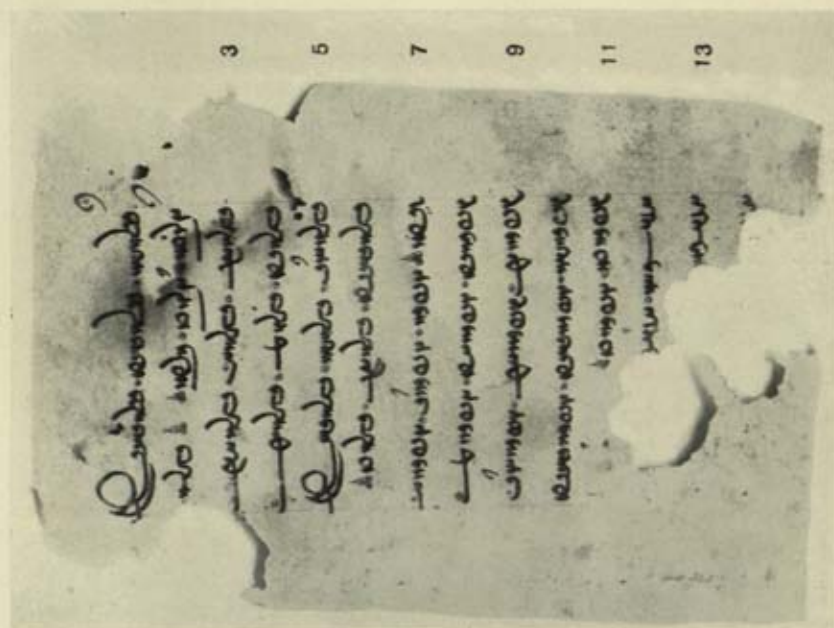
² Śyām Sundar Dās : *Bhāṣā-vijñān*, p. 353.

³ Mahāmahopādhyāya Śrī Giridhar Śarmā Caturvedī : *Varttamān Hindī me Saṁskṛt śabdō kō grahaṇ, Nā° Pra° Pa°, navin saṁskaraṇ, bhāg 10, aṅk 1-2, 1986, pp. 195-231.*

⁴ *Śrīrāmcārīmānas kī bhūmīkā*, Dehlī aur Kāśī, 1982, p. 8.

⁵ Śrī Jagannāth Prasād Śarmā : *Hindī kī gadya śailī kā vikāś*, p. 334.

Verso.



Recto.



PAHLAVI FRAGMENT TM 195 (P 1).

Remarks on the Pahlavi Ligatures 𐬨 and 𐬩

By K. BARR

(PLATE III)

IN the *Sitzungsberichte der Kgl. Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Jahrgang, 1904, pp. 1136-7, K. F. Geldner published a transcription of a fragment of a Pahlavi-frahang found in Turfan and now preserved in the Museum für Völkerkunde in Berlin (registered as TM 195 (P1)). As some graphic peculiarities and especially the ligatures occurring in this fragment may be of particular interest for the history of the Pahlavi system of writing, I think it may be worth while to reproduce a photograph of it, obtained through the kind assistance of Dr. W. Henning and Dr. Gelpke, Berlin. For permission to use it for this purpose I am greatly indebted to the kindness of the Secretary of the Preussische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Geheimerat Lüders.

The fragment contains part of a list of verbs. This list gives far more grammatical forms of each verb than the Pahlavi-frahangs published by Junker. On the other hand, it does not give the Iranian equivalents of each verb-form, but only, after the enumeration of the ideographically written forms, the corresponding Iranian infinitive. Apart from the ligatures, the discussion of which is the main purpose of this article, the fragment has the following peculiarities. The infinitive is always written 𐬨° and the past partic. 𐬩°, both without the perpendicular stroke generally found added to these forms in Book-Pahlavi.¹ The stroke (marked ' in my transcriptions) is found

¹ I take it for granted that this stroke in Book-Pahlavi represents the final -y of the Sasanian inscriptions and the Pahlavi-Psalter, found not only as the ending of the cas. obl. of nouns, but also, being part of Aramaic forms, in ideograms like L'YNY ~ pēš and 'YTY ~ hast, L'YTY ~ nēst, which words in good MSS. always are written 𐬨𐬩𐬨𐬩, 𐬨𐬩𐬨𐬩, 𐬨𐬩𐬨𐬩.


I may mention here that the -Y of L'YNY has been convincingly explained by Andreas as the Aramaic dual-ending. This perpendicular stroke is, in my opinion, the only trace of the cas. obl. found in Pahlavi of the books. It is, of course, only a graphic survival, and I consider the -y of the inscriptions and the Psalter to be so too, because only on this assumption is it possible to account for the irregularity of the -y being used or omitted.








only in the ending *-išn*, written *-šn'* (R 1, 5, 10; V 1, 5, 10). At the end of a line some letters have special forms: *y* *yy*, the ending of the 2nd sg. pres. ind. (R 12; V 7), *č* (R 4, 13; V 4). The letter *n* sometimes has a shape with a curve below, which recalls the *ç* of the inscriptions, the *ن* of the Psalter. This is the case at ends of lines R 6, 7 (perhaps also R 1), but also in initial position (ا *š* V 7), and sometimes in the compounds *š'n* (س *n* R 2) and *ن* (v. the forms of *š'n* V 8 seq.). This special form of *n* might, of course, as well be considered merely a peculiarity of the individual hand. The other graphic traits of our fragment, such as the diacritical marks *..* and *^*, marking *š* as respectively *y* or *d* (wrongly used in a few forms of *YBLWN* V 1, 2) are met with also in the oldest Pahlavi MSS. known.




In the fragment the following seven verbs are represented: I, *ānītan*; II, *dāštan*; III, *šutan*; IV, *burtan*; V, *nītan*; VI, [*uzītan*]; VII, [*vindātan*]. As the only form preserved of VII is the imper. sg., I omit this verb in the synoptic list I now have arranged in order to make out the value of the ligatures of endings found. The ligatures, which will be discussed below, are put in parentheses, restorations in brackets.



I	II	III	IV	V	VI
	(3) <i>YHSNN</i>	' <i>ZLWN</i>	[<i>YBLWN</i>]	* <i>DBLWN</i>	<i>YNPKWN</i>
	— <i>d</i>	(8) — <i>d</i>	[<i>Y</i>] <i>BLWNd</i>	(3) — (?)	— <i>d</i>
	— <i>yy</i>	— <i>yy</i>	<i>YBLNyy</i> (!)	— <i>yy</i>	— <i>yy</i>
	— <i>yt</i>	— <i>yt</i>	(13) <i>YBLWNyt</i>	— (' <i>t</i>)	(8) — <i>yt</i>
	(4) — ' <i>t</i>	— ' <i>t</i>	[— ' <i>t</i>]	(4) — (<i>yt</i>)	— ' <i>t</i>
	— <i>m</i>	(9) — <i>m</i>	[— <i>m</i>]	— <i>m</i>	— <i>m</i>
	— <i>ym</i>	— <i>ym</i>	(14) — <i>ym</i>	— <i>ym</i>	(9) — <i>ym</i>
	(5) — ' <i>m</i>	— ' <i>m</i>	<i>YBL[WN'm]</i>	— ' <i>m</i>	— ' <i>m</i>
	— ' <i>nd</i>	(10) — ' <i>nd</i>	[<i>YBLWN'n</i>] <i>d</i>	(5) — ' <i>nd</i>	— ' <i>nd</i>
(R 1) <i>HYTYWNšn'</i>	— <i>šn'</i>	— <i>šn'</i>	(V 1) — <i>šn'</i>	— <i>šn'</i>	(10) — <i>šn'</i>
— [<i>yč</i>] <i>yt</i>	(6) — <i>yčyt</i>	— <i>yč(yt)</i>	— <i>yčyt</i>	— <i>yč(yt)</i>	— <i>yčyt</i>
— [<i>t</i>] <i>n</i> ?	— <i>yčst</i>	(11) — <i>yčst</i>	— <i>yč(st)</i>	(6) — <i>yčst</i>	— <i>yčst</i>
(2) — <i>yčst</i>	— <i>tn</i>	— <i>tn</i>	(2) — <i>tn</i>	— (<i>tn</i>)	(11) — <i>tn</i>
— <i>t</i>	(7) — <i>t</i>	— <i>t</i>	— <i>t</i>	— <i>t</i>	— <i>t</i>
' <i>nytn</i>	<i>d'štn</i>	(12) <i>šw[tn]</i>	<i>bwrtn</i>	(7) <i>nytn</i>	[]

A glance at this synopsis shows that, with one exception only, each verb is represented in the same grammatical forms, only with a few discrepancies as to the order in which the forms occur in the list. II, III, and IV are in complete accord, and IV had very likely, at



least originally, the same number of forms agreeing with the others wherever a trace of a final is left, thus making the restoration of the form in question quite certain. In V the 3rd pl. conj. is missing, and the indic. and the conj. 3rd sg. are interchanged. In I, too, an inversion of forms has taken place, that of the infinitive and the 3rd sg. pret. pass., if my restoration of the text is correct. As for *HYTYWN*[*yh*]*yt* R 1,  exactly fills the gap, and at the end of the same line I think I discern a trace of the final *n* (cf. at the ends of lines 6, 7) making up the infinitive. I am, of course, not quite sure of the last point, as I have not had the opportunity of examining the original manuscript.







R 10 and V 5, the ending *-yt* of the 3rd sg. pres. ind., elsewhere written with the common , has a shape that cannot well be separated from the final  of the MSS. The same form of the final , with the great loop and the curved down-stroke, occurs in the compound *-st* in the 3rd sg. pret. pass. *YBLWNYhst* V 1, elsewhere in the fragment written in the common way . At the end of V 3 we find a ligature which I hardly think can be read otherwise than *'t*, the ending of the 3rd sg. conj., elsewhere , though we have to assume the above-mentioned inversion of the 3rd sg. conj. and the 3rd sg. indic. The second part of this ligature has exactly the same shape as that of the ligature  of the MSS. It is to be noted that these ligatures are all used at the ends of lines, but whether this fact is more than accidental we have no means of deciding, owing to the very limited extent of the fragment. However that may be, the shape of the , especially in R 10, V 1, 5, might easily be explained from the use of peculiar final letters in different kinds of book-scripts of Semitic origin.

In V 6 we find another ligature, which according to the parallel forms of the other verbs surely represents *tn*. The resemblance of this ligature and the  of the MSS. is, I think, so striking that the two signs must be connected. And I think the shape of the ligature in our fragment gives us the clue to understand at least one very frequent use of . The ligature in V 6 contains the same form of , found in the ligature *'t* V 3, and the form of *n* mentioned above, p. 392. As for the cross-stroke found in this ligature and in the ligatures for *-yt* and *-t*, I am not sure how it should be explained, but I feel inclined to regard it as an ornamental element, perhaps serving the purpose of binding the elements of the compound together. It is found not only



in the ideogram  *andar* < *BYN*, but also in the Av. ligature , perhaps introduced there from Pahlavi.¹









Another element, the interpretation of which is somewhat doubtful, is the small oblique stroke added to the ligature *-yt* in R 10, but not in V 5, and perhaps to the ligature *'t* V 3. We may, however, compare the perpendicular stroke very frequently, but not regularly, found with the endings *-yt* and *-t* of the 3rd sg. pres. ind. and conj. in our MSS., cf. the *-y* of the personal endings of the Psalter (the inscriptions only have *-my* of the 1st sg.). The absence of the stroke in the ending *-yht* V 1 is in accordance with its omission in the past participles in the fragment.



Finally we have to discuss the ligature with which the first form in V 3 is supplied. From the parallelism with the other series I conclude that the form in question is the 3rd pl. indic., being in the other verbs always characterized in the common way by adding *â* to the ideogram. This ligature is perhaps to be explained as representing *-ynd*, *â y* being combined with a ligature of *â d* and the aforesaid form of *n*. If this explanation is correct we must assume that the ideogram in this case has been supplied with that form of the ending, which is normal only in verbs not ideographically written. I have met such spellings in a few cases in the old MS. of the Vendidad K 1. The instances found in this MS. are, however, not conclusive because  may be only a clerical error for .












Provided that the explanations given prove to be correct, it can be stated that our fragment uses the ligatures, which I connect with  and  of the MSS. respectively, in a way which is very common in the Book-Pahlavi. The cases in which forms in  alternate with  and forms in  with  are in the MSS. so numerous that I cannot agree with Nyberg, who regards every other use of the endings than that which he has tried to establish in his *Hilfsbuch* as only being due to errors of scribes who did not understand the real value of the

¹ It always ought to be kept in mind in discussing the origin of letters of the Av. alphabet that Pahlavi and Avestan writing was executed by the same scribes. Thus we shall have to take into account the fact that the form of the Av. script, such as we know it, might be due not only to an "Ur-Avestan Aramaic script, but also, to a certain extent, to a secondary influence from scribes versed in writing Pahlavi, the scientific language of Zoroastrian theology (cf. e.g. the formal congruity of Pahl.

 and Av.  which cannot be anything but secondary).

to be the reason why the shape of the *t* has lost its proper and distinct shape in . The same may happen in the case of , being in MSS. rather frequently confused with  (as is also  with ). As for the curve of the down-stroke of the , I think it has to be explained from a merely æsthetic point of view as due to influence from the left-hand curve of . It is not likely that this shape has anything to do with the Sasanian form  (v. *infra*, p. 399, footnote 2).

The fact that the ligatures  and  are used in the above way in a frahang makes it, I believe, almost certain that we have to do with a generally adopted system of orthography. A frahang arranged like ours has most likely not been composed to facilitate reading of Pahlavi but to teach how to write it. Otherwise it would certainly not have given so many verbal forms without stating how they are to be pronounced. It seems to me to be an orthographic handbook teaching how the most important forms of the ideographically written words are correctly spelled. So I cannot help thinking that our fragment has some authority and it would be interesting to know how old it is. Geldner in his above-mentioned paper from 1904 only remarks: "Wohl älter als dreihundert Jahre." Judging from the character in which it is written, we might suppose it to be even older. On the other hand, there is no reason to consider it older than our oldest MSS.

The ligatures  and  denote in Pahlavi, as is well known, besides the forms already treated other forms of the verb.  not rarely denotes the 3rd pl. pres. ind. (in this case the MSS. often have  or ) and also  occurs in this form. It is difficult to say whether the ligatures are used here wrongly or whether we have in these cases to suppose that originally different ligatures have coalesced into those now exclusively found. As for  ~ *ynd* we might compare the ligature of the frahang V 3. This ligature might very well in time have become so like the  of V 6 that they were confused. This is, indeed, very uncertain and cannot strictly be proved. The extreme difficulty of investigations of this order is greatly increased by the corrupt state in which most of our Pahlavi texts have come down to us. Thus  and  are frequently interchanged. We find  instead

of 𐬀 in cases where exactly parallel forms in the same clause show the past participle (as for the change of 𐬀 and 𐬁, cf. the similar one of 𐬂 and 𐬃 often found in MSS. as Tavadia in his review of Nyberg's *Hilfsbuch*, ZII., 9, p. 276, has justly pointed out), or forms in 𐬀° in parallelism to forms in 𐬀° or to the naked ideogram denoting the 2nd sg. imper. The same variations occur in the case of *variae lectiones*. We cannot but recognize that the scribes have been utterly in doubt as to the real value of the ligatures.


Professor H. S. Nyberg has, in his most valuable *Hilfsbuch des Pehlevi* (i, Einleitung, pp. 13 sqq.), made an ingenious attempt to explain the origin and use of the ligatures under discussion. As the adoption of Nyberg's explanation would involve far-reaching consequences in our conception of Pahlavi morphology and syntax, I consider this sufficient to justify an examination of his views.

According to Nyberg, the source of 𐬀 has to be sought in the Arsacid letters 𐭣𐭩, that of 𐬀 in the Sasanian 𐭣𐭩, both meaning *yh*. There is, however, as already stated by Tavadia (l.l., p. 276), one serious objection to be made to this suggestion: the letter *h* 𐭣 is only found in Aramaic elements. Furthermore, we are hardly justified in assuming any influence of the Arsacid upon the Sasanian script, and Nyberg has not tried to give any evidence for this assumption of his. Though I cannot, for the reason mentioned, adopt Nyberg's solution of the problem as to the origin of our ligatures, I think it is not useless to discuss the grammatical side of Nyberg's theory in the light of the middle-Iranian texts which have been made available since Nyberg's book appeared, viz. the Turfan texts, ed. by Andreas-Henning,¹ and the Pahlavi-Psalter.²




Nyberg sees in the forms in 𐬀° the 3rd sg. pres. optative corresponding to optatives like *HWYndy* of the inscriptions and *hyndyyh* of the Turfan texts. Hence 𐬀𐬀𐬀, according to Nyberg, is to be read *kunēndēh*, the ideogram denoting not only the pres.



¹ *Mitteliranische Manichaica aus Chinesisch-Turkestan*, i-ii (south-west dialect), iii (north-west dialect), von F. C. Andreas (†). Aus dem Nachlass herausgegeben von Walter Henning, *SPAW. Phil.-Hist. Kl.* 1932, 1933, 1934, quoted as Andreas-Henning, i, ii, iii.

² *Bruchstücke einer Pehlevi-Übersetzung der Psalmen* von F. C. Andreas (†). Aus dem Nachlass herausgegeben von Kaj Barr, *SPAW. Phil.-Hist. Kl.* 1933, quoted as Andreas-Barr.

stem, but also the pres. partic. in *-nd-*. The form is explained as having arisen by way of analogy with *kart-ēh*. This should be *kart hē*, or *kart-ē*, the ending normally being written . This conjecture must be rejected for several reasons, the first being this, that the use at the pres. partic. in *-nd* in Book-Pahl. and in the Turfan south-western texts is limited in the same way as is the case in NP., i.e. to that of a noun, and it is highly improbable that the naked ideogram should be used to express a form which, though being from a historical point of view a derivation of the present-stem, does not strictly belong to the conjugation of the verb.¹ In the second place, the form *HWYndy*, the only one occurring, is found only in the Arsacid parts of the inscriptions. In the Sasanian parts the corresponding form is written *HWH*.² Thus we must conclude already from the inscriptions that the form belongs to the north-western dialect. That this is really the

¹ It may have been otherwise in the old north-western dialects and Professor Nyberg's explanation of the north-western optative *'hyndyyh*, etc., as a periphrastic formation from the pres. part. may well prove to be correct; this formation perhaps survives in the periphrastic pres. indic. in *-n(n)-* in Zāzā, in *-nd-*, *-n(n)-* in Sängisāri, Lāsgirdi, Šāmerzādi, Tāliši, and other dialects spoken in the vicinity of the Caspian Sea, cf. Lingvistikredsen i København, Aarsberetning for 1934, p. 15, and Christensen-Barr-Henning, *Iranische Dialektaufzeichnungen aus dem Nachlass von F. C. Andreas*, i, p. 163, footnote 1 (in press). Professor Nyberg told me by letter that he himself had explained the *nd-* formations of the modern "Caspian" dialects in the same way as I did.

² The correspondence of the north-west and south-west forms is quite clear from the Hājj.-inscription. In the Ars. redaction (9-10) we have the past partic. + *HWYndy* (as for the reading, cf. Turfan *'hyndyyh*) in the protasis and the apodosis of an irreal period: *'YK 'k šyty BNYt HWYndy, . . . 'ky YHWT HWYndy* " (he said), that if a construction had been erected, . . . it would have been visible." The corresponding period in the Sas. redaction (9-10) runs: *'YK HT šyt'ky šyty HWH, 'DYN . . . pty'k YHWWN HWH*. Herzfeld reads *ast* for *HWH* as we, indeed, may do in places where the Ars. text has *HWYt*. I should rather suggest that *HWH* here is to be read *hē* the opt. sg. 3rd, cf.  (also  or  is found in the sg.) common in

the irrealis of the past (v. Bartholomae, *Zur Kunde d. Mittlir. Mundarten*, i, pp. 47-51, esp. p. 50²). Cf. Pahl. Ps. 123, 2, *HTmn L' MH MRWHY YK'YMWNt HWHd* . . . (3) *'DYNšn zywnky 'wprty HWHm* "If the Lord had not been with us . . . they would have devoured us alive". Ps. *HWHd* must be compared with  (not with the conj. 3rd sg.  Turfan *h'd* (*hāδ*) also used in irreal clauses, as I did in

my glossary, Andreas-Barr, p. 130a. It is not likely that the spirant *δ < t* in this form should have been written phonetically with *γ*. *γ* here as in other cases in the Ps. is for *y* as in the book-form). The orthography of the inscriptions being rather sparing as to the use of phonetic complements denoting verbal endings, I think a form like *HWH* without any phonetic complement may admit of more than one reading. The north-west texts published by Andreas-Henning offer some instances of this optative (*'byndyyh*, *werdyndyh*, *qryndyh*, *beyndyh*). We find the same formation of the irreal

case is confirmed now from the texts published by Andreas-Henning. In the south-western dialect from Turfan the 3rd sg. pres. opt. ends in \bar{e} , written $-yy$, $-yyh$, $-yh$ ($b\bar{e}h$, $h\bar{e}$, $\bar{s}ay\bar{e}$, $bar\bar{e}h$), in the same way as is the ending of abstract nouns (cf. Henning, *ZII.*, 9, pp. 234 and 235 Bem.). The h sometimes found might be due to analogy with the ending of the 2nd sg. pres. ind. At least it can hardly be phonetically explained if we start from old Iranian optatives in $-ait$.¹ These optatives are represented in Book-Pahlavi by $هه$ $h\bar{e}$ and $دند$ $\bar{e}st\bar{e}$ (Dēnkart and Av. translation), and I consider it not *a priori* impossible that the forms in $ه$ ° in some cases may be interpreted as opt., like those found in the Turfan texts. If that be the case I should propose to read the ligature yh , h being explained in the same way as Turfan \bar{h} . Cf. the different spellings of the ending of the 2nd sg. pres. ind. $ه$ °, $ه$ °, $ه$ °. For the shape of h may be compared the older form of the h occurring in the Psalter $ه$ with a down-stroke on the left hand. Unfortunately there are no examples of a h in final position. As it, however, is very uncertain to what extent the special features of Pahlavi letters in the Psalter MS. may have existed in a period prior to the development of the cursive of the Zoroastrian books, I should not emphasize this weak possibility.² It could as







period as in the Hājj.-inscription in a 49-50 (cf. also b 117, 128). In other cases it is used to express a wish: 'fryd *bwyndyh* "benedictus sit" (m 50, 53) = south-west 'fryd *byh*, or an obligation: (b 53-57) where *wrdyndyh* and *qryndyh* are in parallelism to *nēst ēr* "you shall sit down!"


¹ As for $b\bar{e}h$, $h\bar{e}$ we might perhaps think of a connection with O.P. *biyā* and Younger Av. forms like *hyaŋ* with mood-SIGN $\cdot iyā$ of the unthematic type.








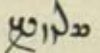




² For explaining ligatures found in the cursive script the most safe and methodic procedure is, in my opinion, to start from the cursive forms of the elements forming the ligatures and not from the forms of letters such as they appear on the stone monuments or in the Psalter MS. written in archaic script to serve as a liturgic book of the church. It is, e.g., quite clear that $ه$ *andar* cannot have originated directly

from forms like $ه$ of the inscriptions or $ه$ of the Psalter, but only from

cursive ligature $ه = BY + 1 N$. Ligatures, of course, arise in cursive writing, and the ligatures found on monuments, e.g. on the Derbend inscriptions published by Professor Nyberg, or in the Psalter, are due to the influence from the cursive script which in Persia as everywhere has developed independently and apart from the monumental script. I therefore consider it a rather bold undertaking to try to make out the phonetic value of an obscure ligature in tracing it back to the monumental script, especially if the forms in question are not found in the inscriptions or in the Psalter. The ligatures of the cursive are generally as ambiguous as are the single letters of the Pahlavi alphabet. Thus we always have to consider the possibility of more than one solution of a Pahlavi-ligature, as we, e.g., in the case of $ه$ °, may have to assume a threefold origin: $BY + N$, $Y + T$, $Y + H$ (?).

well be suggested that the final  is due to influence from the originally different ligature meaning *-yt*. In fact, we rather often find the ligatures , , and  written with a  almost identical in shape with the Av. final  (fairly often in the MS. K 20).

The possibility of the occurrence of such optatives in  being admitted, it must be stated that it is very difficult to ascertain the exact extent of their use. In the Turfan texts written in some southwestern dialect the optative is used to express a wish (so always *byh*; *hy* in M. 219 R 7 Andreas-Henning ii) and as a potential mood (M. 49, ii, V 10-15; M. 9, i, R 12-16 l.l.; cf. Henning, *ZII.*, 9, p. 236). In Book-Pahlavi it might be found as a potential in some kinds of relative and conditional clauses, but on account of the incertitude of our manuscript tradition we can never be sure. The whole problem must be taken up in connection with a treatment of the use of moods in general, and I hope in a not too distant future to be able to publish the results of my studies in this field, and shall therefore here restrict myself to a few remarks.

The optative mood can, apart from the form *hē*, not have been a real living form of the verb in the language at the time when the redactions of the oldest MSS. took place. That is perhaps the reason why we never find a verb not ideographically written in the optative mood expressed with . That only the relatively few ideographically written verbs enumerated in the list, *Hilfsbuch*, i, Einleitung, p. 14, to which  *šutan*, frequent with  in the Av.-translation, may be added, should have preserved the optative, if it really was a living mood, would be very difficult to believe. I see in the few cases in which  is not likely to represent  (or some other form in cases of wrong use, e.g.  = *-ynd* Vd. 4₁₃ ≠ , = *'t*:  ~ Av. conj. *frabarāt* Vd. 16₆ ≠ , = *-t*:  *šut* Vd. 15₈, etc.) only graphic survivals taken over by the later redactors or compilers from their sources. The ligature  (and the same assumption may perhaps hold good in the case of  as a mark of the imperative 2nd sg.; cf. *infra*) could be preserved when combined with an ideogram because the copyists took those word-pictures as totalities representing to their minds the

pronunciation of their own time, while the phonetically written verb forms were brought into accordance with the spoken language in which the role of the optative mood had been taken over by the conjunctive and, to some extent, by the indicative. Some optative forms seem to have disappeared early in Zoroastrian Pahlavi. Thus we, e.g., never find, as far as I know, a *𐭪𐭥𐭥𐭥 which would correspond with Turf. *byh*, but only *bavāt* or *bāt* in the same function as that of Turfan *byh*, and in different MSS. we find *hāt* used in the same way as *hē*, a development which may have started earlier in the dialect, which is at the base of the Sasanian Koine, than in the south-western dialects of the Turfan texts; in the Pahlavi translation of the Avesta we have fairly often the 3rd pers. indic. with the particle 'y(w) (Turfan *hyb*); the same is the case in the Psalter while the Manichaean Turfan texts in a few cases have preserved the optative (cf. Andreas-Barr, 120a s.v. 𐭪𐭥 and Henning, *ZII.*, 9, 248).








In order to get a clue to the interpretation of the ligature 𐭪𐭥, Nyberg starts from the correct observation that it is very frequently found added to ideograms, where there can be no doubt that the meaning is that of a 2nd pers. imperative. Nyberg reads the ligature *ēh*, which, according to him, is to be derived from old Iranian medial imperatives of *-aya*-stems, showing *-ayahwa* in the sg., *-ayaδvam* in the pl. These two endings coalesce into Pahl. *-ēh*, thus being the ending both of the 2nd sg. and pl. imper. As to the pl., Nyberg finds a support to his view in the 2nd pl. imper. *hyrzydw* of the Turfan texts. I think this form had better be left out of consideration. It is only found once (M. 4a, 14, cf. the remark of Salemann, *Man. Stud.*, ii, 167), and it is, if at all genuine,¹ a north-western form, hence not being really conclusive as to the south-western dialect. The texts published by Andreas-Henning have only *-yd* in the pl. in both dialects. In Book-Pahlavi we find 𐭪𐭥 and, with ideograms, not rarely 𐭪𐭥. 𐭪𐭥 in cases where from the context we expect a 2nd pl. imper. may be explained from the frequent confusion of 𐭪𐭥 and 𐭪𐭥. Thus, in my opinion, only 𐭪𐭥 as a mark of the 2nd sg. imper. needs to be discussed here.



As stated above, p. 397, I cannot adopt Professor Nyberg's reading and explanation of the ligature, but I must immediately confess that

¹ Cf. now Henning, *GGA.*, 1935, p. 7, footnote 3.

I myself have not been able to find a satisfactory solution of the riddle. Any evident analysis of the ligature 𐭥^o is only possible if we can prove it to be an adequate expression of a really established ending of a middle Iranian 2nd sg. imper. The possibility of the survival of the imper. middle is in my opinion very weak, as the middle voice no doubt already at the end of the old Iranian period was gradually disappearing. At least the existence of a middle-ending *-ayahva* cannot be proved by any analysis of the ligature 𐭥^o. The only possible connection I can think of is that of the ending *-ē* < *-āya*, sometimes found in Book-Pahlavi (cf. Tedesco, *ZII.*, 2, 306 ff.). Unfortunately the inscriptions give no evidence, and the evidence of the Psalter in which we meet imperatives 2nd sg. supplied with a *-y* (*bwē-y*, *k'm-y*, *'mē-y*) is rather weak, because the Psalter in some cases seems to supply verbal forms with *-y* without any phonetic or morphologic ratio, e.g. 1st sg. pres. in *-my*, 2nd sg. in *-ydy* (i.e. 𐭥 + *y*, I cannot adopt the view of Henning: "𐭥 pseudohistorische Schreibung für gesprochenes *h*" *ZII.*, 9, 236), 3rd. pl. in *-yndy*; those forms occur only with verbs when written phonetically, the orthographic use of *-y* with verbs following the same rule as the *-y* of the cas. obl. of nouns!).¹ The ending *-ē* is written 𐭥^o *-yy* or 𐭥^o *-yh*, in other cases we find also 𐭥^o, 𐭥^o. There seems to be some confusion, on one side, with the ending of the 2nd sg. indic., on the other side perhaps with the 2nd sg. conjunctive *-y* known from the south-western Turfan texts and from the Psalter = *'h* of the north-western texts and in both dialects often used as an imper. (in this way I am inclined to interpret the forms in 𐭥^o A. Z. § 92, *šavāy*, *ābarāy*, § 93, *bovāy* and perhaps *framāyāy* though spelled with 𐭥^o, § 109 *dārāy*; the ending is in all those places ascertained by the metre as restored by Benveniste, *JA.*, 1932, 245 ff. Cf. also Andarz ī Ōšnar, § 48, *zūt bē gīrāy* "catch it quickly!" *bē spōzāy* "leave it!"). Though I cannot prove it, I do not find it altogether impossible that the ligature 𐭥 may be a

¹ The forms in *-y* with pron. suff. are not clear to me. A change: *-ē* in final, *-ā* in antecorsonantic position is not very probable in a text written in purely south-western dialect, as the Psalter. A reference to the rather confused materials collected by Lentz, *ZII.*, 4, 270 ff., does not help to clear up the problem. Professor Arthur Christensen once, when I discussed the problem with him, suggested that *'m*, *'mn* might be writings of the pron. suff. comparable with modern Pers. 𐭠^o, 𐭡^o used after 𐭠.

variant of  perhaps modified through influence from a similar ligature originated from  + , like that discussed above, p. 395. If this mere suggestion, as I freely own it to be, should prove correct, we must conclude that the *-aya* forms in the Pahlavi orthography have come down to us in a double form, one in ^o, in use both with ideographically and phonetically written verbs, and one expressed through the obscured ^o, only in use in connection with ideograms like the optative in ^o. There remains, however, a difficult question to be solved. In cases where a clause contains more parallel imperatives we regularly find the ideographically written forms in ^o paralleled with phonetically written forms without ending (cf. Nyberg, *Texte zum mazdayasnischen Kalender*, p. 48: *goš rōč parvarišn ī gōš-urvak kunē u gāv ō varz āmōc*). This fact might perhaps be explained thus: the imperative originated with the *-a* stems, which has prevailed in the south-western dialect of the Turfan texts, the Fārs-dialects, and the modern Persian Koine, at an early time entered into competition with and, at last, superseded the imperative in *-ē* < *-āya*; hence the *-ē* was, as being foreign to the spoken language, neglected by the copyists in phonetically written verbs. The problem certainly needs further investigation.

This article was almost finished when Dr. Walter Henning, Berlin, kindly sent me his review of Nyberg's *Hilfsbuch* (*Gött. gel. Anz.*, 1935, pp. 1-19), in which he deals with Nyberg's explanation of the ligatures  and  (pp. 6 ff.). I agree with Dr. Henning in most of the particulars regarding the interpretation of text-passages, but not with his general views of the problem under discussion. I therefore publish my article in the main unchanged, having only left out a few examples which, in my opinion, have been satisfactorily explained by Dr. Henning (and partly already by Dr. Tavadia in his review, *ZII.*, vii, p. 273 ff.).

Sur quelques dvandvas avestiques

Par E. BENVENISTE

TANT que le dvandva n'est pas devenu, comme c'est le cas dans l'histoire de l'indien, un procédé de style, un mode d'abréviation qui finit par ne plus se distinguer d'un composé, il reflète certaines notions prégnantes d'une culture et d'un culte hérités. On n'a pas assez tenu compte des enseignements que donnent à ce point de vue les dvandvas avestiques, dont une liste (sujette à révision) a été dressée par Bartholomae, *BB.* x, pp. 267 sq. Et cependant il s'y conserve autant et même plus d'antiquités que dans ceux du védique.

En ce qui concerne la forme, il est remarquable que les règles formulées par Pāṇini sur l'ordre des deux éléments dans les dvandvas védiques (Wackernagel, *Altind. Gramm.*, ii, 1, § 70, pp. 165 sq.) s'appliquent aussi en avestique. 1° Quand les mots sont d'inégale longueur, le plus court vient en tête¹: *aēθrya aēθrapaiti* "élève (et) maître"; *āpa urvaire* "eaux (et) plantes"; *xšvīda āzūiti* "aliments liquides (et) solides"; *təvīši utayūiti* "force (et) persévérance"; *sairi varəzāne* "confrérie (et) communauté". 2° Quand les deux mots sont parisyllabiques, celui qui commence par une voyelle vient d'abord: *aēśma barəsma* "bois (et) feuillage"; *aēśma baoiḍi* "bois (et) parfums"; *arəzahi savahi* "ouest (et) est"; *aspa vīra* (dans le composé *aspa.vīra.gan-*) "chevaux (et) guerriers". 3° Si les deux éléments sont parisyllabiques et d'initiale consonantique, la préséance est accordée au thème en -i- ou en -u-: *pāyū θwōrəštāra* "tuteur (et) fabricant"; *pasu vīra* "bêtes (et) hommes"; *fšaoni- vaθra-* (voir ci-dessous). Les dvandvas védiques et avestiques sont donc soumis aux mêmes règles et reproduisent des modèles indo-iraniens.

Bien que le vocabulaire traditionnel ait été de part et d'autre renouvelé, il subsiste dans la langue du rituel une corrélation précieuse, survivance du culte commun: véd. *idhmābarhiṣ-* et av. *aēśma barəsma* "bois (et) feuillage" (pour l'offrande). Le neutre correspondant à v. *barhiṣ-*, qui est av. *barəziṣ-*, ayant pris le sens de "coussin" (cf. Willman-Grabowska, *Symb. gramm. Rozwadowski*, ii, pp. 167 sq.) a été remplacé par le terme consacré *barəśman-* "litière de branchages", qui en est dérivé.

¹ Sur cette question on lira avec fruit les pénétrantes observations de J. Wackernagel, *Festschr. Binz*, Bâle, 1935, pp. 33 sq.

Mais par delà la communauté indo-iranienne, c'est à des représentations indo-européennes que certains dvandvas avestiques se réfèrent. Parmi les survivances propres à l'indo-iranien et à l'italo-celtique (Wackernagel, *KZ.* xliii, p. 295; Vendryes, *MSL.* xx, p. 280), on a déjà relevé la concordance de umbr. *dupursus peturpursus* = véd. *dvipádaḥ cātuṣpādaḥ* "bipèdes (et) quadrupèdes". Or la locution est connue également de l'avestique, dans les couples *bizəgra- čaθwarə. zəgra-* et *bipaitištāna- čaθwarə. paitištāna-*, employés selon les êtres favorables ou néfastes; le terme *pad-*, de connotation neutre, a été remplacé par *zəgra-* (resp. *paitištāna-*) "jambe" qui permettait d'opposer explicitement les créatures bonnes et mauvaises. Une seconde corrélation, connue elle aussi, est propre à l'avestique seul et à l'italique: av. *pasu vīra* = lat. *pecudesque uirosque* (Ovide, *Met.* i, 286), umbr. *veiropequo*; cf. encore lat. *hominesque gregesque*. Peut-être doit-on en retrouver la plus ancienne attestation en hittite, dans l'expression *antuhšās GUD UDU* "hommes, bœufs (et) moutons" (par exemple *Kleinasiat. Forsch.* i, p. 168, et n. 8), à condition que les idéogrammes GUD UDU recouvrent une désignation unique du gros et du menu bétail.

Nous compterons une troisième et une quatrième correspondance du même ordre entre l'avestique et le latin. Le composé av. *aspa. vīra. gan-* "tueur de chevaux (et) de guerriers" suppose un dvandva *aspa. vīra-* qui est aussi impliqué par les locutions *aspanhādō vīranhādō* (Aog. 78) et, avec une légère variante, *aspō. garəm nərə. garəm* (Y. ix, 11). Les souverains Achéménides reproduisent le même tour quand ils vantent la terre d'Iran "aux beaux chevaux, aux beaux hommes" (*huvaspā humartiyā*). Ce n'est pas un hasard si le latin dit, dans la même succession, *equis uiris(que)*, quoique l'expression ait été spécialisée dans la langue militaire pour désigner l'ensemble des forces, cavalerie et infanterie.

Voici enfin le quatrième dvandva conservé aux deux extrémités du monde indo-européen et propre au même vocabulaire. A côté de *pasu-*, il existe en avestique une forme suffixée *pasuka-* "animal domestique" (cf. skr. *paçukā-*) qui fait couple avec *daūtika-* "bête sauvage": Yt. xiii, 74, *urunō . . . pasukanəm . . . daūikanəm*¹ "les âmes des animaux domestiques (et) sauvages"; opposition atténuée par une restriction naïve Y. xxxix, 1 sq. (cf. Yt. xiii,

¹ Après chaque mot de ce passage, le texte porte *yazamaide*, probablement pour des raisons de liturgie: l'énoncé de chaque mot de la prière appelait le répons *yazamaide*. Autrement la suite grammaticale est intacte; cf. trad. Lommel, p. 121, n. 1.

154) *urunō pasukanqmča yōi nā fīfīšēntī* "les âmes des animaux domestiques qui nous nourrissent"; *daitikanqmča aidyūnqm* . . . *urunō* "les âmes des fauves utiles". Ces deux mots ne s'emploient pas l'un sans l'autre; formés pareillement, ce sont des mots-rimes qui peuvent, comme *pasu vīra*, être dissociés par *-ča*. La locution *pasuka- daitika-* fait penser immédiatement aux *ferae pecudes* de Lucrèce i, 14, où M. Ernout (*BSL*. xxiv, pp. 72 sq.) a reconnu un vieux juxtaposé "animaux sauvages (et) domestiques". Comparer encore lat. *pecua belluasque* (Naev. ap. Non. 159, 6). L'opposition des deux espèces d'animaux, pour naturelle qu'elle soit dans une société d'éleveurs de bétail, ne se marque dans aucune autre langue, à notre connaissance, par un dvandva semblable. Mais cette locution a été adaptée à des vocabulaires différents. Tandis que le latin conservait dans *fera* l'ancien adjectif **ghwēr*, **ghwero-*, il y a été substitué en avestique un adjectif nouveau **data- datika-* (probablement dérivé de *dant-* "dent") qui reste encore en usage : phl. *dat*, pers. *daδ*, sogd. *δt- *dat-*, saka *data*. On notera en outre que, dans *pasuka- daitika-*, la priorité du thème en *-u-* (cf. *pasu vīra*) est respectée.

A la même catégorie appartient encore l'expression *fšaoni- vqθwa-* dont le sens a été défiguré chez Bartholomae par la traduction "Üppigkeit und Heerde" (*Wb.* 1027). Le nom *vqθwa-* désigne certainement le gros bétail et sert normalement pour le troupeau de bœufs ou de chevaux, métaphoriquement pour une troupe d'hommes. Si *vqθwa-* est souvent associé à *fšaoni-* et s'il dénomme le troupeau de gros bétail, il est évident que *fšaoni-* doit signifier "troupeau de petit bétail". En effet, on lit *Yt.*, v, 26, après une série de locutions formées de deux noms, *uye fšaonīšča vqθwāča* qui doit se traduire : "à la fois le menu et le gros bétail." De cet emploi ne saurait être disjoint celui de *Yt.*, ix, 9 (où Bartholomae voit cette fois un adjectif "feist, üppig") : *yatha azəm fšaoni vqθwa ava.barāni* "puissé-je apporter du menu et du gros bétail"; souhait formulé par Yama qui vient de sacrifier des chevaux, des bœufs et des moutons. Dans le dvandva *fšaoni vqθwa* se dénonce ainsi une expression indo-européenne, la même opposition des deux types de troupeaux qui est rendue chez Homère par *πωῦ* et *ἀγελή*, en latin par *pecus* et *armentum*. Le sens que nous donnons à *fšaoni-* était par avance assuré, puisque la famille entière de **peku* se rapporte au mouton, à l'animal "pourvu d'une toison". Le verbe *fšu-* (dont *fšaoni-* est dérivé comme skr. *yōni-* de *yu-*) participe aussi de cette signification, car *fšuyant-*, on ne le remarque pas assez, est le nom de celui qui fait paître le petit

bétail, tout comme fr. *berger* (**berbicarius*). Il faut donc le distinguer de *vāstrya-* qui s'applique au pasteur des bœufs. Nous pouvons alors procéder à l'analyse de l'expression *vāstryō fšuyant-* qui, dans la hiérarchie des classes sociales, qualifie le troisième état, celui des agriculteurs. Il est clair que *vāstryō fšuyant-* doit s'entendre comme un dvandva et comprend deux termes distincts : "pasteur du gros et du petit bétail." C'est une locution où deux termes juxtaposés ont fini par faire corps, exactement comme dans lat. *patres conscripti* (= *patres et conscripti*).

À l'intérieur même de l'univers iranien, un dvandva fournit la solution d'un problème d'histoire religieuse. On connaît, dans le groupe des Amṛta Spantas, les deux génies Harvatāt et Amṛtatāt (généralement écrits *Haurvatāt* et *Amərətāt*) "Intégrité et Immortalité", qui veillent respectivement sur les eaux et sur les plantes. On s'est souvent demandé d'où ils proviennent et pour quelle raison ils sont constamment associés. Certains ont même voulu les prendre pour la figuration iranienne des Açvins. Il ne faut pas chercher si loin. Le groupe entier des Amṛta Spantas est très probablement la transposition abstraite des anciens génies des éléments, dont la fonction, sous leur désignation nouvelle, n'a pas varié. Chacune de ces entités est attachée à un aspect du monde matériel, terre, métaux, eaux, etc., et le symbolise. Or la plus ancienne mention du couple Harvatāt-Amṛtatāt en illustre la véritable nature. C'est le passage gâthique Y. xxxii, 5, *tā dābənəotā mašim huṣyātōiš amərətātasčā* "par ce (méfait), vous avez frustré l'homme de la bonne vie et de l'immortalité". L'abstrait *huṣyāti-* "bonne vie" est l'équivalent théologique de *haurvatāt-* "intégrité (physique), bonne santé". À notre avis, il faut entendre l'expression *huṣyātōiš amərətātasčā* dans une acception matérielle : "vous avez frustré l'homme de l'eau et des plantes" (cf. li, 7, *apasčā urvarāsčā amərətātā haurvātā*). Dans toute cette Gāthā, le réformateur fait allusion à une série de crimes bien spécifiés : consommation de la chair du bœuf, injures au bœuf et au soleil, destruction de pâturages, violences sur des Zoroastriens, etc. Il accuse expressément ses ennemis d'avoir "détruit la vie" (11 *mōrəndən šyōtūm*), d'avoir "détruit la vie du bœuf" (*gəuš mōrəndən . . . šyōtūm*). Ces méfaits ont pour conséquence naturelle d'ôter à l'homme ses moyens d'existence. Nous ne croyons pas forcer le sens du vers, mais bien au contraire l'accorder avec le reste de la prédication, en lui donnant son plein sens concret. Par ailleurs, dans l'Avesta récent, la liaison de Harvatāt-Amṛtatāt avec les eaux et les plantes fait l'objet d'une

tradition claire et constante. Il devient alors au moins vraisemblable que le couple Harvatāt-Amṛtatāt est la projection mythique du dvandva *āpa urvaire* "eaux et plantes", attesté maintes fois (cf. Bartholomae, *Wb.* p. 327) et indirectement par les expressions *taçaṭ.āpa uxšyaṭ.urvara* (Y. xvi, 8); *taṭ.āpō uxšyaṭ.urvarō* (Yt xiii, 43, cf. x, 61). Les deux termes se suivent dans l'ordre fixé par la règle I (p. 405), aussi bien *Harvatāt-Amṛtatāt* que *āpa urvaire*. En lui-même le dvandva *āpa urvaire*, chez un peuple d'agriculteurs, n'a pas besoin de justification; c'est le dvandva des noms divins qui en demandait une. Le procès mythique que nous restituons achève de montrer dans ces entités des éléments divinisés.

La Charrue védique

Par JULES BLOCH

IL y a eu un verbe indo-iranien pour désigner le labour : RV. imp. *karṣa*, *kṛṣatu*, av. opt. *pairi-karšōit* ; il s'y rattache des substantifs désignant le sillon : av. *karša-*, *karši-* f. ; RV. sans doute *kṛṣi-*, ŚBr. *karṣā-*.

Par contre les noms sanskrits de la charrue n'ont pas de correspondants connus dans l'Iran.

L'un de ces noms, qui vit encore aujourd'hui, skr. *hala-*, n'est pas attesté avant Pāṇini. Est-il cependant plus ancien que le sanskrit ? On en a proposé plusieurs étymologies indo-européennes, dont malheureusement aucune ne s'impose (v. Walde-Pokorny, *Vergl. Wb. der Indog. Spr.*, i, p. 629 ; Scheftelowitz, *ZII.*, ii, p. 278). Le Rgveda offre deux autres noms encore :

L'un, *lāṅgalam*, garde encore son sens ancien, non seulement en indo-aryen (mar. *nāgar*, etc., J. Bloch, *Marathe*, p. 357), mais dans d'autres familles indiennes : telugu *nāgal*, canara *nēgal*, tamoul *nāñjil* (et brahui *langar*) ; santal *nahel*, mundari *načal* ; il semble bien y avoir été emprunté des Aryens en même temps que l'instrument, ou du moins la forme perfectionnée de l'instrument : car si l'on suit M. Przyluski (*BSL.*, xxiv, pp. 118-23) on verra dans *lāṅgala-* un nom indigène préhistorique ayant d'abord désigné le bâton à creuser des trous et ayant peut-être conservé cette valeur très tard, à en juger par la citation du commentaire à Nirukta vi, 26 : *bhūmim bhūmiśayāṃś caiva hanti kāṣṭham ayomukham iti abhidheyaprasaṅgāt lāṅgalam āha*. Dans le Veda, le *lāṅgala-* est en effet caractérisé comme pourvu d'une pointe métallique, *pavīra-*. Le soc a d'ailleurs une désignation, *phālah*, qu'on rapproche d'un nom persan de la charrue, *supār*.

L'autre nom védique, *śtram* (variante Kap. S. *sīla-*), est déjà rare en pali, et ne semble plus usuel à l'époque moderne que dans le sens dérivé de champ non affermé et cultivé par son propriétaire (Turner, *Nep. Dict.*, s.v. *sir* ²). Rien ne caractérise cet instrument dans le Veda, si ce n'est la mention d'attelages nombreux : AV., viii, 9, 16, *ṣaḍyogāṃ śtram* "charrue attelée à six" — dans une énumération de choses allant par six ; TS., i, 8, 7, 1, *dvādaśagavāṃ śtram dākṣiṇā*

“ le salaire (du rite décrit sera) une charrue à douze bœufs ”. Mais TS., v, 6, 21, 1, deux moutons le traînent, *sīravāhaú ávī* : ce n'est donc pas nécessairement un instrument lourd, contrairement à l'indication de Macdonell-Keith, *Vedic Index* (recueil cependant précieux, qui nous a servi de guide en tout ceci) ; il n'y a du reste sans doute rien de précis à tirer de ces chiffres, dont le premier dépend du contexte et les autres désignent peut-être des objets figurés.

Voilà donc au moins deux noms pour le même instrument. Mais est-ce bien le même instrument ? Même sans tirer parti du texte relativement tardif cité plus haut, on remarquera que la phraséologie du Veda ne traite pas les deux mots de la même façon. L'unique *lāṅgalam* de RV., iv, 57, 4 = AV., iii, 17, 6, s'accompagne du verbe attendu *karṣ-*, le même verbe s'appliquant du reste aux bêtes de trait (non spécifiées) et aux conducteurs :

*śunām vāhāḥ śunām nāraḥ
śunām kṛṣatu lāṅgalam.*

C'est naturellement le même verbe qui désigne l'action du soc :

x, 117, 7, *kṛṣānn út phlāḥ*
iv, 57, 8, *phlā vi kṛṣantu bhāmim.*

Mais avec *śtra-*, les deux fois qu'on le trouve dans le Rgveda (x, 101, 3-4 = AV., iii, 17, 1-2 ; cf. TS., iv, 2, 5), c'est *yuj-* qui l'accompagne :

3. *yunākta śtrā vi yugā tanudhvam* (AV., TS., *tanota*)
kṛté yónau vapatehá bījam . . .
4. *śtrā yuñjanti kavāyo*
yugā vi tanvate pīthak.

De même, avec *lāṅgala-* : *prabhid-* TS., vi, 6, 7, 4, *pratan-* Kauś., xx, 1, et nulle part semble-t-il *yuj-* ; mais *yuj-* avec *śtra-* deux fois ŚBr., KŚS., xvii, 27, ĀpŚS., xvi, 185 ; *karṣ-* seulement avec le composé *sīralāṅgalam*, dont il sera question plus bas (je dois ces confirmations à M. Renou).

Est-ce forcer l'indication que de remarquer que dans le Rgveda on trouve mentionné à côté du *śtra-* le joug, qui n'est qu'une pièce de la charrue, et même une pièce détachable ? C'est ce qui a conduit Grassmann (non suivi par Whitney) à traduire “ attachez les cordes ”, *spannt an die Stränge* (mais iv, 57, 4, *śunām varatrā badhyantām*). Il a dû être guidé, non seulement par le parallélisme avec *yugā* et le sens ordinaire de *yuj-*, mais aussi par la possibilité de rattacher étymologiquement *śtra-* à la racine de skr. aor. *ásāt*, opt. *sīmāhi*, prés.

syḍti, part. *ṣitā-*; av. pf. *hišāyā*, part. *hita-*, inf. *āhōiθōi*, dont le sens fondamental est "attacher"; sur l'ī dans ce type d'alternances, cf. RV. *kṣitā-*, AV. *kṣīṇā-* et Wackernagel, *Altind. Gr.*, i, p. 87 s. Dans cette interprétation, *śtra-* correspondrait exactement à v.h.a. et all. *seil*, v.sl. *silō* (Walde-Pokorny, ii, pp. 463-4). Les *śtrā* seraient alors sans doute les lanières qui joignent le joug à la charrue; l'auteur du *Bihar Peasant Life*, à qui une étude comme celle-ci se dédie tout naturellement, en a donné les noms modernes, § 18: *nāran* ou *lāran*, *nādha* ou *lādha* (à vrai dire aucun de ces noms ne rappelle *śtra-*). Et puisqu'il faut une autre lanière pour retenir le nœud fait par celle dont nous venons de parler (v. Grignard, *Oraon-English Dict.*, s.v. *ugtā*; Hoffmann, *Encycl. Mundarica*, s.v. *cuṭu-naṅgali*), le *pārisīryam* de ŚBr., vii, 2, 2, 3, qui est fait d'herbe muñja tressée en natte triple, serait alors cette seconde lanière.

Mais dans ce cas, comment expliquer que le *śtram* puisse être de bois? Or c'est ce que dit le même passage du Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa: *śtram yunakti . . . aūdumbaram bhavati*. S'agirait-il alors d'une cheville de bois? Justement *sail* est d'après H. M. Eliot et Beames, *Memoirs on the N.W. Provinces of India*, ii, p. 342 et fig., le nom de deux des quatre chevilles qui retiennent ensemble les deux barres dont le joug est fait: les *sail* sont les chevilles extérieures, les *gata* les chevilles intérieures, plus longues; et il y a une corde (*pārisīryam*?) pour rejoindre un *sail* et un *gata* sous le cou de la bête.

Mais ici se présente d'abord une difficulté linguistique. Sans doute **saila-* est le dérivé à vṛddhi normal de *śīla-*: mais ceci n'est vrai qu'en sanskrit. Dans une langue moderne, on s'attend qu'une diphthongue *ai* provienne de deux syllabes différentes du sanskrit; la forme attendue est celle qu'on trouve dans bih. *sel*, *selī* (*Bihar Peasant Life*, § 109), h. *selī* "collier de fil noir des ascètes", s. *selhī* "corde faite de cheveux", cf. Turner, *Nep. Dict.*, s.v. *seli*. D'autre part *sail* a un doublet plus développé, que nous connaissons grâce encore au *Bihar Peasant Life*: § 15, "The outer pins, which join the two bars of the yoke are *sailā* or *samail* to the west and *kanail* to the east"; § 16, "the inner pins are *samail* or (Patna . . .) *samaila* and (Gaya) *samaiya*." Si bien que malgré qu'au Tirhut NE. *samail* ou *samel* désigne la corde passée au cou de la bête (§ 18), on peut soupçonner dans ces mots des composés dont le second terme serait le nom de la cheville, skr. *kīla-*; cf. le synonyme de *kanail* qui est à Bhagalpur *kan-killi*. La cheville ajustant le manche au corps de la charrue est *taraila*, avec la même finale.

Remarquons enfin que dans l'hypothèse "cheville" comme dans l'hypothèse "corde", on ne s'explique pas ce que pouvaient être les *sīra-* à six ou douze bêtes.

On est donc amené à chercher ailleurs et le sens et l'origine de *sīra-*. Qui observe les langues non aryennes de l'Inde sera d'abord frappé de la coïncidence avec un nom dravidien de la charrue : gondi *ser*, kui *sēru*, tel. can. tam. *ēr(u)*, coexistant avec *nāgal*, etc.¹ Malheureusement, même si les probabilités n'allaient pas contre l'idée d'un emprunt fait par l'aryen, ce que nous savons jusqu'à présent du phonétisme des deux groupes n'explique pas non plus le passage de *ē* à *ī* : tant qu'à rapprocher les deux séries, on songerait plutôt ici encore à l'entrée en dravidien d'un dérivé à *vrddhi*.

Mais en indo-aryen même il est permis de faire état d'une racine indo-européenne, partiellement homonyme de celle qui a été examinée, à savoir celle de **sē-* "semer". Que cette racine ait poussé des rejetons jusqu'en sanskrit se reconnaît au nom du "sillon", ou plutôt, puisqu'il s'agit ici d'un adjectif verbal au féminin, de la "terre ensemencée" *sītā* : la place de l'accent s'expliquerait par un changement de fonction, comme dans d'autres mots que M. Renou me signale amicalement : *āsta-*, *mārta-*, *sārta*, sans doute *vr̥ta-*. La signification primitive du mot² paraît encore dans les dérivés comme Pāṇ. Am. *sītyam* "champ labouré" (plus tard "blé, grain"; cf. khovar *siri* "orge", où *r* provient de *t*); elle subsiste encore abondamment, v. Turner, *Nep. Dict.*, s.v. *siyo* (ajouter bhadr. *sith f.*; *sithnu* "faire un second labour").³ Du nom du sillon se rapproche aisément celui de la raie des cheveux, et par suite du sommet de la tête; et d'autre part, suivant une évolution bien constatée (Vendryes, *Mélanges P. Boyer*, p. 13 s.), de la limite : skr. *sīmān-* m. (et *sīmanta-*), d'où pj. *sī*, etc., v. Turner, *Nep. Dict.*, s.v. *simānā*.

¹ En santal et mundari, *sī-* signifie "labourer", mais *er-*, *her-* "semer"; d'autre part en sora or. "labourer", *ertub-* "charrue" en regard de *lūd-* "semer". La suite permettra d'interpréter ces échanges. Et il ne faut pas oublier que le vocabulaire n'a pas plus de raison d'être indigène ici que l'instrument.

² On sait la fortune qu'il a eue comme nom propre. Est-il permis de se demander si en face de *Sītā*, la terre labourée, *Ahalyā*, traîtreusement séduite par Indra, n'a pas été d'abord la terre interdite au labour?

³ Le lien entre *sīram* et *sītā* a-t-il été senti? Dans le Jātaka de Meṇḍ(h)aka, il est dit de son esclave que quand il laboure avec une charrue, sept sillons se forment : *ekanaṅgalena kasantassa satta sītāyo gacchanti* (Mahāvagga, vi, 34); ce que le Divyāvadāna, p. 124, l. 7, exprime ainsi : *sa yadaikaṃ halasīraṃ kṛṣṭi, tadā sapta sīrāḥ kṛṣṭā bhavanti*. Faut-il corriger le texte, ou admettre un nouveau *sīra-* signifiant "sillon", d'où dériveraient mar. *serū*, etc.? Chez Amara *sīraḥ* se situe entre *godāraṇam* et *śamyā*.

Il est remarquable qu'il existe en marathe des mots de type **saira-* et de sens voisin : si l'on peut rattacher *serā* "bout" à *sirā* attesté aussi en hindi avec le sens de "limite de village", suffira-t-il pour l'expliquer d'invoquer skr. *śiraḥ* "tête" ? En tout cas ce recours serait insuffisant pour *serī* "ruelle, passage entre des clôtures".

Mais ici une objection grave se présente : semer n'est pas labourer ; nulle part ailleurs i.e. **sē-* ne désigne le travail de la charrue, ni **ar-*¹ les semailles, pour lesquelles existe en sanskrit une racine *vap-* (indo-iranienne ? v. Morgenstierne, *AO.*, i, p. 256), laquelle est encore en usage, v. Turner, *Nep. Dict.*, p. 645 s.v. *ubāunu*. En fait, il arrive à *vap-* d'accompagner le même contexte que *karṣ-* en deux passages du Rgveda :

i, 117, 21, *yávam vṛkeṇāśvinā vāpantā*

viii, 22, 6, *yávam vṛkeṇa karṣathaḥ*.

Mais on ne peut rien en déduire, même si ce "loup" avec lequel les *Aśvin* tour à tour sèment et labourent devait finalement être un véritable nom d'instrument, dont le nom appartiendrait à la racine de lit. *velkū* "je tire", laconien *εὐλακα* "charrue" (Vendryes, *ibid.*, p. 14 ; Walde-Pokorny, i, p. 308). Y avait-il donc dans l'Inde ancienne une charrue susceptible de semer ?

En tout cas elle existe dans l'Inde moderne. Consultons à nouveau le *Bihar Peasant Life* : au § 857 sont décrites trois méthodes de semailles ; à la volée, le long du sillon à la suite de la charrue, enfin avec le *tār* ou *tār*, instrument décrit à son tour au § 24, sous le nom de drill-plough, charrue-semoir. La charrue ordinaire s'appelle *har* ou *hal*, et à Gaya *lāṅgal*.

Quant au *tār*, c'est une charrue à laquelle s'ajuste un tuyau, *bāsā* ou *cōgā*, surmonté d'un réceptacle appelé *māla*, *māleva* ou *pāila* ou encore *ukhri*, *akri*, où on verse la semence. Le *Hindī śabdasāgar* de Benares confirme cette description précisément aux mots *bāsā*

¹ Risquons encore une hypothèse. Si **sē-* a des rejetons dans l'Inde, est-il impossible de reconnaître **ar-* dans l'indo-iranien *urvarā*, qui serait alors également un adjectif féminin designant la terre vastement (*uru-*) labourée, ou celle dont on laboure les sillons (**uru-*, cf. lat. *uruos*, gr. *οὔρος*, etc. ; pour l'accent sur le 2^e terme du composé, v. Wackernagel, ii, § 114d, cf. § 96 b, 8) ? L'unique *phārvara-*, artificiel ou non (v. Henry, *MSL.*, xiii, p. 172 ; Oldenberg, *Rgveda Noten* ad x 106. 2) en serait une imitation, construite soit sur *phāla-*, soit sur le radical des mots qu'on trouve dans le même hymne, *pharpharat*, *parpharika-*, qui est peut-être celui de gr. *φάρος* "charrue".

et *akrī*.¹ De même chez Elliot-Beames, p. 340, *hal* ou *har* est une charrue " si l'on peut donner un nom aussi noble à un instrument sans coutre ni oreillon " ; mais p. 227 le *bāsā* (à Delhi *orna*) est le tuyau par où la semence descend dans la machine à semer ; nous allons voir plus bas ce qu'est sans doute cette machine ; on ajoute qu'au Nord-Ouest le *bāsā* est généralement attaché à la charrue proprement dite — comme au Bihar.

Comme au Rajputana aussi : en 1809 Th. D. Broughton rencontre à Udaipur l'instrument suivant (*Letters written in a Mahratta Camp*, p. 215) : " They use a drill-plough . . . The drill part consists of a piece of bamboo, about two feet long, split and widened at the end, where it is covered by leather, so as to resemble a funnel, and which is fixed behind the main stick of the plough. In this wide part the driver keeps his left hand, filled with grain, with which he at the same time steadies the plough ; while in the right hand he holds the reins of rope and a long stick, with which he guides the bullocks that draw it. One man only is required for each plough."

Et au Deccan : en 1800 Fr. Buchanan (*A Journey from Madras*, i, 283, et fig.) voit à Kolar semer le sorgho " by means of an instrument named *sudiky*, which is tied to the handle of the plough ". Cet instrument peut se compliquer : le *Manual of Administration of the Madras Presidency*, iii (1893), décrit aussi le *gorru* telugu, s.v. *gorroo* : " A seed drill. It consists of a beam with three or six shares fitted into it, and a corresponding number of bamboos attached to a *zaddigam*, or drill, into which the seed is thrown and is thence carried into the ground by bamboos. . . . The *gorroo* is also used as a plough." Le *curigy* avec lequel Buchanan a vu à Banawasi semer certaine espèce de riz comporte quatre tubes (iii, p. 236 et fig.) ; mais ailleurs et pour d'autres graines on en emploie qui ont douze tubes (de même R. H. Elliot, *Experiences of a Planter*, 1871, ii, p. 40) ; et il arrive que derrière les douze tubes du *curigy* qui versent le *rāgi* on attache l'unique *sudiky* qui sert à ajouter la graine de *avaray* ou *tovary* (i, p. 285 et fig. ; cf. i, p. 377).

Ces instruments, qui réalisent couramment le miracle attribué à l'esclave Menḍ(h)aka par la légende bouddhique (v. p. 414, n. 3) sont, non pas des dérivés, mais des parents très éloignés des semoirs européens, qui ne datent que du xvii^e ou du xviii^e siècle (v. *Encycl.*

¹ Mais je n'y trouve pas *vairnā*, *ūirnā* donnés par Fallon et Platts ; mots dérivés de skr. *kīr-* ; cf. mar. *per-* " semer " de *prakīr-*.

Britannica, 14^e éd. s.v. *sowing* ; Leser, *Entstehung und Verbreitung des Pfluges*, Anthropos Bibliothek, 1931, p. 453), et qui sont indépendants de la charrue.

En voilà assez sans doute pour marquer l'extension de la charrue-semoir dans l'Inde. Quant aux mots qui la désignent, ou bien ils ne sont pas clairs, ou bien ce sont des termes généraux désignant sa matière ou sa forme : *bāsā* dérive de *bās* " bambou ", *cōgā* désigne un réceptacle ou un tube de bambou (v. Turner s.v. *cūgo*), brahui *nārī* veut dire " tube ". Qu'y aurait-il d'étrange à ce que *śram* de son côté eût exactement la valeur du français " semoir ", entendant par là soit l'ensemble charrue *plus* entonnoir, soit plus simplement l'entonnoir lui-même ? L'expression *śram yuj-* signifierait alors soit " atteler la charrue-semoir ", soit plutôt " ajuster l'entonnoir à la charrue " suivant l'opération plusieurs fois mentionnée ci-dessus ; et dans ce cas *śīralāṅgalaṃ* Vādh. S. (AO., vi, p. 117, avec *prayacch-* ; p. 237, avec *saṃsṛj-*) désignerait l'assemblage, et ŚBr. *pārisīryam* la corde (dessinée par Fr. Buchanan) maintenant cet assemblage.

Pour donner force à l'interprétation et à l'étymologie ici proposées de *śram*, il faudrait prouver l'existence de la charrue semeuse dans l'Inde antique. La démonstration directe est impossible. C'est encore une chance que les bas reliefs de Bodh Gaya et du Gandhara nous renseignent sur les types de charrue proprement dite en usage aux alentours de l'époque chrétienne et nous assurent de l'antiquité des types actuels. M. Leser, qui en a reproduit trois exemplaires dans l'ouvrage capital auquel nous nous sommes déjà référé (*Entstehung* . . . , planches 17 et 18, cf. p. 382), a montré que leur extension dépasse l'Inde et remonte à une époque très haute. Il a de plus mis en valeur (dans le même ouvrage, p. 245, et dans son article de la *Festschrift* . . . P. W. Schmidt intitulé " Westöstliche Landwirtschaft ", pp. 416-19, avec figures) le fait que l'entonnoir à semences également se retrouve en Syrie et en Chine, et dès une époque très ancienne en Mésopotamie — mais non en Egypte. Il en reproduit (respectivement, p. 244 et p. 417) une image datant du troisième millénaire et une datant du second millénaire avant J.-C. ; il en signale d'autres, par exemple celle du palais de Sargon, celle du monument d'Asarhaddon, du VII^e siècle ; le tube à semences apparaît du reste ici comme encastré entre les deux manches de la charrue. En voilà plus qu'il n'en faut pour assurer de l'antiquité reculée du procédé, et cela à l'intérieur d'une aire où M. Leser montre que d'autres techniques se retrouvent

répandues, et confinées : par exemple, la herse simple ou le rouleau servant de herse (la herse aussi manque en Egypte). Cette communauté, et ce qu'on sait ou devine par ailleurs des relations préhistoriques entre la Mésopotamie et l'Inde, engage à admettre que la charrue semeuse est dans l'Inde bien antérieure à la compilation du Veda, et que par conséquent il ne serait pas étonnant de l'y trouver mentionnée.

The Dialectical Position of the Niya Prakrit

By T. BURROW

THE "North-Western Prakrit" as Konow has called it is represented by the following documents.

(1) The two versions of Aśoka's edicts preserved at Mansehra and Shahbazgarhi. At this stage many of the characteristic features of the language have not yet developed, e.g. *śr* > *ś*, *śv* > *śp*.

(2) The later Kharoṣṭhi inscriptions, mostly short, collected by Konow in the second volume of the *Corp. Inscr. Ind.*

(3) The Kharoṣṭhi manuscript of the Dhammapada discovered near Khotan (*Manuscript Dutreuil du Rhins*).

(4) The Kharoṣṭhi documents from Niya, representing the administrative language of the Shan-Shan kingdom in the third century A.D.

In the *Journ. As.*, 1912, pp. 337 ff., J. Bloch examined the dialectical peculiarities of the *Manuscript Dutreuil du Rhins* and showed that they appeared in modern times in the languages of the North-West.

The later Kharoṣṭhi inscriptions of the North-West along with the *Kharoṣṭhi Dhammapada*, were taken by Konow as a basis for a detailed treatment of the North-Western Prakrit in his introduction to the second volume of the *Corp. Inscr. Ind.* He did not bring in the Niya documents, although, owing to their extensiveness and comparative freedom from literary influences, they are the most important of all.

It is the purpose of this paper, not to give an account of "Niya" phonology, but to discuss specifically those points in which it coincides with or differs from the several varieties of the language of the North-West mentioned above; and on the basis of this to show that out of the modern languages of the North-West Torwali is the one which shows the most striking resemblances to the dialect of Niya.

I. COMPARISON WITH THE KHAROṢṬHI VERSIONS OF AŚOKA

Points in common are:—

(1) Preservation of the distinction between the three sibilants *ś*, *ṣ*, and *s*, which was early obliterated except in the North-West.

(2) A better preservation of conjunct consonants, especially groups with *s* and *r* (*st*, *tr*, *rt*, etc.).

(3) Development of the vowel *r̥* into *ri* or *ru*. In the rest of India

there is usually no trace of an *r*. Examples from Aśoka are : (Mansehra) *mrige*, (Shahb) *mrugo*, (Mans. 5) *vudhreṣu* (but Sh. *vudheṣu*), (Sh. 11) *graha* (M. *geha*), Sh. 13 *driḍha*. In the Niya Prakrit usually *ri* (which may be written *r* in imitation of Sanskrit), e.g. *etriṣa* "such", *krita*, *kriṣati*, *ghrida*, *driṭha*, *triti*, also *kṛta gr̥ha*, etc., which is merely a matter of spelling.

(4) Assimilation of *s* to *ś* in the words *anuśaśanaṃ*, *anuśaśiṣaṃti* (S. M. 4).

In Niya *śāśana* (510).

(5) *ṣy* > *ś* S. M. *manuśa*, *anuśaśiṣaṃti*, etc.; Niya *manuśa*, *kariṣati*, etc. The writing *ṣy* which occurs in Niya side by side with *ś* is, of course, merely due to the influence of Sanskrit.

(6) The primary endings are appended to the optative; Aśoka : *paṭipajeyati*, *apakareyati*, *nivāṭeyati*; Niya : *anuvarteyati*, *avarajeyamti* (*apa-rādh-*), *viṣarjeyasi*, etc., etc. These forms occur in Pali, usually in the later texts (Geiger, *Pali Gr.*, § 127). In Prakrit according to Pischel (§ 459, § 462) we do not find the primary endings in the third singular, although they are common enough in the second singular, which suggests that the process started in the second singular as an effort to distinguish the endings which had become confused, and was not in all dialects extended to cover all the persons, but only consistently in the North-West and in that dialect, presumably western, which lies at the basis of Pali. The *-ā-*, which is always long in these forms, must come originally from forms in *-yāt*, *kuryāt*, etc., which also explains Prakrit forms like *vaṭṭejjā*, beside *vaṭṭejja* and *vaṭṭe* (Pischel, § 459).

(7) Indeclinable participles in *-ti*. Aśoka : *tiṭhiti*, *draṣeti*, *vijjiniti*, *aloceti*; Niya : *śrūṇiti* 341, *apruṇiti* 39, *vaṇiti* "having read" 376, etc.

(8) Infinitives in *-anaye*. *kṣamanaye* S. 10 (other versions have *-tave*). Niya : *karaṃnae*, *deyaṃnae*, etc., etc.

In some points the Niya Prakrit approximates more closely to one of the Northern versions of Aśoka than the other. Thus the change from *-j-* to *-y-* (Niya *maharaya*, etc.) occurs only in Shahb., e.g. *samaya* (= *samāja-*), *raya*, *kaṃboya*. Similarly the assimilation of *dv* to *b*, Shahb. *badaśa*, Mans. *duvadaśa*, Niya *badaśa*. Also the changes *ñj* > *ñ* and *ny* > *ñ*; Shahb. *vaṃṇanato* (Māns. probably *viyaṃj-*), Shahb. *puṇa*, *hiraṇa* (Mans. *puṇa* as in the East).

On the other hand Mans. agrees with Niya in turning *tm* into *tv* in *atva* (S. *ata*). Most important is the treatment of final *-as* of the nom. sing., etc. In Shahb. it predominantly appears as *-o*, in Mans.

as *-e*. The Niyā dialect agrees with Mans., e.g. *tade* and the usual ablative termination *-āde*. This *-e* does not, however, appear in the nominative singular because that has been confused with the accusative and both appear as *-a*, but its original presence there is attested by verbal forms like *gademi* < *gato'smi*, etc.

In addition there are numerous points in which the Prakrit of Niyā is differentiated from both the Kharoṣṭhi versions of Aśoka. Of course, there are the characteristics of a later stage of the language, such as the weakening of internal consonants, but these are of no importance from the point of view of dialectical distinction. Points showing parallel different development are :—

(1) *r* appears as *ri* (*r*) much more consistently in Niyā than in Aśoka. In the former *ri* is almost universal, while in the latter the proportion of forms in which the *r* has disappeared is quite large. Thus in Aśoka, side by side with forms like *mriḡe*, *mrugo*, *graha*, *vudhreṣu*, we find a great number of forms like *kiṭa*, *kaṭa*, *viyapaṭa*, *viyaputa*, *nivutiya*, *usaṭena*, *bhaṭaka*, *muṭo*, *vuṭa*, *ediṣani*, *paripucha*; in fact the *r* is lost in the majority of forms, with invariable cerebralization of a following dental. Also even when the *r* is preserved sometimes we find cerebralization occurring—*viyapraṭa*, *kaṭra*, *kiṭra*.

(2) A closely related point to the above, the combinations of *r* + dental are better preserved in the dialect of Niyā than in Aśoka. Cases of assimilation (with or without cerebralization) are the exception in Niyā. We find *bhaṭaraḡa* "master" obviously a loan-word, *parivaṭ* "to exchange", possibly so, *kaṭavo* besides *kartavo*. (Here there is no reason to assume external influence, but the verb *kar-* is subject to irregularities because perhaps of its being used as a kind of auxiliary and weakly stressed.) The same reason no doubt accounts for the disappearance of *-r-* in the preposition *ṣadha* "with" (= *sārdham*). But in the vast majority of instances the *r* is preserved, e.g. *kirti*, *vardhati*, *artha*, *ardha*, *anuvarteyati*.

In Aśoka, on the other hand, the assimilation of *r* + a following dental is almost the rule, e.g. Shahb. *anuvatatū* (M. *anuvataṭu*), *kaṭava*, *anuvataṃti*, *nivaṭeti*, etc.; *aṭha*, *niraṭhiya*, *vadhisaṭi*, *vaḍheti*, *vaḍhita*, *diḍḍha*. Usually, as seen from these examples, cerebralization appears, but not always. In Shahb. the only example of the preservation of such a combination seems to be *athra* in iv, 10. There are also a few examples where *r* is preserved along with cerebralization of the dental, e.g. *kiṭri* and *aṭhra*. In Mans., while assimilation is common, we do find more examples of preservation than in Shahb.,

e.g. *nirathriya*, *athra*, *vadhrite*, and *vadhrayiṣati* (these forms are presumably just a way of writing *artha*, etc., cf. Hultzsch, *Corp. Inscr. Ind.*, i, p. lxxxvii), but even here assimilation is the commoner.

(3) The group *-rṣ-* is preserved in *Niya varṣa*, *darṣida* "packed". It is usually assimilated in *Aśoka vaṣa*, *kaṣaṃti*, *paṣaṃda* (also preserved in *praṣaṃda* with transposition of the *r*).

(4) *-śc-* appears as *-ĉ-* in *Niya*, i.e. it is distinguished from *c*. In *Aśoka* no distinction is made.

(5) *ts* is preserved in *Niya*, *vatsa*, *saṃvatsara*. It is assimilated to *-s-* (= *ss*) in *Aśoka cikisa*.

(6) *ṃs* develops into *ṃts* in *Niya saṃtsāra*, *māṃtsa*. The nasal is simply omitted in *Aśoka viḥisa* (= *viḥiṃsā*). Similarly *ṃś* > *ṃc* in *Niya saṃcaya* (= *saṃśaya*), but *Aśoka saśayika*.

(7) *-ly-* is preserved in *Niya*, e.g. *kalyana*. In *Aśoka* it is assimilated to *y* (*kayana* Mans.) and *l* (*kalana* Shahb.).

(8) *-lp-* is assimilated in *Aśoka apa*, *kapa*. It is regularly preserved in *Niya alpa*, *śilpiḡa* "artisan".

(9) *sv* appears as *sp* in both versions of *Aśoka spagra*, *spamikena*, *spasuna*. In *Niya* it becomes *śv*, *śvasu*, *śvasti*.

(10) In *Aśoka -sm-* of the locative sing. becomes *sp*, i.e. *-aspi* (through **-asvi*), or alternatively it is assimilated to *-asi*, *uṭhanasi*, etc. *Niya*, when it does not use the old *-e*, has invariably *-ammi*.

Thus dialectically there are considerable differences between the *Niya* Prakrit and the North-Western versions of *Aśoka*. And the interesting thing is that phonologically the language of *Niya* presents a pronouncedly more archaic aspect than *Aśoka*, namely in preserving better the consonant combinations such as *-rt-*, *rdh-*, *-rṣ-*, *-lp-*, *-ly-*, *-śc-*. Nor is there any reason to think that this is a question of orthography in *Niya* due to the influence of Sanskrit, because when assimilation did take place there it was usually written, e.g. *ṣt* > *ṭh*, *driṭha*, etc. Sanskrit forms do, of course, occur throughout the documents but they are sporadic and tend to occur in those parts where the style was slightly more elevated, for instance, in introductory formulæ to letters.

Obviously we cannot derive the *Niya* Prakrit from the language of *Aśoka*, and the most natural conclusion to draw from the fact that phonetically it is better preserved is that its home is to be sought further to the west. Because it seems clear (then as now) that the more remote a language was in the direction of the North-West the less liable it was to phonetic decay.

II. THE LATER KHAROṢṬHI INSCRIPTIONS OF N.W. INDIA

The inscriptions later than Aśoka are not very extensive and are spread over a considerable number of centuries. Consequently they provide no satisfactory basis for determining the dialect of a particular area at a particular time. Nevertheless, they furnish useful points for comparison on the one hand with the earlier Aśokan texts, and on the other hand with the dialect of Niya. They more closely resemble the latter than the former, naturally in being further developed (e.g. in the weakening of internal consonants), but also in most of the points mentioned above.

Thus we find that most of the inscriptions agree with Niya in preserving conjunct consonants better than Aśoka, e.g. *Kartiya*, *anugraharthae*, *Khardaa*, *sardha*, °*vardhia*, *saṃvardhaka*, etc. *rṣ*, on the other hand, usually appears assimilated in *vaṣa*, whereas Niya has *varṣa*.

Likewise (agreeing with Niya) there is no tendency to transpose *r*, as is found in Aśoka *dhrama*, etc. We always find *dharma*, °*śarma*, *karma*, etc. This is in a way surprising because in the modern languages of the North-West this transposition is general, and it is naturally to connect it with the similar phenomenon in Aśoka and assume that it started very early. We do, on the other hand, find examples in this period in the Kharoṣṭhi Dhammapada, so that presumably it was current in some areas of the North-West at this time and in others not.

Amongst other features may be mentioned: the transition of -*ñj*- and *ny* to *ñ*, e.g. *puña*, *ñati*; the preservation of *kṣ* (however it or the Niya *čḥ* were pronounced) as a separate sound; preservation of the group *st* (medially but not initially according to Konow, p. cxi; the state of affairs in Niya seems to be roughly the same, but we do find initial *st*- in *stāsyati* alongside forms like *thavaṇṇae* and *thana*).

ṣṭ is assimilated to *ṭh* as in all the varieties of the North-Western Prakrit.

Likewise, just as in Niya we find *saṃtsare*, or perhaps *saṃtsāre* if Konow's contention (*BSOS.*, VI, 405) be right. Further, *śr* > *ṣ* in *ṣamana*, *ṣavaa*, *ṣadha*. Cf. Niya *maṣu* < *śmaśru*, *ṣayati* < *śrayate* (with the sense of "seizes"), *ṣamana*, etc. The change was universal in the North-West. The Kharoṣṭhi Dhammapada shows it and also a similar treatment of *sr* in *anavaṣutacitasa* = *anavaśruta*°. An intermediate stage is represented by Khar. Dh.p. *viśravatena* = *visravatā*. A similar tendency to this latter is manifested also by the Sanskrit of the *Divyāvadana*, e.g. p. 450 *lālāśrotasā*, p. 553 *śrastā*. Likewise

in loanwords in Central Asia Saka *ṣṣamana*, Sogd. *šmn*, Toch. *šāmaṃ*, and probably from Central Asia, N.Pers. *šaman* "an idolater".

In agreement with the Niya Prakrit *-to-* is assimilated to *-p-* (= *-pp-*) in *sapana* (*sattvānām*), *ekacapariśai* "41"; Niya *capariśa* "40". The word *ātman-* is treated in a variety of ways. On the one hand we find it developing to *-tv-* and through that to *-p-*, e.g. *apanaḡe*, *atvan°*, *atvanasa*; Niya, compare *apane* (139) = *ātmanah* and *apanasya* 201 (*apanasya kritaḡa* "your own deeds"). In other inscriptions we find as in Shahb. *ata*.

śv usually develops into *śp*—*viśpasu*, *iśparaka*. Similarly in Niya *aśpa*, *śpedaḡa* "white".

*-*asmi* of the loc. sing. usually, as in Niya, appears as *-ami* (*-asi* is doubtful in the list of forms given by Konow, p. cxi). There is no trace of the Aśokan *-aspi*.

sv is always preserved in these inscriptions—*svakiya*, *svami*, *svarga*. There is no trace, either of the Aśokan tendency to change it into *sp* or of the tendency of the Niya Prakrit to produce *śv*.

The weakening of internal consonants has proceeded much along the same lines as in Niya. It was customary to indicate this by appending the *r*-sign to a letter, however it may have been pronounced; thus *k(r)* *g(r)* corresponding to Niya *ḡ*, *s(r)* corresponding to Niya *ṣ*. There is a similar tendency to use *jh* to express Iranian *z*, e.g. *vajheṣka*, *erjhuna*, *marjhaka*. But it is only found once to express the voiced internal *-s-* in *majh[e]*. In Niya forms like *divajha*, *dajha*, beside *divaṣa*, *dāṣa*, are commoner.

Internal *-j-* appears as *-y-* just as in Niya. Also internal *-c-*—*ayaria*, *sahayara*. The latter in Niya apparently becomes *ś*, *ḡ* (representing *-ḡ-*), *praśura* < *pracura*, *vaḡida* < *vācita* "read". The Kharoṣṭhi Dh.P. always has *-y-* here—*śoino* (i.e. *śoyino*) for *śocinaḡ*, so that the *ś* (*ḡ*) is apparently a peculiarity of the Niya Prakrit.

In inflection the evidence is much less extensive than for phonology, owing to the jejune nature of the texts. It appears, however, that the process of decay and innovation has not been pushed so far as in the Niya Prakrit. For instance, the original forms of the nominative *-e* and *-o* are preserved, whereas in Niya, though there is evidence to show (see above) that the nom. sing. originally ended in *-e*, it is now confused with the accusative, both ending in *-a*. Sten Konow (*Corp. Inscr. Ind.*, vol. ii, p. cxii), after examining the places where *-o* occurs and those where *-e* occurs, comes to the conclusion that *-e* prevailed in the regions west of the Indus, while *-o* is usually to be found in the

districts to the east of it. The original home of the Niya Prakrit would therefore on this ground have to be sought in the area west of the Indus.

The locative sing. in *-ami* agrees with the Niya dialect as opposed to Aśokan *-aspi*, *-asi*.

A syntactical point found both in these inscriptions and in the Niya documents is the habit of stringing large numbers of nouns together in quasi-compounds.

Examples are (from Konow, op. cit., p. cxv) *mahadanapati Patikasa, erjhuna Kapasa, maharaja rajatiraja Hoveškasa*; (from Niya) 133 *priya nivasaja Svaneyasa* "to his dear neighbour Svaneya" 575 *maya rajadivira śramaṇa Dhaṃapriyena* "By me the royal scribe, the monk Dharmapriya".

Certain technical words are common to both sets of texts, notably the terms used in giving dates, *kṣuna* "time" and *saste* "day".

On the whole, then, it is quite clear that the correspondence is very close, much more than with the Aśokan texts. There are very few points, indeed, where they seriously diverge. The change *sv* > *śv* is peculiar to Niya, but might easily have developed out of *sv* at a quite late date. In inflection the Niya dialect shows quite a number of innovations not found in the other Kharoṣṭhi Inscriptions. But these, too, indicate merely a more advanced stage of linguistic development rather than actual difference of dialect. Such are the confusion of nominative and accusative mentioned above and the development familiar in modern Indo-Aryan of a transitive preterite from the past participle passive, *didemi* "I gave", *driṭheṣi* "you saw", etc.

Dividing the dialect of the Indian inscriptions according to the nom. sing. in *-e* or *-o*, we may class the Niya language as being very closely connected with the *-e* dialect.

III

The only literary text in the North-Western Prakrit is the *Kharoṣṭhi Manuscript of the Dhammapada*. This text shows strong influences of the original dialect from which it was derived, and before evaluating it for dialectical purposes this has to be discounted. Examples of this element are :—

The treatment of *kṣ* as *kh*: *bhikhu, khano, cakhuma, pratimukhe, puṇapekha*. The regular dialectical treatment is *ch*—*chaya, bhichavi, vichitani*. No distinction is expressed, as in the Niya documents, between *čḥ* = *kṣ* and *ch* = *ch*. Of interest is *aveha* C^{vo} 31 which

= *apekṣa*. The change *kṣ* > *h* (after a long vowel) is characteristic of Ardha Magadhi. Obviously the original text from which this was adapted cannot have been Pali, but, if not Ardha Magadhi, at any rate something connected with or influenced by it. This points to the existence of versions of the Buddhist scriptures in Prakrit dialects of which no direct trace remains.

Further assimilation of *r* is often to be ascribed to the same source : *śilavata* B 24, *udaga* B 30, *kana* (= *karna*-) B 34, *bhayadaśima* B 32, *abha* (= *abhrāt*) A² 3, *dhama* A³ 4, as opposed to the regular dialect forms *marga* B 6, *darśana* C^{vo} 37, *matrena* B 24, etc.

vaṣa appears with assimilation of *-rṣ-* in C^{vo} 18, 19, as commonly in the inscriptions of the North-West. On the other hand, we find *varṣa* C^{vo} 2, as in Niya. In some cases it is not easy to say whether we are dealing with a form borrowed from the original text or the genuine dialect form, namely when both forms are found elsewhere in different North-Western documents. Thus *vaṣa*, which occurs twice (see above), we might have thought to be the genuine dialectical form because that appears both in Aśoka and the later Kharoṣṭhi inscriptions. But at C^{vo} 2 we find *varṣa* as in the Niya documents. Similarly we find *apa* for *alpa*. *lp* is assimilated as pointed out above in the North-Western versions of Aśoka but preserved in Niya. Since we cannot be sure that the assimilation in *apa* of the Kharoṣṭhi Dhammapada is not due to the original text, we cannot be quite secure in taking it as evidence that this text represents a dialect in which that assimilation had taken place.

Other examples that may be mentioned are : *suyi* = *śuci*, probably because the adjective *śuci*- existed no longer in the vernacular of the North-West ; *anasava* (= *anāsrava*-), contrasted with the regular treatment of *sr* in *anavaṣutacīṣa*. Further may be mentioned numerous inflexional forms which were current when these verses were composed, i.e. in the early Buddhist period, but later were not used in middle Indian, for instance the ablative in *-a* (= *āt*) *abha* (*abhrāt*), gen. sing. of stems in *-ant* in *-ato* (by this time everywhere *-antasa*), futures like *uvehisi* C^{vo} 22, aorists etc., most of which had to be preserved, of course, for the sake of the metre.

Subtracting these elements the language displays considerable similarity to the dialect of Niya. The weakening of internal consonants has proceeded on much the same lines, although the alphabet expresses it much less satisfactorily. There is, for instance, no difference between *s* and *ś*, *ēṅ* and *ch*, and this may easily be due to defects of the

alphabet. Internal *-g-* appears written as *-k-*, e.g. *urako*, *śuñakare*, etc. This is curious, but there is no doubt that it represents what in the Niya documents is expressed as *ḡ*, because just as Niya *ḡ* it tends to be confused with *y*. Thus *udaka* is written for *uḍaya* (B 13, C^o 18) and *dhoreka* for *dhoreya* C^o 37. Similarly in Niya *aprameḡo* is written for *aprameya* and *vyāḡa* for *vyaya*. The omission of internal consonants, which in Niya occurs only in suffixes *-ika*, *-aka*, *-uka* (e.g. *aḡaṇḍuwa*), is somewhat further developed in the Dh.P. Thus, besides cases of omission in suffixes, *daruva* = *dāruka* C^o 31, *aṭhagio* A³ 4, we have forms like *roa* = *roga*, *bhoha* = *bhoga*, with *-h-* inserted in the hiatus. Similarly *-t-* is omitted in *abhai* B 7 = *ābhāti*, *phaṣai* A³ 10 = *sprṣati*, although it is usually preserved; *sati* is written for *sāyam* in C^o 12, showing that *-t-* was coming to be very lightly, if at all, pronounced.

The appearances suggest that the Dh.P. represents a slightly more advanced stage of development phonetically than do the documents from Niya, and the sporadic omissions of *-g-*, *-t-*, etc., probably mean that in the spoken language of the people connected with the manuscript the tendency had become general, but the traditional orthography only allows it to appear occasionally in the text. From this we would conclude that the manuscript was later than the Niya documents.

Further common characteristics are the changes *ny* > *ñ*, *śv* > *śp*, and *śr* > *ṣ*; *ms* becomes *mts*, but the *anusvara* is consistently not written in this manuscript, so it appears as *ts*, *satsara* A² 6, *ahitsai* A⁴ 8. It was wrongly transliterated *ñs* by Senart.

A marked characteristic of this text is a tendency to represent *v* by *m*, e.g. *bhamanai* < *bhāvanāya*, *nama* < *nāvam*, and even *puṣaviva* for *puṣpam iva*. In the Niya Prakrit this occurs regularly in one word—*gameṣ* “to seek”; also *ameṭhita* in the verses quoted from the Dhamma P., No. 510. Perhaps *cimara* 149 may be < *cīvara*.

A tendency common both to the Niya Prakrit and the Kharoṣṭhi Dh.P. is the voicing of unvoiced stops when preceded by a nasal, and the omission of voiced stops in a similar position. This was treated by J. Bloch in the article mentioned above, showing that it occurs in modern times all over the North-West. Examples are (a) *paja* “5”, *sagapa* < *saṅkalpa*, etc.; (b) *kuṇaru* “elephant”, *udumaru*, etc. In Niya we find (a) *upaśaṃghidavo* = *upaśaṅk-*, *saṃghalidavo* from *saṃkalayati* “to collect”, *gaṃḍavo* (so written fourteen times as against *gaṃṭavo* twice). No examples are found in the case *ñc*, *paṃca*, etc., being invariably found. We cannot be sure how this is to be accounted

for because there is a constant tendency due to the phonetic character of the native language to unvoice voiced stops in Indian words which might possibly mask a change like this. Still the fact that *-mj-* never occurs would speak for the change not having taken place in this dialect.

(b) *gaṃṇavara* "treasurer" (Iranian **ganṣaβara-*), *chimnati* "he cuts" < **chindati*, which has replaced Skt. *chinatti*, *bhīmṇati*, *baṃnanae* "to bind". But forms like *baṃdhitaga* 660 are not uncommon. The development has not taken place in Niya in the case of *ṇḍ* (as it has in the Dh.P. *panito* < *paṇḍita*, etc.). We always find *piṇḍa*, *daṇḍa*, etc. In the case of *-mb-* the only example available is *hastama* "quarrel", which is an Iranian word from the base *stamb-* (cf. *BSOS.*, vii, p. 788).

On the whole, then, the Kharoṣṭhi Dhamma P. is much the more consistent in carrying out this change and it may be taken as an indication of dialectical difference.

There is a tendency, sporadic but quite common, to change *e* into *ī*, e.g. *viraneṣu*, *pramodia*, *uvito*, *sarvi*. This change is not found apparently outside Khotan (see below). The question, therefore, which naturally arises, whether the manuscript was copied in Khotan or imported from India is settled by this point. It must have been copied in Khotan, perhaps more than once, to account for this specifically Khotanese change.

There is one point in which the Dh.P. differs from the Niya dialect and the later Kharoṣṭhi inscriptions, but agrees with Aśoka, and that is a tendency (not universal, but common) to transpose *r*. Examples are *drugati*, *drumedhino*, *drugha*, *pravata*.

The specific Aśokan change *sv* (and *sm*) > *sp* is not found here, as, indeed, in any other text outside Aśoka.

In inflection the most important difference is the treatment of the nominative singular. The Kharoṣṭhi Dhammapada represents an *-o* dialect; Niya, as shown above, an *-e* dialect. Judging from the division of these forms geographically, which is mentioned above, the home of the Dhamma P. dialect is to be sought to the east of the Indus.

As we have seen at Niya, no distinction is preserved between nominative and accusative. This would seem to have been the case at the time the present copy of the Kharoṣṭhi Dh.P. was made. Because, there reigns complete confusion, as seen from the following list of examples :—

N. S. in -o	.	.	<i>magana athagio śetho</i>
„ -u	.	.	<i>nai kalu pramadasa</i>
„ -a	.	.	<i>aśoka śoino jana</i>
Acc. S. in -u	.	.	<i>so itu loku ohaseti</i>
„ -u and a	.	.	<i>dhamu sucarita cari</i>
N. Acc. N. -o	.	.	<i>bhayo C^{vo} 7</i>
„ -u	.	.	<i>pranoti paramu sukhu; abhaya namu sa diśa</i>
„ -a	.	.	<i>apramadu amatapada, pramado mucuno pada</i>

This state of affairs seems most naturally to be explained by assuming that the people among whom the document was current no longer distinguished the two cases. This is in agreement with the conclusion above, that phonetically there were indications of a more advanced stage in the popular speech.

Another important distinguishing mark is the locative singular. That, as we have seen, is *-aspi* or *-asi* in Aśoka and *-ami* in the later Kharoṣṭhi inscriptions and Niya. In the Kharoṣṭhi Dh.P. we frequently find a form in *-asa*, e.g. *uṭhanaalasa* (cf. A² 6, A³ 6, A³ 13, B 30, 38, C^{vo} 3, 28, 30). The form as it stands is identical with the genitive singular but the syntax in all these passages demands a locative. It must therefore represent an original *-asi*. How the final *-a* instead of *-i* is to be accounted for is not easy to say. We might think of a phonetic process resulting in the confusion of final vowels, but there is no further evidence to support this. The only other explanation is that it was due to ignorance of a form *-asi* among the people among whom the text was current. Not knowing the form they would easily confuse it with the genitive in *-asa*. But how did this occur? We might assume that original text (in which already one Ardhamagadhi characteristic has been pointed out above) had locatives in *-a(n)si*, and that these were not current in the dialect into which it was translated. On the other hand, locatives in *-asi* are attested in the North-West in Aśoka, though not in the later Kharoṣṭhi inscriptions and in Niya. Since, however, the Dh.P. shows quite a number of differences from these latter texts, it would not be at all surprising to find the locative in *-asi* in it. The difficulty in that case is to account for the confusion with the genitive which there seems no reason to explain from phonetic causes.

A further point of comparison is afforded by the indeclinable participle in *-ti*, which as in Niya and Aśoka is in *-ti*: *upajiti* C^{vo} 44, *pramayiti* A² 3, *parivajeti* A² 8.

To sum up, the main differences between the two dialects are not many but striking where they occur. We notice in the Dh.P. a more pronounced tendency to voice voiceless stops after nasals and omit voiced stops in similar positions, a more pronounced tendency to change *-v-* into *-m-*; the transposition of *r*; the nom. sing. in *-o*, and possibly the locative singular in *-asi*. In all these the group of later Kharoṣṭhi inscriptions having nom. sing. in *-e* agrees with Niya rather than with the Dh.P. In one point, the transposition of *r*, the Dh.P. recalls Aśoka, possibly also in the locative *-asi*. The evidence leads us to seek the original home of the Dh.P. east of the Indus. Its date is, if anything, later than the Niya documents.

IV. THE DIALECT OF KHOTAN

One document out of the collection—661—is written in a different script and dialect from the rest. It was found at Endere, but since it is dated in the tenth year of Avijida Simha, King of Khotan, we may take it as representing the administrative language of Khotan, just as the Niya documents represent the administrative language of the Shan-Shan kingdom. The date of the document is not settled, even approximately.

Since the language looks noticeably different from that of Niya, it will be profitable to analyse the differences in detail.

e and *o* become *ī* and *ū*. Kali *saḡaḡi* (= *sakāṣe*), *uvadayi* (< *uvadaye* < *upādāya*), the optatives *vidiyadi* (Niya *veteyati*), *uthaviyadi*, *cudiyadi*, *dhinadi* "he gives" (Niya *denati*).

o > *ū* in *cudiyadi* (Niya *codeyati*). The same characteristic appears in Khotanese Saka (S. Konow, *Saka Studies*, pp. 19, 20). It appears in this document in the Iranian title *Hinajha* = *στρατηγός* (BSOS., vii, 514). Its occurrence in the Dh.P. was mentioned above as indicating Khotanese influence in that document.

In the instrumental the *-e* is treated differently, becoming *ā*, e.g. *mulyāna*, *tāna*. The same appears in the 3rd sing. of the causative, *madrādi* = *mamṛeti*. It is not obvious why there is this difference. We might think of it as due to their being terminations and therefore less strongly accented, resulting in a shortening of the *ē* to *ĕ*. But the *-e* of the locative singular is treated like the ordinary *e*—*kali*, *saḡaḡi*.

Initial *d-* is regularly aspirated, *dh-*, *dhivajha* "day", *dhitu* "gave", *dhaḍu* = *daṃḍam*. It must be due to native Khotanese pronunciation.

Internally the change does not occur in the only example available, *vivadu* = *vivādam*.

Between vowels *-t-* always appears as *-d-*, *haradi*, *kidā*, *grahidu*, *uvaḡadu*, *dhinadi*, *syadi*, etc. This being the case, we can conclude that since the past participle of *dā-* appears as *dhitu* we are dealing with a double consonant, i.e. **ditta-*. Niya *dita* therefore is not directly derived from Aryan **dita-*, i.e. *dātó*, but another of the numerous new formations that appear in India. The form **ditta-* for the North-Western Prakrit is also shown by Torwali *dit* "gave". A single *-t-* would not have been preserved, cf. Torw. *gā* "went".

The tendency to voice internal *-t-* was, of course, general in the North-West as everywhere. In the Niyā documents, however, the development is masked on account of a general tendency to confuse voiced and unvoiced sounds. The native language of Shan-Shan, as I have shown in *JRAS.*, 1935, pp. 667 ff., was like Tocharian in being devoid of voiced stops. Consequently they confuse them in Indian words. The fact, therefore, that a similar confusion does not exist in this inscription is of great interest, because it demonstrates that the native language of Khotan (pre-Saka) was quite different from the probably Tocharian language of Shan-Shan. Naturally one document does not enable us to say what it was, but it is satisfactory to be able to fix a boundary to the extension of Tocharian at this time.

The group *ṣt* which otherwise is assimilated in all varieties of the North-Western Prakrit is preserved in *aṣṭi* "8". The final vowel is also surprising, recalling Saka *haṣṭā* (besides *haṣṭa*). On the other hand, we find the usual assimilation of *-ṣṭr-* in *uṭaḥ* "camel".

The group *-sy-* is always preserved in the genitive singular °*simhasya*, etc. Of course, this is merely a case of imitating Sanskrit.

In inflection the most important difference is that in this document the distinction between nom. and acc. is still preserved, whereas in Niyā it is quite obliterated. The nominative appears either as *-ā* or *-aḥ*, the acc. as *-o* or *-u*.

Examples of the nom. sing. are: *asti manuṣā naḡaraḡā* "There is a man of the city"; *asti mayi uṭaḥ tanuvaḡaḡaḥ*, *so uṭaḥ Vagiti Vadhagasya tanuvaḡaḡaḥ saṇveritaḥ* "That camel has become the property of V. V." Examples of the acc. sing. are: *so uṭo vikrinami* "I am selling that camel"; *Vagiti Vadhaga niravaṣiṣo mulyo maṣā dhitu* "V. V. gave the whole price (the construction of *maṣā* in this sentence is not clear); *vivadu uṭhaviyadi* "should stir up a dispute"; *dhaḡu dhinadi* "pays a penalty".

This being established, the phrase *so utaḥ aphīṇanu haradī* is to be translated "That camel carries *aphīṇanu*" and not (as wrongly taken by P. S. Noble, *BSOS.*, vi, 451, and by me, *BSOS.*, vii, 515) "Aphīṇanu carries away that camel".

Of these two forms of the nom. sing. *-aḥ* if it really represents the visarga must be simply a Sanskritism. The *-ā* is some kind of *e*-sound, as shown by the forms *tāna* and *maṇḍrādi*. It is to be classed therefore with the *e*-dialects along with Niya. What is surprising is that we seem to have here a treatment of the *-aḥ* of the nominative sing. distinct from all other Prakrits. Everywhere where it becomes *-e* the *-e* is not distinguished from the ordinary *-e*, of the locative singular for instance. Here we have *i < e* in the locative and *ā < aḥ* in the nom. sing. It is a pity there is not more information, e.g. in the form of ablative singulars (Niya *-ade*) on the point. The only other form containing an original *-as* is *puradu*, with development in the *o*-direction. This, however, is of no significance, because regularly in those dialects which have *-e* in the nom. sing. *-o* occurs in adverbial forms like these (J. Bloch, *BSOS.*, vi, pp. 291 ff.; *L'Indo-Aryen*, p. 8).

The change *-am > -u* in the accusative singular is interesting. In Niya it appears as *-a* as does the nominative, but there are traces, in the pronominal forms, of the change *-am > -u*, namely *ahu* "I" *amahu tumahu* (< *asmabhyam*, etc.) *tuo* "you" < *tuvdm*.

In *yatha rajadhamu syadi* we apparently have the neuter singular.

The document further throws considerable light on the history of the new preterite which the Niya dialect has formed out of the past participle passive. They say, for instance, *ditemi, dīteṣi, dīta, dītama, dītetha, dītamti* for "I, you, etc., gave". It is not clear from the Niya language itself what the *-a* in *dīta* (3rd sing.) represents. The Khotanese document, however, shows that it was originally the neuter singular that was used here. We find, for instance, *tasya utasya kidā Vagīti Vadhaḡā niravaṣiṣo mulyo maṣā dhītu Khvarnarsasya grahīdu* "For that camel V. V. gave the whole price and it was received by Khvarnarse". Here we find both the original construction (*Khvarnarsasya grahīdu*) and the new one (*dhītu* with the nom. sing.) side by side.

Development in a similar direction is shown by the Niya documents. We get :—

(1) Constructions with the subject in the instrumental 16 *mayā maharayena Peta Avana caṃkura Arjunasa picavida* "By me the great king P.A. was handed over to the *caṃkura* Arjuna".

(2) The nom. sing. supplants the instrumental in conjunction with the past participle *edaṣa mahulī stri Ramaśri unidi giḍa* "His wife took a woman Ramaśri as an adopted child".

(3) The instrumental is used as a nominative even with the present tense. 622 *maharayaṣaṣa kala Puṁṇabalena lihati* "The king's son kala Puṁṇabala writes".

Whether the application of the personal endings to the past participle had taken place in the Khotan dialect as it has in Niya it is not possible to say. No example happens to occur in the present text.

The intransitive *saṁvritāḥ* agrees in gender and number with its subject. In Niya transitive and intransitive verbs are treated alike.

The differences between the two varieties of Prakrit may therefore be classified under the following headings: (1) Special developments in Khotan, *e* > *ī*, *o* > *ū*, *d* > *dh*.

(2) Special developments in Shan Shan, notably a widespread tendency of unvoicing and confusion of surd and sonant.

(3) Differences due to the fact that Prakrit of Khotan is more archaic than the Niya Prakrit. They are the preservation of the distinction between nom and acc., and a somewhat less advanced stage in the development of the new preterite from the past participle passive.

(4) There remains the possibility of original dialect differences in their Indian sources. One document naturally does not provide much to found hypotheses on. There is *aṣṭi* "8" where there seems to be preservation of *-ṣṭi*. This is certainly not what we would expect because otherwise that group is assimilated in all varieties of the North-Western Prakrit. The final *-i* also is difficult to account for.

The possibility must certainly be taken into account that a form like this is due to the influence of Khotanī Saka, which has *haṣṭi* for "eight". When the Sakas came to Khotan is not known, but there is clear Iranian influence in this document. The king has an Iranian title *hinajha* (**hīnāza*). The man whom the document is about has a name which is undeniably Iranian, *Khrarnarse* (= **xvar-narseh*, BSOS., vii, 789). So that it is natural to assume that Iranians, presumably Sakas, were already here. That being so, Iranian influence seems more probable than actual preservation of *-ṣṭi* in the Prakrit. Also we get the usual assimilation in *uṭaḥ*.

If we are going to consider the possibility of Saka influence, we might also see it in the nom. sing. An *ā* is otherwise unknown in Middle

Indian, but we do get a similar modified *a* in Saka in the nom. sing. *gyastā*, etc. Since there is no trace of such a form inside India, from which the language must have been imported, and since everywhere the *-e* < *aḥ* of the nom. sing. is not distinguished from original *e*, there is hardly any possibility left except that it was invented in Khotan. Similarly *tāna* = Saka *ttāna*, *madrādi* = Sak. *dyāñāta*, etc. The accusative, too, in Saka is *-u*, *gyastu*, etc., just as here.

If we assume that these things are due to the influence of Saka, then there remains no difference between the two dialects which need to be attributed to their Indian source. Basically they are the same language and the fact that they look so different is due almost entirely to recent developments in their Central Asian environment. The Niya dialect, as we have seen, coincides pretty closely to that part of the Kharoṣṭhi inscriptions of N.W. India, which have the nom. in *-e*. These for the main part are concentrated in that area to the west of the Indus round Peshawar, which was the centre of the Kushan dominions. It is this official language, then (as one would have expected for historical reasons), which has been transplanted to Khotan and Shan-Shan, taking on a slightly different form in each.

Most of the phonetic peculiarities of this dialect reappear in the modern Dardic languages. A few of the phonetic developments are particular to Torwali, namely:—

(1) *sv* > *śv*, Niya *śvasu*, Torwali *śū*. In the closely related Garwi *iṣpo*, as once in Niya, *priyaśpasuae*. On the other hand, Ṣiṇa has *sū* with the *s* preserved.

(2) *śv* > *śp*. Niya *aśpa*, *śpeta*, Torwali *paiṣ* < (*ś*)*paṣū* < *śvaśrū*. This change is also found in Ṣiṇa, *āṣpo* but not apparently in Kāśmiri, *chyat* "white".

(3) *sm* > *m*, Niya *amahu*, and locatives in *-ammi*, Torwali *mō* "we" < (*a*)*mahu*. On the other hand both Ṣiṇa and Kāśmiri show a change to *s* (as in Aśoka to some extent and the Kharoṣṭhi Dh.P.), Kś. *as* "we", Ṣ. *asei* "ower".

These are the most important points establishing close relationship. Other forms of interest are: Torw. *biž*, Niya *bhiṣa* "seed" (with unexplained *bh*-). Usually in the North-Western Prakrit *-j-* became *-y-*, *maharaya*. The *-f-* in this form is probably to be explained by gemination. *bīja* > *bīya* > *biyya* >, *bijja* > *bhiṣa* > Torw. *biž*.

Similar is the case of Niya *iṣa* "here". Skt. *iha* > Aśokan *ia* > *iya* > *iyya* (with additional emphasis natural in such a word) > *ijja* > *iṣa*.

In Niya Skt. *dv* is treated differently according as to whether it was originally *dv* or *duv*-. Thus *dvara* but *biti*-. Similarly Torwali has *bī* "second", *der* "door" (though the latter looks as if it may be Persian). On the other hand, they disagree in the word for "12": Niya *badāṣa*, Torw. *dvāṣ*-.

One point which appears in Torwali but not apparently in Niya (as mentioned above) is the transposition of *r*. Torw. *ḥik* "high" < **drīgha* < *dirgha*-, *ḥūbal* "thin" > **drubala* > *durbala*-.

Further there is no trace in any of the Dardic languages of the -*t*- which develops between *ms* in *māṃtsa*, etc. Torw. *mās*, Ṣiṇa *mos*-.

It might be going too far to say that Torwali is the direct lineal descendant of the Niya Prakrit, but there is no doubt that out of all the modern languages it shows the closest resemblance to it. A glance at the map in the *Linguistic Survey of India* shows that the area at present covered by "Kohistani" is the nearest to that area round Peshawar, where, as stated above, there is most reason to believe was the original home of the Niya Prakrit. That conclusion, which was reached for other reasons, is thus confirmed by the distribution of the modern dialects.

The first of these is the fact that the United States is a young nation, and its history is therefore a history of growth and development. The second is the fact that the United States is a large nation, and its history is therefore a history of expansion and conquest. The third is the fact that the United States is a diverse nation, and its history is therefore a history of conflict and compromise. The fourth is the fact that the United States is a nation of immigrants, and its history is therefore a history of assimilation and adaptation. The fifth is the fact that the United States is a nation of pioneers, and its history is therefore a history of exploration and discovery. The sixth is the fact that the United States is a nation of inventors, and its history is therefore a history of innovation and progress. The seventh is the fact that the United States is a nation of entrepreneurs, and its history is therefore a history of risk-taking and achievement. The eighth is the fact that the United States is a nation of leaders, and its history is therefore a history of vision and inspiration. The ninth is the fact that the United States is a nation of heroes, and its history is therefore a history of courage and sacrifice. The tenth is the fact that the United States is a nation of dreamers, and its history is therefore a history of hope and aspiration.

The history of the United States is a story of a nation that has grown from a small colony to a great power. It is a story of a nation that has expanded its territory, fought for its freedom, and built a great civilization. It is a story of a nation that has overcome many challenges and achieved many successes. It is a story of a nation that has inspired the world and shaped the future. The history of the United States is a story of a nation that is still growing and still developing. It is a story of a nation that is still full of hope and still full of promise. It is a story of a nation that is still full of life and still full of energy. The history of the United States is a story of a nation that is still writing its story and still creating its future.

On the Alphabetic Notation of Certain Phonetic Features of Malayalam

By RAYMOND T. BUTLIN

To search for "unity" and "system" at the expense of truth is not, I take it, the proper business of philosophy, however universally it may have been the practice of philosophers.—G. E. MOORE.

IT is proposed here to offer some considerations on the representation of certain Malayalam¹ sounds. It is not the purpose of these notes to present a detailed laboratory account of the acoustic and physiological phenomena to be symbolized, but while characterizing these phenomena sufficiently for the reader to appreciate their general nature, rather to consider certain specific phonetic circumstances of their occurrence and the significance of these in the elaboration of a notational system.

[A brief indication is here given of the sound-values which the reader should attach to the symbols hereafter employed, in order to enable him to make some verbal response to the visual forms, and in the case of those familiar with the language, to assist in the identification of the words.

Vowels and Diphthongs.—The precise value to be given to the vowels and diphthongs is irrelevant to the present discussion. Twelve symbols will be used, viz. **a, aa, e, ee, i, ii, o, oo, u, uu, ə, ai**. (A symbol is not a letter: **aa** and **a** are two distinct symbols.) It will be found sufficient for the present purpose to read these symbols in accordance with international phonetic usage, length being represented by double letters.

Consonants.—The reader will find it sufficient to attach to the following symbols the values described in J. R. Firth's "Short Outline of Tamil Pronunciation"²: **p, pp, t, tt, ʈ, ʈʈ, c, cc, j, k, kk, m, mm, ɳ, ɳɳ, ɲ, ɲɲ, l, ll, ʃ, ʃʃ, v, vv, y, yy**. Those who are unfamiliar with this work may, without prejudice to the main considerations of this article, interpret these symbols, together with **b, ʈh, g, jj, s, ɕ, ʃ, and h**, in accordance with international phonetic usage, subject to the following modifications: **c, cc, j, jj** are palato-alveolar affricates, **ɕ** is used for the

¹ Our informants were Travancore Brahmins.

² Appendix to Arden's *Grammar of Common Tamil* (new and revised edition), published by the Christian Literature Society of India, 1934.

International Phonetic Association *ɣ*, *ʃ* is retroflex, *y* has its English value in *yes*.

The following symbols require special explanation: *ʈʈ*, *n*, *nn*, *ɲ*, *ɲɲ*, *ɳ*, *r*, *ɽ*, *ʈ*, *kk*.

ʈʈ. The primary articulation of the sound represented is alveolar and tense, with slight secondary palatalization.

n, *nn*. To be read respectively as short and long nasals with primary dental articulation and slight secondary velarization.

ɲ, *ɲɲ*. Short and long nasals respectively with primary alveolar articulation and slight secondary palatalization.

ɳ. Pre-velar articulation, intermediate between *ɲ* and *ŋ*.

r. A short alveolar trill with slight secondary velarization.

ɽ. A denti-alveolar or dental trill with secondary palatalization.

ʈ. The symbol should be given the value assigned by Firth (v.s.) to *ɖ*. A retroflex frictionless continuant.

kk. Should be interpreted as a tense voiceless palatal plosive.]

Our observations are based upon an examination, on the phonetic level, of the circumstances in which certain sounds occur in a number of selected Malayalam words. These sounds will, as a result of our analysis, be symbolized by (*t*, *tt*, *ʈ*, *ʈʈ*), (*m*, *mm*, *n*, *nn*, *ɲ*, *ɲɲ*, *ɳ*, *ɳɳ*, *ɳ*, *ɳɳ*, *ɳ*, *ɳɳ*), (*l*, *ll*, *ɭ*, *ɭɭ*), (*r*, *ɽ*, *ʈ*), (*k*, *kk*, *kk*). Both from the point of view of orderliness of exposition and of typographical convenience we shall find it advantageous to treat the material in groups, as indicated above by the use of brackets. It should be stated that this methodological device has been so chosen as in no way to affect our conclusions.

We shall examine in detail the alternances occurring within these groups in initial, intervocalic, medial, and final positions. The material will not, however, be presented in this schematic order, but in diminishing sequence from the series presenting the maximum, to that presenting the minimum number of alternative terms.¹

In certain cases it has been possible to establish a complete series on the basis of a single term alternance in complete words. Such series are prefixed with an asterisk.

Important as such cases are, it would, however, be impossible to devise an adequate notational system exclusively on the basis of entire words, since, of the theoretically possible number of single-term alternances in complete words, only comparatively few are actual. No doubt further investigation will reveal such series which the writer has not yet had the good fortune to discover. Neverthe-

¹ The expression "alternative phonetic terms" is used by J. R. Firth in *The Use and Distribution of Certain English Sounds* (English Studies, 1935).

less, it is certain that no amount of research would reveal single-term alternances in all the contexts chosen for the present purpose.

In the majority of cases, therefore, it has been necessary to employ words exhibiting multiple alternance, by extracting from them appropriate isolates¹ in the form of particular phonetic sequences exhibiting single-term alternance. The specificity of the isolates selected for the present purpose is such as to enable us to devise a notation making the fullest use, compatible with unambiguity and practical convenience, of contextual conventions involving contiguous terms. By increasing the degree of specificity, such contextual conventions could be considerably reduced.

TABLE A
SERIES I. INTERVOCALIC

t	tt	tt	t	tt
*pati husband	*patti hood of snake	*paṭṭi glued	*paṭi a step	*paṭṭi dog
*kūti a jump	*kutti stabbed	*kuṭṭi tent-peg	*kuṭi a drink	*kuṭṭi boy
koti greed	kotti stung	paṭṭa cockroach	koṭi flag	koṭṭi struck
paata path			paṭa scum	koṭṭa basket
			koṭa umbrella	

SERIES II. MEDIALY, PRECEDED BY HOMORGANIC NASAL

t	tt	t
pantə ball	taṇṭṭe one's	kaṇṭu saw
niintuka to swim	maṇṭṭe son's	niinṭu became long
	eṇṭṭe my	

SERIES III. MEDIAL GROUPS (OTHER THAN THOSE INCLUDED IN SERIES II AND IV)

t	t
vaastavam truth	kaṣṭam troublesome
paṇṭi column	ṣaṣṭipuurtti 60th birthday

¹ The term has been adopted from Professor H. Levy.

SERIES IV. MEDIALY, WITH *r* OR *y*

tt

raattri	night
varttamaanam	news
sattyam	truth
marttyan	man

SERIES V. INITIAL (INCLUDING INITIAL GROUPS)

t

tanta	father
tekke	south
tiircca	decision
tutal	a chain
tyaagam	a sacrifice
tyajikkuka	to discard
stanam	breast

It will be seen that in Table A the series exhibiting the maximum alternance occurs intervocalically and contains five terms, while medially with preceding homorganic nasal we have a three-term series, in other medial groups a series of two terms, and a single term initially and in medial groups with *r* or *y*.

It is evident that the number of symbols necessary and adequate for the representation of a series of alternative terms is in direct proportion to the number of such terms. The maximum number of symbols will be required in the series exhibiting the maximum alternance, the minimum in the minimum series.

Now it is important to realize that no useful purpose whatsoever can be served by seeking a chimerical unity between a term in a major series and one in a minor series, or even between the terms of two different series containing an equal number of terms, since to do so is to leave out of account the relevant context of their occurrence and so to invalidate any conclusion.

Strictly speaking each term might be distinctively symbolized, but for the practical purposes of notation it is desirable to practise some measure of symbol economy. This may best be effected if the choice of symbols in a minor series be determined by an empirical comparison of the sounds in question to similar sounds in a major series (subject, however, to a provision to be explained subsequently).

TABLE B

SERIES I. INTERVOCALIC

m	mm	nn	n	nn	ŋ	ŋŋ	pp	ŋŋ	yy
ama horcise	uma cobble	raani (place name)	gaam a goss	kazi month	maŋ bell, clock	cliquaŋ crocodile	papi cotton	saŋraŋ lemon	maŋgo mango
kaŋka area palm	emaŋ cobble	poŋkaŋ is going	asaŋmaŋ a goss	paŋkaŋ rotten	paŋam money	kaŋga eye	kappa infant	maŋaŋ pumpkin	maŋga to moan
reŋam	amaŋ between us	ceŋa went	maŋiŋ for this	paŋaŋ a plant	reŋu dust	kaŋgaŋ glass	tiŋaŋ became full	ciŋgaŋ name of a month	viŋgi sobbed
		maŋaŋ waited			piŋam corpse	maŋga soil	paŋaŋ earthworm		

SERIES II. MEDIALY, FOLLOWING HOMORGANIC STOP

m	n	n	ŋ	ŋ	p	ŋ
kaŋka stick	canta cantam	market a sight,	taŋte ente	raŋte pinŋam	apjaŋam lampblack	maŋka apkaŋ
kampi wire	e.g. in "What a sight"	a sight,	ente my	a burnt offering	maŋcal litter	organ organ (of body)
tuampa spade	javanti kind of flower	ball	avaŋte his	kanŋam neck	inci ginger	saŋgati news
	paŋte		paŋte	once	paŋka a share	

Thus **tt** is used in medial consonant groups in the foregoing examples on the ground that empirical observation shows the sound to be almost identical with that symbolized by **tt** in the intervocalic series.

Absence of approximate acoustic identity does not necessarily preclude the use of identical symbols for two terms in different series. Thus, although there is a difference of tensify and voicing between the terms of the initial and intervocalic series symbolized by **t**, no ambiguity can arise if the appropriate convention be adopted. It would, nevertheless, have been equally legitimate to employ a distinctive symbol, say **ṭ**, for the term in the intervocalic series; and such a proceeding might, for certain pedagogical purposes, be advantageous. Since, however, Malayalam is a written language, and that in the orthography both terms are represented by identical symbols, for general purposes it is perhaps more convenient, without implying any relationship, to use similar symbols in both cases.

SERIES III. OTHER MEDIAL GROUPS (EXCLUDING THOSE IN SERIES IV)

m	ṇ	ṇ
samsaariḱḱuka to talk	aṇyan stranger tiṇmaan for eating	paṇti column

SERIES IV. INITIAL

m	n	p
maattuka to move maṛam tree muḷa bamboo	naaraṇṇa lemon ninnu stood niinti swam	paan I paṇṇa we poṭi moment

SERIES V. MEDIAL, AFTER r OR ṛ

mm	nn
nirmmiḱḱuka to appoint	tiirnnu finished taaṛnna lower

SERIES VI. FINAL

m		ṇ	
maṇam	smell	payyaṇ	boy
ikkaalam	this time	veeṭaṇ	hunter
addeeham	he	cemmaaṇ	cobbler

SERIES VII. INITIAL GROUP

ṇ
ṇyaayam justice

The nasal group presents a maximum series of ten terms intervocalically. The series with following homorganic stop presents six terms. It will be observed that for the second, fifth, and sixth terms of this series, symbols have been employed which do not occur in the notation of the maximum series, viz. *n*, *p*, *ṇ*.

Now, although the sounds thus symbolized do not occur intervocalically, it would be possible, by establishing a contextual convention as to length, to employ either *nn*, *pp*, *ṇṇ*, or *n*, *p*, *ṇ* in both series. Such simplification nevertheless appears unnecessarily

TABLE C

SERIES I. INTERVOCALIC

I	II	l	ll
palaka plank	pallakkə a litter	ka a weed	ve am water
baalika girl	alli bud	kaḍa i kind of banana	pa i church
mula breast	mulla kind of plant	mu a bamboo	mu ə thorn

SERIES II. FINAL

I	l
pa a daytime	ava she
mayil peacock	kavi cheek
vaṇaal perhaps	aa uka persons

SERIES III. INITIAL

1

laaʔam	horseshoe
ookam	world
lejja	shyness

SERIES IV. MEDIAL GROUPS

1

taalpparyam	meaning
kalppam	kind of tree

schematic and is of no practical convenience. It is gratuitous to assume that in all cases contextual conventions are necessarily preferable to additional symbols.

Similar arguments have been advanced for the use of either *h* or *ŋ* for both *h* initially and *ŋ* finally in English. It is interesting to note that by applying the method here described, such fruitless discussions are avoided. The intervocalic series in English contains both *h* and *ŋ*, while the initial (a minor series) contains *h* but not *ŋ*, and the final (also a minor series) contains *ŋ* but not *h*. Reference to the intervocalic (major) series will suggest the use of *h* for a similar sound in the initial series, while reference to the same series will suggest the use of *ŋ* for a similar sound in the final series.

Tables C and D are presented without comment, since they involve no new problem.

TABLE D

SERIES I. INTERVOCALIC

r		ɾ		ɽ	
*kara	sap	*kaɾa	coast	*kaɽa	punt-pole
kiiri	tore	kiɾi	mongoose	kiɽi	bundle
coore	cooked rice	cooɾa	blood	kooɽi	fowl
		puɾa	thatched hut	puɽa	a stream
mara	screen			maɽa	rain

SERIES II. MEDIAL GROUPS

r	ṛ	ṛ
iircca uneasiness	suuṛyaṇ sun	covvaarṛcca Tuesday
yaattra journey	kaaṛyam fact	
tarkkam dispute	viiryaṇ bravery	taaṛṇna lower

SERIES III. INITIAL

r	ṛ
raantal lantern	ṛaattri night
raaṇi queen	ṛuci sense of taste
ravukka cotton or silk	ṛoomam hair
jacket (women's)	

SERIES IV. FINAL

r
payar peas
kayar rope
malabaar Malabar

SERIES V. INITIAL GROUPS

r
kramam gradual
ṛramiccu tried

There remain the velar and palatal unaspirated plosive alternances (Table E). It should be noticed that previous writers have failed to observe the alternance value of the third term of the intervocalic series, Aiyar,¹ for instance, treating such cases as variants of **kk** "in association with palatal vowels". The following examples leave no doubt that **ṛṛ** is a discrete term.

¹ L. Vishwanātha Rāmaswāmi Aiyar, *A Brief Account of Malayalam Phonetics*.

TABLE E
 SERIES I. INTERVOCALIC

k	kk	kk
akam inside	akkam a numeral	
pookə go (imper.)	pookkə gait	
maka] daughter	makka] children	
	kaakkuka to guard	kaakkuka to ripen
	aṛakkə sealing wax	aṛakkə grind (imper.)
	arakkuka to saw	arakkuka to disguise
	avaṇ vikkaṇ he is going	avaṇ viṇṇaṇ he is going
	pookunnu to stammer	pookunnu to sell

SERIES II. INITIAL (INCLUDING INITIAL GROUPS)

k

kaṛam	tax
kaṛiṇṇaali	name of tree
kiiṛi	mongoose
kramam	gradual

SERIES III. MEDIAL, PRECEDED BY HOMORGANIC NASAL

k

maṇka	virgin
vaṇkaṇ	fool
paṇkajam	lotus

SERIES IV. OTHER MEDIAL GROUPS

kk

tarkkam	dispute
markkaṭam	monkey
karkkaṭakam	name of a month

CONCLUSION

Avoiding that crude hypostatization of the visual symbol which vitiates so much contemporary research, it has been possible, by a methodical examination of certain sounds in their relevant contexts, to establish a systematic, unambiguous and manageable notation.

Although not an end in itself, a notation is an indispensable instrument both in broader linguistic studies, whether descriptive or historical, and in pedagogical practice.

In itself a notation cannot be said to constitute a phonetic analysis of a language, nor can any mere enumeration of the symbols employed, however precise the accompanying definitions of their acoustic values, possibly be accounted as such. A true phonetic analysis is provided only by a systematic presentation of the material investigated on the basis of alternances established in specific contexts, together with precise definitions of the acoustic and physiological characteristics of the sounds symbolized.

Analyses of this type are particularly valuable both to the linguistic historian and to those engaged in the practical teaching of languages. To the former the historical study of phonetic phenomena in specific contexts can alone be profitable. Attempts to investigate data divorced from the relevant context have repeatedly led, and must inevitably lead, to bewildering confusion.

The value of systematic phonetic analysis in linguistic pedagogy needs no emphasis. The establishment of alternance tables such as those presented above is the first task of those who seek to give a truly linguistic basis to their practical phonetic teaching, since only by a consideration of the particular circumstances in which varying degrees of phonetic differentiation occur in the foreign language and in the mother tongue, is it possible to bring order and proportion into what is otherwise so apt to degenerate into a meaningless travesty of pedagogical method.

Śakadhūma

By †JARL CHARPENTIER

LITERATURE: Weber, *Omina und Portenta* (1858), p. 363; *Nazatra*, ii (1861), pp. 272, n., 393; *Ind. Studien*, v, 257, x, 65; Haug, *Sitzber. Bayer. Akad. Wiss.*, 1875, ii, 506; Zimmer, *Ai. Leben*, p. 353; Ludwig, *Rig-Veda*, iii, 187; Bloomfield, *JAOS.*, xiii, p. cxxxiv sqq.; *AJPh.*, vii, 484 sqq.; *Atharva Veda*, p. 81; *SBE.*, xlii, 532 sqq.; Whitney-Lauman, *Atharva-Veda*, pp. 377 sq.; Henry, *La Magie dans l'Inde antique*, pp. 68 sqq.; Oldenberg, *RV-Noten*, i, 160; Caland, *Ai. Zauberritual*, pp. 16, n. 13; 175, n. 8; Papesso, *Inni dell' Atharva-Veda*, p. 127, n.

The not unknown hymn *AV.*, vi, 128,¹ runs as follows:—

śakadhūmaṃ nakṣatrāṇi yad rājānam akurvata |
 bhadrāham asmai prāyacchan idam vāṣṭram asāditi || 1 ||
 bhadrāhaṃ no madhyandine bhadrāhaṃ sāyam astu naḥ |
 bhadrāhaṃ no ahnām prātā rātrī bhadrāham astu naḥ || 2 ||
 ahorātrābhyāṃ nakṣatrebhyāḥ sūryācandramāsābhyām |
 bhadrāhaṃ asmabhyāṃ rājaṃ chakadhūma tvaṃ kṛdhi || 3 ||
 yo no bhadrāham akaraḥ sāyaṃ naktam atho divā |
 tasmai te nakṣatrarāja śakadhūma sadā namaḥ || 4 ||

"When the constellations made Śakadhūma their king they bestowed upon him auspicious time: 'this shall be his realm.'² (1).

"Auspicious time for us at noon, auspicious time be ours at evening-tide; auspicious time for us at the dawn of the days, auspicious time may night be to us. (2)

"During day-and-night, during (the time of) the constellations, during (the time of) sun and moon do thou, O king Śakadhūma, make auspicious time for us.³ (3)

¹ The verses 1-2 and 4 are found in the *Paippalāda* xix, with rather strong differences in vv. 1-2; these *variæ lectiones* are, however, not important (except perhaps in v. 1d: *tato rāṣṭram ajāyata* instead of *idam rāṣṭram asād iti* of the Vulgate).

² Better perhaps *Ppp.*: *tato rāṣṭram ajāyata* "thus did his rule originate".

³ This verse is partly metrically irregular and is not found in the *Ppp.*, it may perhaps be a later interpolation. But quite apart from that, Whitney's translation ("from day-and-night", etc.) is unintelligible to me. There is, of course, not the slightest doubt that *ahorātrābhyām* may mean "during day-and-night" (cf. Delbrück, *Ai. Syntax*, p. 130; Speyer, *Ved. u. Skt. Syntax*, p. 13), though there may seem to exist some difficulty concerning the other two words. However, I can see little difference between, e.g., *nakṣatrebhyāḥ* and *nakṣatreṣu* in a connection like this one. "The time of the constellations" would probably be = *sāyam*, the very beginning of the night when the stars first become visible.

"Thou who hast made auspicious time for us at evening-tide, by night and then by day—hail always to thee, O Śakadhūma, king of the constellations." (4)

The passages of the *Kausikasūtra* where this hymn is mentioned, and where consequently the word *śakadhūma* again occurs have been indicated and discussed by Whitney and Bloomfield and need not be quoted here. It is also found in the compound *śakadhūmaja-* in *AV.*, viii, 6, 15 :—

yeṣāṃ paścāt prapadāni purāḥ pārṣṇīḥ puro mukhā |
khalajāḥ śakadhūmajā uruṇḍā ye ca maṭmaṭāḥ kumbhamuṣkā ayāśavaḥ |
*tān asyā brahmaṇaspate pratibodhena*¹ *nāśaya ||*

In this verse, to which we shall not return in the following, the sense of *śakadhūma-* is quite clear. It simply means "dung-smoke"; and it is a well-known belief that evil spirits sometimes have their favourite abode in dung-hills.

The word *śakadhūma-* does not seem to occur elsewhere except in Kātyāyana's *Sarvāṇukramaṇī*, p. 11; there it is simply an explanation of the *śakamayo dhūmaḥ*, which occurs in the *brahmodya*, *RV.*, i, 164, 43 (= *AV.*, ix, 10, 25) :—

śakamāyaṃ dhūmām ārād apāśyaṃ viśūvātā parā endāvareṇa |
ukṣāṇam pīṣṇim apacanta vīrās tāni dharmāṇi prathamāny āsan ||

The formal translation of this verse is not a difficult one, with the exception of the words *viśūvātā parā endāvareṇa*.² Anyhow, the sense must be something like this: "From far off I beheld the smoke of dung in the middle room (or: on the middlemost day) further off from this lower one; men cooked a speckled bull—these were the first settlements."³ Whatever the sense is—and we shall revert to that presently—there can be no doubt whatsoever that *śakamayo*

¹ *pratibodhena*, although approved of by the dictionaries, can scarcely be quite correct. Perhaps *pratibādhena*, which has undoubtedly been suggested by some scholar, may help us (other suggestions are rather too far off).

² Henry, *MSL.*, ix, 247, translates: "entre ciel et terre", which is scarcely possible. Geldner, *Rigveda*, i, 212, has: "in der Mitte jenseits dieses unteren (Raumes)," which is formally quite acceptable though the sense remains somewhat obscure. Grassmann, *Wb.*, 1308 supplies *agninā* and seems to think that we should translate "by the middle (fire)" which is out of the question. Ludwig, *RV.*, ii, 583, is, as usual, extremely obscure.

³ The words *tāni dharmāṇi prathamāni āsan*, which recur in i, 164, 50 (= x, 90, 16), must mean something like this; *dharmāṇi*, according to my humble opinion, does not here mean "laws" or "customs".

dhūmaḥ is here = *śakadhūmaḥ*, and that, consequently, it means some sort of star or constellation. We have here a piece of old celestial lore,¹ and we shall presently try to find out whether the real sense of the verse can by any means be got at.

Great authorities have judged quite differently concerning the real sense of the word *śakadhūma*. Thus Weber, *Omina und Portenta*, p. 363, believed it to mean the fire lit before the break of the dawn while the stars are still visible; by the rising and falling of its smoke it would prognosticate the weather of the day to come. To Weber this *śakadhūma* appeared anyhow to be identical with the *śakamayo dhūmaḥ* of the *RV.*, i, 164, 43. Haug, however, pointed out that this passage does undoubtedly speak of the sacrifice of a bull, and that the sacrificial fire is fed by wood and not by cow-dung.² Caland again,³ thinks that *śakadhūma* is originally a lump of cow-dung, which contains the smoke within itself; and in *AV.*, vi, 128, where he is called the "king of the constellations" the *śakadhūma* is in reality Agni in his aspect of the moon, the *adhipati* of the *nakṣatras*.⁴

Henry⁵ believes that *ukṣā pr̥śniḥ* can mean nothing but a storm-cloud, and that *RV.*, i, 164, 43, describes the preparation of the breaking of a thunderstorm. This, although rather eccentric, tallies fairly well with the explanation of Sāyaṇa, which is, however, not decisive, although an authority like Geldner describes it as possible.⁶

Already Roth was of the opinion that *śakadhūma* must needs mean a constellation, though I cannot find that he especially pointed at the Milky Way. A similar opinion has been more or less vividly endorsed by Whitney, by Ludwig, by Zimmer, by Oldenberg, and by Macdonell and Keith.⁷ Most of these authorities speak of no special asterism though there are hints that the name would perhaps most probably designate that giant cluster of solar systems called the Milky Way. Of that suggestion we shall have to say a few words presently.

Finally we have to mention the opinion of Bloomfield, which stands

¹ Cf. Oldenberg, *RV.-Noten*, i, 160.

² The reasoning of Ludwig, *Rigveda*, iv, 456, concerning this detail appears to be rather a casuistic one.

³ *Zauberritual*, p. 16, n. 13; p. 175, n. 8.

⁴ Cf. *AV.*, v, 24, 10; vi, 86, 2; *TS.*, iii, 4, 5, 1 (= *Pāraskara*, i, 5); *PBr.* 5, 9.

⁵ *MSL.*, ix, 247 (cf. *La Magie dans l'Inde antique*, pp. 68 sqq.).

⁶ Geldner himself would not like to decide whether *śakadhūma* does really mean a constellation, dung-smoke or (according to Bloomfield) a weather-prophet.

⁷ *Vedic Index*, ii, 346.

all by itself.¹ His case may be shortly stated as follows. Dārila, in commenting upon the *paribhāṣāsūtra Kauś.* 8, 17: *pramandośira-śalalyupadhānaśakadhūmā jarantaḥ* “(when in the following are mentioned) the plants *pramanda* and *uśira*, a porcupine’s bristle,² a pillow, and a *śakadhūma*, they are old ones”, interprets *śakadhūma* by *brāhmaṇa*. This, of course, is entirely without value as it seems absolutely clear that *śakadhūma* means simply a smoking lump of dung (*śakṛtpiṇḍa*); and such a one must be old, i.e. dry. Just as valueless is the *Atharvaṇīya-paddhati* on *Kauś.* 76, 19–20, where it is said that at the wedding four *śakadhūmāḥ* recite the *sūryapāṭha*, as it seems perfectly clear that the author had not the slightest idea what is meant by *śakadhūma*. Finally, in *Kauś.* 50, 13–16, a ceremony for prognosticating fair weather is prescribed, in which lumps of dung—not burning ones, though—are placed on the limbs of an old Brahmin who seems to be styled *śakadhūma*.³ Summing up these passages Bloomfield concluded that *śakadhūma* could mean nothing but “weather-prophet”, a suggestion that has met with but scant applause. In spite of Bloomfield’s undoubted authority in Atharvavedicis there is not the slightest reason to assume that an earthly weather-prophet should be styled *rājā nakṣatrāṇām* as is the case in vi, 128, 1, 4; and thus the whole suggestion seems to me to fall flat.

Śaka-dhūma—“dung-smoke” is a compound, the first part of which consists of *śaka(n)-*, the heteroclitic stem interchanging with *śakṛt*.⁴ According to Wackernagel, *Ai. Gramm.*, ii, 1, 56, older

¹ The passages in which Bloomfield has dealt with *śakadhūma* have already been quoted above.

² Why Bloomfield translates *śalalī* by “a boar’s bristle” is not clear to me, the *śalalī* being well known from the *śimantonnayana*.

³ This may be deduced from 50, 16, but is by no means quite clear.

⁴ The etymology of *śakṛt*, *śakan-* now generally accepted seems to be the one connecting it with *κόπρος* “dung, manure, filth”, and which is of rather recent date (cf. Bartholomæ, *BB.*, xv, 41; Fick, *Vergl. Wb.*,⁴ i, 421; Kretschmer, *Einleitung*, p. 353). Let me admit at once that this etymology appears to me entirely inadmissible. The correct etymology of *κόπρος* is found already in Pott, *Et. Forsch.*,¹ ii, 205 sq.; Benfey, *Griech. Wurzellex.*, i, 269, etc.; the word belongs to *καπνός* “smoke, fume”, *καπῶω* “to breathe forth”, *ἐγκάπτει* *ἐκπνέει* Hes.; lit. *kvāpas* “fume, odour”, *kvēpiū*, *kvēpti* “to breathe forth, to smoke”; Slav. *kopū* “fume”, etc. Lat. *vapor* does not belong here, but to ONorse *vafur-lozi* “a magic wall of flames surrounding Asgard”, *vāfuðr*, name of the wind, *vāfa* “to totter, to shake”, Germ. *wabern*, cf. Danielsson, *Gramm. anmärkningar*, i, 16, n. 2; Johansson, *Goett. gel. Anz.*, 1890, pp. 767 sq.; *BB.*, xviii, 31. Armen. *kami* “wind” (Lidén, *Armen. Stud.*, pp. 124 sq.) scarcely belongs here. The undoubted relationship between Lat. *fūmus* and *finis* well illustrates the connection between *καπνός* and *κόπρος*.

compounds such as *śaka-pūta*-¹ N.pr., *śaka-piṇḍa*- "lump of dung", *VS.*, *śakaidha*- "dung-fire" have only *śaka(n)*- as their first member, while later ones, from the times of the sūtras on (cf. Pāṇini, iii, 2, 24), have *śakṛt*°, cf., e.g., *śakṛt-piṇḍa*- (Āpastamba), *śakṛd-ṛiti*- "dung-flow" (Hiranyakeśin, *Gṛhyasūtra*, i, 16, 9, according to Caland, *ZDMG.*, liii, 214). The parallel *yakṛt*, *yaka(n)*- "liver", appears only in compounds of a quite late date with *yakṛt*° as their first member, such as *yakṛl-loma(n)*- N.pr. of a people (*MBh.*)² Greek compounds with ἡπατο- as their first member (e.g. ἡπατο-σκοπέω, etc.) are of very late date and furnish us with no allusion to the original status of compounds formed from heteroclitica like *yakṛt* and *śakṛt*. The Latin stems *jecur*-, *jecin(or)*- also carry us no further as far as composition is concerned.

There can thus be no doubt at all concerning either the formation or the meaning of *śakadhūma*. Its original sense is "dung-smoke", "smoke of burning (lumps of) dung." This, however, will not do for *AV.*, vi, 128, where *śakadhūma* is styled "king of the constellations". To find out its sense in this passage we must return to the suggestions of older authorities, viz. that *śakadhūma* is the name of a constellation. The question is only this, whether we can find out what special constellation was called in Vedic times "dung-smoke".

There have been put forth mild suggestions that the celestial phenomenon called *śakadhūma* should in reality be the Milky Way. Amongst the many different interpretations by which various people—Greeks, Hindus, Chinese, Negroes, Indians, etc.—have tried to solve the riddle of this most prominent ornament of the nocturnal sky there is scarcely even an allusion to its being a column of smoke.³ Generally the Milky Way is believed to be a path or an enormous river stretching right across the heavens; however, even if there be also a great number

¹ This *Śakapūta* is met with in the *RV.*, x, 132, 5: *asmin sv etiāc śhākapūta éno hité mitré nigātān hanti vīrdn*, within a hymn which is more or less entirely obscure (cf. Ludwig, *Rigveda*, iv, 123 sq.; Oldenberg, *RV.-Noten*, ii, 349 sq.). There is, however, no doubt at all that this is the *Śakapūta* spoken of in *Jaim. Br.*, i, 171 (Caland, *Verhandel. Akad. Amsterdam Afd. Letterkunde*, xix, 4 (1919), 66 sq.), and that with the help of this passage the hymn may be partly reconstructed, though no such attempt can, of course, be made here.

² What Brugmann, *Grundriss*,² ii, 1, 581, says concerning these compounds is incomplete and insufficient.

³ In the *Symbolæ philologicæ* O.A. Danielsson *dicatæ* (Uppsala, 1932), pp. 13–42. I have collected somewhat ample materials concerning the lore of the Milky Way amongst various peoples. This collection was meant to illuminate the puzzling Homeric expression (ἐν) νυκτός ἀμολγῶ, which is probably itself an old poetic name of the Milky Way.

of other ideas attached to it the one of its consisting of smoke is either entirely unknown or, at least, confined to some very remote and isolated parts of the earth.¹ It may be taken for absolutely granted that it is not known within India.

There is, however, a constellation which might perhaps quite well be called the "king of the *nakṣatras*", viz the *kṛttikāḥ*, the Pleiades. It is quite irrelevant at what time the *kṛttikāḥ* became the constellation of the vernal equinox, whether at 2500–2300 B.C. or perhaps some centuries earlier or later.² For our present purpose it is quite sufficient that during Vedic times in general the *Kṛttikāḥ* are considered to be the first among the constellations of the old lunar zodiac and might thus well be looked upon as having been installed as their sovereign by the other *nakṣatras*. The one objection to such a suggestion is that the names of the constellations are generally feminine ones; and it would certainly be contrary to Indian ideas if the asterisms were to be ruled by a female being. Such an objection, however, falls flat if we suppose that the name was at a certain period not *kṛttikā(h)* but *śakadhūmah*, which is, of course, of masculine gender and presents no such difficulty.

If we suppose that *śakadhūma* is really an older name of the Pleiades we shall perhaps obtain a somewhat plausible explanation of that puzzling verse, *RV.*, i, 164, 43, quoted above. "From far off," it runs, "I beheld the smoke of dung . . .³ men cooked a speckled bull—these were the first settlements." We must remember, I venture to think, that the Pleiades are closely attached to the constellation called the Bull (*ṛṣabha*), are in reality the seven stars η , etc., Tauri. Immediately in front of them is the sign of Rohiṇī (α , β , γ , δ , ϵ , Tauri) which is generally compared with a wagon (*śakaṭa*).⁴ There is absolutely no proof that the Hindus of yore looked upon this constellation as being the celestial bullock⁵; but on the other hand there is also no

¹ As far as I am aware only the aborigines of certain parts of Australia consider the Milky Way to consist of smoke, viz. the smoke from the camp-fires of dead warriors. Cf. Stanbridge, *Trans. Ethnol. Soc. N.S.*, i (1861), 302.

² Cf. Weber, *Ind. Stud.*, ii, 240, 413 sq.; *Ind. Skizzen*, pp. 97 sq., 136; *Nakṣatra*, ii, 364; Jacobi, *Festgr. Roth.*, p. 71; etc. The words of Weber *Nakṣatra*, ii, 277, concerning the date of the substitution of the *kṛttikāḥ* for *rohiṇī* may still be quoted as a beneficent criticism of the somewhat extravagant theories of Professor Jacobi.

³ I leave out here the words *ṛṣūvātā parā endvareṇa*, which are somewhat obscure and cannot possibly be of any decisive importance in this connection.

⁴ Cf., e.g., Kirfel, *Kosmographie der Inder*, p. 138.

⁵ In the Vedas the stars are sometimes styled "bulls" (*usrāḥ*, *gāvaḥ*), cf. *Symb. phil. O. A. Danielsson dicatae*, pp. 25 sq.

proof that they did not. And I shall thus venture to suggest that the contents of this puzzling verse is really a scrap of star-lore, according to which men cooked a bull (the constellation of Taurus) on a dung-fire, the smoke of which, the "dung-smoke", is in reality the Pleiades.¹

Though I have collected somewhat extensive materials concerning the names and lore of the Pleiades amongst various peoples, I am not aware of any special instances where they are looked upon as being a sort of heavenly smoke. This in itself is, however, scarcely a valid objection against the suggestion put forth above. For undoubtedly the Pleiades are sometimes believed to be a light-coloured cloud in the sky; and there is little difference between "cloud" and "smoke",² especially as the "dung-smoke" (*śakadhūma*) is of a whitish colour. However, there seems to exist within India at least one proof of the fact that the Pleiades were sometimes connected with the idea of smoke. Hemacandra, *Deśin*, 5, 62, has preserved an expression of probably popular origin, viz. *dhūmaddhayamahisīo kṛttikāh*. With this word seem to be connected *dhūmaddhao tatāka mahiṣaśca* in 5, 63, and *dhūmamahiṣī*, which in 5, 61, together with three synonyms,³ is interpreted by *nīhāra* "a cloud". The Pleiades consequently were also known as the *dhūmadhvajamahiṣyaḥ*. The pond (*tatāka*) with the mist floating over its surface is *dhūmadhvaja*; there is, however, a difficulty in understanding how the buffalo (*mahiṣa*) could also be called *dhūmadhvaja*, unless such an explanation is simply a lapsus caused by the misunderstanding of the *dhūmadhvajamahiṣī*. As far as I understand the word *mahiṣī* in this compound cannot be the usual one meaning "a female buffalo"; it must be another, otherwise unknown word meaning "mist, fog, cloud", which is connected with *p. mahikā* "mist, cloud" and its possible relationship.⁴ It even seems doubtful to me whether *mahiṣī*, *mahiṣī*, is the correct and original

¹ The last words of the verse: *tāni dhārmāṇi prathamāny āsan* I have ventured to translate: "these were the first settlements." This, according to my humble opinion, means that the men of yore were at their death metamorphosized into stars and thus had their abode in the nocturnal sky, an idea which is by no means foreign to Ancient India (cf., e.g., Schermann, *Am Urquell*, vi, 5 sqq., and the present writer, *Symb. phil. O. A. Danielsson dicatae*, pp. 30 sq.). According to such an interpretation the *devāḥ* in *RV.*, i, 164, 50 (= x, 90, 16) are also called "the first settlements", which is, of course, by no means impossible.

² Cf., e.g., *Meghadūta*, 68.

³ Viz. *dhūmarī*, *dhūmiā*, and *dhūmasihā*. According to the *Petersburg Dict.*, *dhūmamahiṣī* in certain native dictionaries means "a cloud". On *dhūmarī* cf. Zacharia, *Beiträge*, pp. 55, 66, 85; *dhūmarikā* occurs in the Comm. on *Gauḍavaha*, 639.

⁴ Cf. *ZDMG.*, lxxiii, 146 sqq., and J. J. Meyer, *Hindu Tales*, p. 112, n.

form of this word, but this must be left aside here. Be it enough to state that the name *dhūmadhvajamahīṣyaḥ* may probably denote the Pleiades as "the smoky cloud" or something very much like that.¹

That the Pleiades rule over the changes of the weather is a well-known idea amongst many peoples²; and many are the peoples all over the earth who begin their year either with the rise or with the setting of the Pleiades. As, however, I shall hope to deal with these topics in the near future, I cannot enter upon them here. We may only remember that amongst the names of these seven stars preserved to us in the Yajur-vedas (*ambā, dulā, nitatnī, abhrayantī, meghayantī, varṣayantī, cupuṇīkā*),³ there are at least three (*abhrayantī, meghayantī, varṣayantī*) which allude to their domination over the clouds and rains. To pray to them for fair weather, to try to prognosticate from their appearance the weather of the day to come would only be quite a natural thing to do. This is what I think is included in the Atharvanic hymn to the *śakadhūma* and in the ceremonies performed with the help of it.

¹ The *kṛttikāḥ*, as is well known, are also called *bahulāḥ* (cf. Pāṇini, iv, 3, 34; a person born under this constellation is called *Bahula*). This scarcely means "the numerous ones" (thus Weber, *Naxatra*, ii, 368), but rather "the obscure, dark ones" or possibly "the ones crammed together".

² Cf., e.g., the quotations from Aratus and Moirō in *Athenaeus*, xi, 490 A; 491 B, etc.

³ *TS.*, iv, 4, 5, 1; *Kāṣh.*, xl, 4; *MS.*, ii, 8, 13 (with the variants *bulā*—a simple mistake—and *stanayantī* instead of *varṣayantī*); cf. *TBr.*, iii, 1, 4, 1.

Purāṇa Legends and the Prakrit Tradition in New Indo-Aryan

By SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI

IT is now generally admitted that a great deal of the ancient and medieval myth and legend enshrined in the Sanskrit epics and Purāṇas is of non-Aryan origin, and that even in Vedic mythology certain pre-Aryan elements are present. Puranic myths of the gods and legends of kings, heroes, and sages, in the form in which we find them in the Sanskrit works, represent undoubtedly a considerable amount of modification from their original forms, whether Aryan or non-Aryan : witness, e.g., the treatment of what would appear to be a genuine Aryan (? Indo-European) saga—that of Purūravas and Urvaśī, as we find it in the Rīgveda and the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, in the Viṣṇu Purāṇa and in the subsequent Purāṇas. The non-Aryan speaking masses in Northern India became Aryanized in language, and their tales and legends were retold as a matter of course in the Aryan language of their adoption. A good many of these were Sanskritized and obtained a place in the Purāṇas and other Brahmanical literature, and so received the stamp of official or orthodox Hinduism. These Hinduized stories in their Sanskrit version then obtained a prestige far above that of the older or original versions, which might linger on for some time, but they were inevitably lost with the loss of the non-Aryan language and non-Aryan tradition, or, when they were of Aryan origin, with the later rehandling by Brahman scholasticism. The Aryanized or Hindu version in Sanskrit, if it came into being sufficiently early, imposed the Aryanized or Sanskrit names of the gods and heroes among the people, though here and there some debased non-Aryan names might continue in connection with village cults and ceremonial which were tolerated, and at times even encouraged with good humoured indulgence, by the followers of the official Brahmanical religion.

When the Sanskrit names were in use early, before the close of the Middle Indo-Aryan (Prakrit) period, we might expect to find Prakrit forms of these names to be in current use among the people as something received traditionally, like the religion and like the general mass of words in the language itself. And such MIA. names would in their turn

be expected to be handed down, together with the myth and legend and the religions as well as linguistic traditions, to the New Indo-Aryan (vernacular) speeches. But in this matter, more than in any other thing, there has been a constant interference from the sacred language, Sanskrit. This interference began with the beginning of MIA. : thus the MIA. *bāmhaṇa*, *bāmbhaṇa*, *bābbhaṇa* < *brāhmaṇa* has continued down to NIA. (e.g. Bengali *bāmun*, Bihari *bābhan*, etc.), but already in Pali the vernacular word is ousted by the Sanskrit *brāhmaṇa*.

The Sanskrit versions of the Purāṇa legends became the standard versions. They became pan-Indian during the last 2,000 or 1,500 years. A local cult or a local deity with its local legends could address itself to an all-India audience only through a Sanskrit Purāṇa in which it found a place, either as an independent cult or by incorporation into or synthesis with some other cult or deity. In this way it became one of universal Hindu appeal and universal Hindu popularity, although originally it was not much known beyond its own little tribe or district.

The Rāma story, the Mahābhārata story, the Kṛṣṇa legend—all these, and many more, are now so very much the common property of the Indian (Hindu) people that it is hard to realize that 2,000 or 2,500 years ago a good many of them were either not in existence (at least in the form in which they are current now) or were not known to the greater part of the Indian world of the day. They were passed on from one part of the country to another as a part of the Hindu (Brahmanical, Jaina, and Buddhist) religion which seems to have been taking shape in the Upper Ganges Valley, through an initial fusion of the Aryan with the Dravidian and Austric peoples and cultures, during the middle of the first millennium B.C. From the Pali Jātaka it would appear that even during the centuries immediately before Christ the Rāma story had not yet crystallized—it was still in a fluid state, and that the Mahābhārata story was not yet fully known to the Aryan and Aryanized people of the East, among whom the Buddhist canon, including the Jātaka (the latter at least in its primitive form), grew. About the Kṛṣṇa legend, too, we find versions and references in the Jātaka quite confusing in their contradictions to and occasional agreements with the Purāṇa and the Mahābhārata. The Brahmanical Rāmāyaṇa, Mahābhārata, and Purāṇas made a clean sweep of the older versions, seemingly wiping them out of the popular mind (I say *seemingly* because in some cases these extra-

Purāṇa versions persisted, despite the supreme position of the Purāṇa : and with the establishment of the above works the Sanskrit forms of the names put out of use the vernacular or Prakrit ones, which had been current in the land from the earlier pre-Aryan or pre-Brahmanical tradition, or had obtained currency from the stories being carried by vernacular oral tradition from province to province during the MIA. period.

We have no means of knowing how and when what may be called "the Sanskrit Purāṇa tradition" established itself among the people in a particular locality, but there is no doubt that it was pretty late in being introduced in some parts of the country. Sanskrit names now reign supreme in most of the NIA. speeches in either their pure (*tatsama*) or modified (*semi-tatsama*) forms. This can give us no clue for finding the likely period of introduction of a Purāṇa legend among the people of a particular locality—of its coming into vogue among them. The masses followed their *grāmya-dharma*, their village cults, which could be described as a sort of half-cooked animism on its way to transformation into higher Hinduism, to which it had in a vague way affiliated itself. The *grāma-devatās* or village gods and godlings had their own names, vernacular Indo-Aryan or pre-Aryan, unmeaning of anything to their worshippers. The Sanskrit gods and heroes with their Sanskrit names brought in a new world of dignity and romance and also of spiritual aspiration, and the *grāma-devatās* as a result were cast into oblivion or were identified with the new deities with their Brahmanical prestige. In a case like this the cultural status and the power of assimilation and resistance of the people being brought under the influence of official Brahmanism decided how far the new pantheon and the new names would be victorious. Thus in the Dravidian South, in the Tamil land, the Indo-Aryan Hindu gods imposed their worship and their legends and also their names (and at the same time they absorbed a great deal from the local cults and local legends as well), but some of their Dravidian counterparts or prototypes did not wholly surrender—their native names have survived : for we have the Tamil *Murukan* beside *Kumāra* or *Subrahmanya*, *Māl* beside *Viṣṇu*, *Korravai* beside *Durgā*, *Māyōṇ* beside *Kṛṣṇa*, *Vāliyōṇ* or *Vellaiyōṇ* beside *Baladeva* ; and the names *Śiva* and *Śambhu* themselves have been suggested as being early Sanskritizations from the Dravidian. A study of the onomastics of the North Indian *grāma-devatās* (full lists and studies of the cults of these are still lacking) will undoubtedly reveal as much of interesting

and important facts about pre-Puranic and pre-Hindu religion in India as that of the Sanskrit mythological and legendary names.

The present question, however, is that of the introduction of Puranic myths and legends of gods and heroes in the various Indo-Aryan tracts, and of their original or earlier forms. If in this connection we can find in a NIA. language a name of Prakrit origin, either still current or obsolescent or wholly obsolete, used side by side with or suppressed in recent years by the corresponding Sanskrit one, that would certainly be a very strong argument for the assumption that the story of the particular god or hero in some form or other had become popular in the MIA. or pre-vernacular period. In this way we may obtain from Indo-Aryan (and other) linguistics some valuable ancillary help for the reconstruction of the religious history of Aryan India. It is, however, necessary to guard against an *argumentum ab silentio* in a situation like this, as there is every likelihood of an old Prakrit name having been supplanted by its Sanskrit form. Thus we see from Al-Bīrūnī how during the last 800 or 900 years some common geographical names with a religious association have become altered from Prakrit to Sanskrit—old Prakritic names like *Māhūra* (or more correctly *Mahura* as given by Al-Bīrūnī's elder contemporary Al-'utbī) and *Jawn*, which Al-Bīrūnī heard and wrote down about 1000 A.C. have now been supplanted by the *semi-tatsama* forms *Mathrā* and *Jamnā* (*Multra*, *Jumna* = *Mathurā*, *Yamunā*). But the positive fact presented by the Prakritic or MIA. vernacular names cannot be ignored, that the Puranic legend in question actually existed as a popular one, not confined to the Sanskrit texts, at some period before the development of the NIA. vernaculars.

Thus, among the Bengali-speaking people, the persistent use even at the present day, of a number of names of MIA. origin in connection with the Kṛṣṇa legend would testify to the fact of its popularity in the pre-Bengali period, and the occurrence of one or two names in their Prakritic forms would also point to the existence of certain episodes or versions of that legend before 1000 A.C., the *point de départ* for the NIA. vernaculars. The same thing we cannot say of the Rāma legend : although no MIA. forms of names of characters from this cycle are found in Bengali, it might have been for aught we know equally popular with the Kṛṣṇa legend in the pre-vernacular period : and, as a matter of fact, there is other evidence pointing to the existence of old popular versions of the Rāma story side by side with or to the exclusion of the Sanskrit version as in Vālmīki. The

following names from the Kṛṣṇa legend are to be considered : *Kṛṣṇa* : MIA. *Kaṇha*, Old Bengali *Kāṇha*, Middle Bengali *Kānha*, *Kāṇa*, *Kānha*, *Kāna*, New Bengali *Kānu*, *Kānāi* (< *Kāna* + -*ū*, -*āi*).

Rādhā, *Rādhikā* : MIA. *Rāhiā*, *Rāhiā*, MB. *Rāhī*, *Rāi*, NB. *Rāi*.

Nanda : MB. *Nānda* = *Nāⁿda* (with reduced nasal ; cf. *Origin and Development of the Bengali Language*, pp. 360-2), *Nāda* (*Śrīkṛṣṇa-kīrtana*).

Kamsa : MB. (*Śrīkṛṣṇa-kīrtana*) *Kāśa*. On the basis of this MB. form, with -*ā*- for -*ām*-, the Mohammadan historians wrote down in their Persian histories the name of the Hindu feudatory prince (who during the second decade of the fifteenth century wrested the kingdom of Bengal from its Mohammadan ruling house) with an *alif* (= long -*ā*-) in the middle, as *k'ns* = *kāns* for **kās*.

Abhimanyu : MIA. *Ahimaṇṇu*, *Ahivaṇṇu*, Late MIA. **Ahimaṇṇa* (*Ahiwāṇṇa*), **Ahivaṇṇa*, early MB. *Āihana* (as in the ŚKK., from *Ahivaṇṇu*), *Āimana* (pronounced *Āiṭana*, as in the *Harivaṃśa* of Bhavānanda : from *Ahimaṇṇu*), late MB. *Āyān*, NB. *Āyān*. (*Āihana* appears to be an early West Bengali, and *Āimana* an early East Bengali form).

The Bengali forms based on those of MIA. would certainly demonstrate a continuity of the tradition among the Bengali-speaking people in the matter of the Kṛṣṇa legend, at least from the time when *Ahimaṇṇu*-*Ahivaṇṇu* and *Rāhiā* were current in popular speech.

The form *Āihana*-*Āimana*-*Āyān* = *Abhimanyu* has an important bearing on the development of the Kṛṣṇa legend in Bengal.

The episode of the hero's amours with the *gopīs* in the Kṛṣṇa legend grew with the centuries. From the scanty references to this *Vraja-līlā*, or sports in *Vraja* of Kṛṣṇa and the cowherd maidens, in the older Purāṇas like the Viṣṇu Purāṇa (and the *Harivaṃśa*), it was elaborated by successive generations of poets and Vaiṣṇava teachers, the process continuing down to the eighteenth century in Bengal. Mr. Sukumar Sen in his recent work, *A History of Brajabuli Literature* (Calcutta University, 1935), which is a very valuable historical and literary study of their lyric literature of Bengal Vaishnavism, has given a useful conspectus of the "Historical Development of the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa Legend" (chap. xxiii, pp. 472-481 ; also chap. xxiv). It seems that the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa legend, particularly in a detailed account of the loves of the two divine lovers, received a greater elaboration in Bengal than anywhere else, certain matters and episodes not mentioned in the Purāṇas both early and

late being found in Bengali Vaishnavite literature only and in no other vernacular literature. Rādhā, as the favourite of Kṛṣṇa among the gopīs, came to be recognized in the Purāṇas very late—the Harivaṃśa, the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa, and even the Bhāgavata Purāṇa do not know her even by name; on the other hand, elaborate Rādhā stories with her family tree and *entourage* all complete and her special status and mystic place in the Kṛṣṇa-gopa or Vraja-līlā episode form a fully established feature in the very late Purāṇas, the Padma and the Brahma-vaivarta, the latter of which was compiled in West Bengal as late as the sixteenth century (*vide* Rai Bahadur Yogesh Chandra Vidyānidhi's Bengali articles on the subject). In Bengali Vaishnavism, Rādhā has been exalted even above Kṛṣṇa; and while the earlier Purāṇas are silent about Rādhā, and while in the North Indian tradition, as e.g. in Sūra-dāsa, the Braj poet of the sixteenth century, Rādhā, is just an unmarried *gopī*, the embodiment of the human soul in quest of God through faith and love, the Bengali tradition, from the poet Baḍu Caṇḍīdāsa, the earliest Bengali writer on the Kṛṣṇa legend (fourteenth century (?), fifteenth century (?)) onwards, makes Rādhā a married woman, the wife of one Āihana (Āīmana, Āyān).

This name in its Sanskrit form is unknown to Bengali; the Sanskrit equivalent *Abhimanyu* occurs for the first time in the Sanskrit literature of the Bengal school of Vaishnavism during the sixteenth century: the Brahma-vaivarta Purāṇa gives the name in the form *Rāyana*, which is obviously based on the sixteenth century Bengali *Āyān*—and in this way this Purāṇa betrays its indebtedness to sixteenth century vernacular Bengali sources for this episode. *Āyān-Āihana-Āīmana* goes back to MIA. times, the MIA. *Ahivaṇṇu-Ahimaṇṇu* alone can explain the Bengali forms by linking them up with *Abhimanyu*: the Bengali forms as derived from MIA. unquestionably establish an old tradition, and if the name *Abhimanyu* were a new one in the Kṛṣṇa legend (as many names in the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa cycle are), cropping up or gaining currency at the hand of the Vaiṣṇava scholars in the sixteenth century, we should have found only the *tatsama* form or a *semi-tatsama* equivalent for it in Bengali, and no *tadbhava* or Prakritic form like *Āyān-Aihana-Āīmana*.

Rādhā's position as the wife of a respectable man who is carried by the frenzy of her passion for God incarnate as Kṛṣṇa, quite against social conventions and social morality and reckless of social obloquy, gave rise in Bengal Vaishnavism to the doctrine of the *Parakīyā* or *Another's Wife Way*, in which the love of man for God could be

compared only to the intense passion of a married wife for another man, a passion which may lead her to sacrifice everything in the world. The germs of the *Parakīyā* idea could only be based on the initial belief that Rādhā was already a married woman before she loved Kṛṣṇa; and it may be suspected that the *Parakīyā* idea arose partly from the necessity to explain or justify what pained most people as something anti-social and immoral in a popular legend when the latter was made the basis of religion and philosophy. Moreover, to ease the conscience of the Vaiṣṇava faithful, by showing the immaculate nature of Rādhā's conjugal life, her husband Āyān (Abhimanyu) was described as an impotent person—there being some insistence on this point among the later Vaiṣṇava writers. But all this, much less Rādhā's marriage, and even her very existence, is unknown to the older Sanskrit Purāṇa tradition; and the North Indian and other Indian tradition know Rādhā to be just a simple cowherd maiden, one among the *gōpīs*, whom Sūradāsa in his Braj lyrics marries to Kṛṣṇa according to the Gāndharva rite. How old can this be in the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa legend, and where would it have come into being?

The oldest literary mention of Rādhā occurs in the "Gāthā-saptaśatī" of Hāla, which, although it undoubtedly presents older elements going back possibly to the first century A.C., cannot date, in its present form, from an epoch earlier than the middle of the first millennium after Christ. But it appears there is plastic evidence in Bengal, dating from the sixth century A.C., as to the existence of Rādhā as the *gopī* par excellence, the one specially loved by Kṛṣṇa. We have to mention the famous Paharpur Stūpa bas-reliefs in stone of the Kṛṣṇa legend, comprising the unique slab with a pair of youthful lovers whose divine nature is indicated by a floral halo round their heads,—the lover, an ephebe (*Kiśora*) and the girl standing side by side in an affectionate manner in poses which remind one of the characteristic poses for standing Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā in later Bengali art. (The famous Pallava bas-relief on a heroic scale at Mahābalipuram near Madras, one of the grandest creations of Indian sculpture, depicting the holding of the Govardhana Hill by Kṛṣṇa and dating probably from the seventh century, seems also to show the figure of Rādhā to the left of the hero: but this is slightly later than the small slab at Paharpur, where it will be allowable to see Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa in their oldest plastic representation.)

Rādhā (Rāhīā) is thus attested from literature of pre-vernacular times, and plastic art seems also to have figured her from the sixth

century. The Bengali name Āyān-Aihana-Āimana for her husband, presupposing the MIA. source-forms would establish the occurrence of this character in the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa story as current in Bengal about the same time, if not earlier. Rādhā as a *Parakīyā Nāyikā*, therefore, can reasonably be deduced from the Prakrit form of her husband's name as having existed from MIA. times—from the middle of the first millennium after Christ, at least : the germs of the spiritual translation of the *Parakīyā* idea which was formally adopted as an important doctrine in Bengal Vaiṣṇavism in the sixteenth century, therefore, can be taken back so early. This conception might have originated in Bengal, with the Buddhistic Sahaja-yāna ; and it remained confined to Bengal, and restricted among a local group of Vaiṣṇavas (among whom we have to count Jayadeva, the author of the *Gitagovinda*, of the twelfth century), who drew upon the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa story as a spiritual pattern, or spiritual experience and exercise, up to the sixteenth century, when, under the impetus of the Vaiṣṇava revival inaugurated by Caitanya, it asserted itself as an idea, and was adopted by the followers of Caitanya, who built up the Gaudīya or Bengal Vaiṣṇava doctrines, and was carried by them to Purī, to Brindāban, and to other centres.

The Prakritic names current in the vernacular are thus a strong evidence for the antiquity of some of the features of the Kṛṣṇa legend, despite the silence of the early Purāṇas about them. The Prakrit tradition in Bengali in this matter can thus be utilized as evidence for the existence of a base for the *Parakīyā-vāda* in pre-Mohammadan times, possibly almost coëvally with the Rādhā story itself—at least in Bengal.

Later legends in Bengal and in the late Purāṇas give the names of the cowherd attendants and associates of Kṛṣṇa and the *gopī* friends of Rādhā. The Bhāgavata Purāṇa knows some of the former, but the latter are gradually created in Bengal Vaiṣṇavism, eight of them (*aṣṭa-sakhī*) being finally named and selected as special confidantes of Rādhā, and superior to the rest, whole hosts of whose names occur in the different works. In the earlier versions the *gopīs* form merely a crowd, as a background for Rādhā, and one old woman, the beldame *Baḍāyī* (so she is called in the ŚKK. and in other MB. works, the name commonly occurring as *Baḍāī*), stands out as Rādhā's confidante, her chaperone, who acts as a sort of *kuṭṭinī* or *dūtī* (go-between or messenger) between her and her lover. In some late Sanskrit works *Baḍāyī*'s name is given simply as *Jarātī* or "the old woman". Latterly

the character of Baḍāyi took up a Sanskrit name of one of Rādhā's Sakhīs—she became merged in Vṛndā, popularly called "Vṛndādūtī" in Bengal, who has assumed most of the functions of Baḍāyi. The Prakritic name *Baḍāyi* (< *baḍa* "big, great", of uncertain origin, and *āyi* < *āyī* = *āryikā* "grandmother") may be taken to indicate that this beldame also comes down from the pre-vernacular tradition of the legend, and belongs to the older, non-Puranic or pre-Puranic stratum.

The above Prakritic forms in NIA. Bengali are thus of great value in studying the origin and growth of the Purāṇa legend of Kṛṣṇa-Rādhā in Bengal. But the same cannot be said of the Rāma legend. Only *ts.* and *sts.* forms of the Sanskrit names are in use in Bengal. In the Awadhī tract, on the other hand, as we find from Tulasīdāsa's works, forms of the names of the Rāmāyaṇa characters which could only have come down from the MIA. are extant. Thus :—

Sītā : MIA. *sīā*, *sīa*, Old Eastern Hindi *sīya*, *siya*, present day *siyā*, *sayā* (e.g. the Bengali name *Sayārām*, sometimes "corrected" to *Sahāy-rām*, which is borrowed from Eastern Hindi *siyārām*).

Lakṣmaṇa : MIA. *Lakṣhaṇa*, OEH. *Lakhana*. The influence of the Sanskrit form with *Lā-* was certainly responsible for modifying the *Lā-* of an expected **Lākhana*.

Rāma : the form commonly used in NIA. is the Sanskrit *Rāma* (*Rām*), instead of the expected vernacular **Rāwā*, *Rāw* : but the fact that in the early Hindi MSS., राम *Rāma* is frequently—almost always—spelt as रीम = *Rāmma*, would seem to suggest that this spelling with the nasal was a compromise between a popular pronunciation **Rāwā* or *Rāwa* and the learned form *Rāma*.

Vasiṣṭha : Hindi *Basīṭh*. This name has changed its meaning, and in some respects has degenerated semantically in Hindustani.

No other names bear the stamp of MIA. on them, but these would enable us to assume that the popularity of the Rāma story, in the Eastern Hindi districts at least, dates from the MIA. period.

The great gods of Hinduism were worshipped in the pre-vernacular period in Bengal, but the vernacular Prakrit names which were in existence have in most cases been ousted by Sanskrit *ts.* or *sts.* If a *sts.* *keṣṭā* (or *keṣṭā*) has not been able to make the Prakritic *kānu*, *kānāi* obsolete, even in present-day Bengali, another *sts.* *Biṣṭū* (or *Biṣṭū*), nowadays "corrected" to *Biṣṇu*, in pronunciation, has driven out the Bengali equivalents of the MIA. *Veṇhu*, *Viṇhu*. A MB. *Bambha* occurs as a *sts.*, but now we have the *ts.* *Brahmā* only

(pronounced as *Bromhā*, or *Bemhā*, *Bemmā* in folk Bengali). *Śiva* occurs as a *ts*. *Śibā*, *Śibo*, *Śib* in Bengali, but in the Bengali surname *Śī* it is just likely that we have the Prakritic form. (This *Śī* may equally be from MIA. *sīha* = *siṃha* : but *siṃgha* and not *sīha* seems to have been the form native to the source—Prakrit of Bengali, *sīha* being a Western Indian, probably also a Midland, form : cf. *Siṃhapura* = *Siṃgur* in Bengal (or *Siṃgur* = *Śriṅga-pura* ?), but in Kathiawad we have *Sihaur*, and in Rājasthānī *sī* = *siṃha*).

Prakritic names of deities which have survived in Bengali are *Dūgī*, a folk-form, often used in contempt, as an equivalent of the name *Durgā* (*Durgikā* > *Duggiā* > *Dūgī*), and *Sāṭh* or *Ṣāṭh* (pron. *Ṣāṭh*) = the goddess *Ṣaṣṭhī*, a form of *Mātṛkā* worshipped on the sixth day of childbirth (*Ṣaṣṭhī* > *saṭṭhī*, *ṣaṭṭhī* > *sāṭhī* > *sāṭhi* > *sāṭh* : the spelling with *ṣ*- is due to Sanskrit influence). The form *sāṭh* is now mostly used as a pious exclamation from mothers and grandmothers to avert a bad omen from little children—it is merely an invocation to the goddess *Ṣaṣṭhī*. *Kālī* in Bengali might be the *ts*. *Kālī*, but it is equally likely that it is the *tbh*. form of *Kālikā*.

When Bengali and other NIA. languages started on their new career the number of such traditional Prakrit names was undoubtedly much greater. But after the first century and a half of the storm of the Turki conquest, when much of Hindu religion and culture was endangered, a renaissance of Hindu life began. There were two streams in which this revived cultural life flowed : the Bhakti movement on the one hand, and the vulgarization or popularization of the Purāṇas on the other. Sanskrit exerted a tremendous influence on both, and Sanskritization of Prakritic names came in as a matter of course with the attempts of both the reformers and orthodox Brahmans to re-establish a higher Hinduism which could stand the onslaught of Islam both as a political power and as a proselytizing religion. Establishment of the Sanskrit names linked up the Sanskrit Purāṇas and the epics with the life of the masses and gave a certain classic dignity to this aspect of popular Hinduism, but it broke up the Prakrit tradition or obscured it. The old Prakritic names, precious indications of the situation in the popular faith in pre-Mohammadan times, became more and more restricted. The few that still remain or may be gleaned are well worth investigation, by resuscitation from the older strata of NIA. literatures and from NIA. folk-speech, for a close scientific study.

Some New Awromānī Material

prepared from the collections of Åge Meyer Benedictsen

By ARTHUR CHRISTENSEN

IN the late Åge Meyer Benedictsen's note-books from his visit to Persia and Kurdistan in the year 1901, which are now in my possession, due to the kindness of Mrs. Meyer Benedictsen, I find some unpublished Awromānī texts dictated to Meyer Benedictsen by 'Abdu'l-Ghafūr, native of Awromān,¹ viz. an unfinished tale, not accompanied by a translation, and the so-called "Bacmeistersche Sprachproben". I here submit these texts, prepared according to the principles laid down in *Les Dialectes d'Awromān et de Pāwā* and noted in the system of transcription used in that book.² The translation of the tale has been made by me with the aid of a few marginal notes in the manuscript. The paragraphs quoted in the footnotes refer to the Grammar given in *Les Dialectes d'Awromān et de Pāwā*. I leave unnoticed a few differences in the forms of the words, vocalization, etc.

As to the story of Dällā and the Khorásānian, only the beginning has been noted. Cf. *The Wiles of Women*, from the Turkish by J. A. Decourdemanche (London 1928) pp. 77 ff. The principal figure, Dällā, is, of course, the wily Dalīla of Baghdad, known to readers of the *Arabian Nights* (*vide* Chauvin, *Bibliographie*, No. 147).

Abbreviations

Awr. = Benedictsen-Christensen, *Les Dialectes d'Awromān*, etc.

M.-H. Gūr. = O. Mann, "Mundarten der Gūrān, bearbeitet von Karl Hadank" (*Kurdisch-Persische Forschungen*, iii, 2). Berlin, 1930. Awromānī, pp. 367-395.

Soane = "A Short Anthology of Guran Poetry," by Major E. B. Soane, *JRAS.*, 1921, pp. 57 ff.

ar. = Arabic.

awr. = Awromānī.

känd. = Kändülāī.

p. = Persian.

¹ Vide *Les dialectes d'Awromān et de Pāwā*. Textes recueillis par Åge Meyer Benedictsen, revus et publiés avec des notes et une esquisse de grammaire par Arthur Christensen. Cop., 1921 (*Det Kgl. Danske Videnskabernes Selskabs historisk-filologiske Meddelelser*, vi, 2), p. 3.

² Observe: *j* is English *y*, *j* is English *j*.

THE STORY OF DĀLLĀ AND THE KHORÁSĀNIAN

Jā ša'r-u-Bayḍajānā šaxsēwæ bē, ismās Xoaḵā Moḥammād bē. Xaīlā dāwladmān wā xaīlā saḥāb-χodrāt¹ bē. Žānēwās bē, fəræ zarifā bē. Ā žāniā lāmās pōræ bē; tā inā Xoaḵā Moḥammād iraḍās kārḍ bēlo ziarāt-u-jānow χodāj. Be taqḍiā²-u-χodā Xoaḵā Moḥammād taḍarāk³-ās kārḍ, jā tæk⁴-u-haḵājiānā luā pāj Makkā-i-šārifi. Jārā sāṭā jā Makkānā moattāl bēn bi, tā jārā ḥāḵās kārḍā. Čawmaj⁵ Xoaḵā Moḥammād āmāwæ pē Bayḍāj, jāwā⁶ ow jānā wēš. Diā žānākēs lāmās ḥār pōr-ānā,⁷ nā-zājnā.⁸ Sārās sirr⁹ bē. Čawmaj wātās bā žānākiā: "Bā bālmā¹⁰ ow law Abu Jafāri Helali rāmāhi." Dæs-u-žānēs gort, luāj ow law Abu Jafāri Helali. Jā lāmāw i žānē Abu Jafāri-šān ḥāli kārḍ. Abu Jafāri tamāšāw ramtis¹¹ kārḍ, wātās: "Āwič¹² ḥāirān¹³ mānā.¹⁴" Wātās: "Tefl zaruwæw¹⁵ jā lāmāw i žānēnā, æmmæ aḵāb aḵāl¹⁶ māwo¹⁷ wā qāḍāmās ḵās nā-māwo pāj adāw bābāis." Čawdmaj ḥurāzaj,¹⁸ amēwā pāj jānā wēšān.

Jā-dmāw jārā mæḡā ā žānā kēnāčēwās diē.¹⁹ Adāw bābās jā-dmāw jārā mæḡā ḥār dūā mārḍē.²⁰ Kēnāčēšān dā bā dæs-u-dājanā. Tā jārā sāṭā dājanā šōtās dā penā,²¹ nāmāšān niā bā²² Dālā. Dālāw Bayḍaj māškur-ānā. Čawdmaj jānāw bābāw wēšānā neštārā.²³ Qor'anās wēnē,²⁴ æmmæ kēnāčēwæ širin-e-mahbub-e-qāšāḡkā bē. Ḥār čāi maḡluq-u-Bayḍāj bē kul ašeq bā Dālā biē. Dālā šu-š bā kæsi nā-kārḍ; tā roiwæ²⁵ piājwæ ḵorasāni āmā ow Bayḍā. Jā rā-u-ḥāmamienā ḵorasāni Dālās diā, ašeqās bi. Kawt ow šōnēs,²⁶ tā āmā jānāw wēšān. Xorasāni wātās: "Āj Dālā, bō, šu-m-pēnām b'kārā." Dālā wāt: "Æḡār honārāwāt bo, āibēs nfan šu-t-penā bākāru."

¹ Ar.-p. *qodrāt*. ² Ar.-p. *taqḍir*. ³ Ar.-p. *tāḍaruk*. ⁴ Awr., p. 126 b.

⁵ = *čawēdmaj*, *čawdmaj*, *čawdmaj*. ⁶ § 58. ⁷ § 105.

⁸ § 69, cf. § 35, rem. 2; here the syllable *-nā* is affixed to the 3rd person of the singular.

⁹ The ar.-p. substantive *serr* used as an adjective.

¹⁰ § 137 at the end.

¹¹ *Raml*, instrument of divination, ordinarily a tray of sand.

¹² § 124; 134 (-iē).

¹³ Adjective used as a substantive (= *serr*, Benedictsens's note).

¹⁴ § 84.

¹⁵ § 69; it seems to be a special future form.

¹⁶ Ar.-p. *'ejāl* "family", "children."

¹⁷ § 47.

¹⁸ § 66.

¹⁹ § 46.

²⁰ § 61.

²¹ § 129. In Kurdistan, the children are suckled until the age of four or five years (Benedictsens's remark).

²² § 128, remark concerning the use of *bā*.

²³ § 63.

²⁴ § 96; 1st Preterite: *wānām*.

²⁵ = *rūwæ*.

²⁶ § 81; § 128.

Xorasāni wātās: "Hurazā!¹ ba bālmā bazār." Dæs-u-jošāsān² gørt u luāj bazār.

Qāderā³ g'āta⁴ jā⁵ bā bazārānā. Sārāfēsān di, sār-u-dukān-u-wēšow neštā berā; xāilāwā tefaw noqrā wār-u-dām-u-wēšānā niā berā.⁶ Xorasāni wātās bā Dālā: "To čēgā bānīšārā, ta amēn belu law sārāfi; injā⁷ bāzanā amēn čēs mākārū." Dālā ništārā. Xorasāni luā, law sārāfi-ow ništārā. Sārāf mārhabā kārō, wātās: "Dukān-u-wēt-ān, hār čēd lāzom-ān buāčā."⁸ Xorasāni wātās: "Āsrafī rōmi-š hān?" Wātās: "Bōtā, hānēm." Xorasāni wātās: "Kisēwā sār bā mōr⁹ bowrā."¹⁰ Sārāf luā kisēwā pōr-ās āwōrō; sār bā mōr bē. Xorasāni wātās: "Luā, kisē wētāri sekā-je neišapuri bowrā!" Sārāf luā, kisē wētāri sār bā mōrās āwōrō. Xorasāni wātās: "Luā, kisē wētāri sekāw irāni bowrā!" Sārāf luā āwōrōdās. Wātās: "Luā, kisēwā sekāw ingilisi bowrā!" Sārāf luā āwōrōdās. Xorasāni wāt: "Luā, kisēwā sekāw urusi bowrā!" Sārāf āwōrōdās. Qarās¹¹ hæft¹² kisā sār bā mōr zārās āwōrō, wær-u-dōm¹³-u-xorasāni niāšārā. Čawdmaj xorasāni jo-jo kisākēs wāznē kārō, jo-jo niajšēnā¹⁴ baḡalās.¹⁵ Sārāf wātās: "Čēs mākāri?" Xorasāni wāt: "Luaj mēlū."¹⁶ Sārāf wātās: "Hæft kisow amēn bāniērow lūā." Xorasāni wātās: "Mal-e-wēm-ān." Sārāfi wātās: "Čāni mal-u-wēt-ān?" Xorasāni wāt: "To xejālāt in-ānā amēn rut¹⁷ bākārino?¹⁸ Či bā¹⁹ zārānā?" Sārāfi wātās dubārā: "Malāw amēn bāniērow, luā." Xorasāni wātās: "Amēn amānā, mo'amelā bākāru; istae mo'amelā n'mākāru. Sowda bā zor nāmāwo."

Āxor xorasāni u sārāf goziāj,²⁰ fære jāktārinsān²¹ košt,²² tā āhl-u-bazāri gelér²³ bio, persāsān²⁴: "I ma'arekā²⁵ čēs-ān?" Sārāfi wātās: "Æi ḡazārāt, i piājū hæft kisā māl-o-amēnās bārdān²⁶; istae nāmēdōšo."²⁷ Persāsān jā xorasāni: "Pāj čēs nāmēdājšo mal-u-i

¹ § 66.² Cf. *jotārini*, *jotrini*, § 123.³ § 134.⁴ § 55.⁵ § 62; Pluperfect.⁶ § 134.⁷ *b-uāčā*, § 65.⁸ p. *sār be-mohr*.⁹ § 53: *b-āworā*, *bārā*.¹⁰ Ar.-p. *al-ḡaraz*.¹¹ *hæft*, but *kawt* above, p. 468, l. 22, *vide* Awr. p. 11, l. 11.¹² *dōm* = *dām*.¹³ *niaj-š-ēnā*.¹⁴ *baḡal*, p. *baḡal*.¹⁵ § 99.¹⁶ p. *loxt*.¹⁷ § 59; Subj. 2nd person with the ending -o, probably = *ow*, § 128, cf. § 131 at the end.¹⁸ = *bā ā*.¹⁹ § 79.²⁰ *jāktārini* = *jotārini*, p. *jāk* for *awr. jo*.²¹ § 60 and p. 88, note 2.²² *geler* = *šam* (Benedictsen's remark). It is probably the Turkish participle *gelir* "coming".²³ p. *poršidān*; *gūrāni pirsān*, Soane, p. 66; Kānd., M.-H. Gūr., p. 188.²⁴ Ar.-p. *mo'arākā*.²⁵ § 73.²⁶ *nā-mēdō-š-o*; ending -o, *vide* § 131 at the end.

piäje ?" Xorasāni wāt : "Mal-e-wēm-ān. Amən amān-a, mo'amelā bākārū. Čāni sārāfi mo'amelā nāmākārū ; sowdā bā zor nāmāwo." Sārāf luā šikāt o¹ ḥākimiš kārδ. Ḥākimi kiasāš² xorasāni. Xorasānišān āwōrδ. Ḥākimi persāš : "Bā čī mal-u-i piājā nāmā-δājno ?" Wātāš : "Māl-e-wēm-ān." Ḥākimi persāš jā sārāfi : "Mal-o-ki-ān i ḥæft kīsā ?" Sārāfi wāt : "Mal-e-amən-ān." Xorasāni wāt : "Xājir, mal-u-amən-ān." Ähl-u-šurāi³ qarāršān dā : "Hār kāsī sārāf ja xorasānišān hār kāmā zānaš hār kisēnā čən⁴ āšrafīš-ānā čānā,⁵ māl-u-ādi-ān." Persāšān jā sārāfi : "Ḥālešān ḥār kisēnā čən⁴ āšrafīš-ānā čānā ?" Sārāfi juab dā, wātāš : "Nāmāzanu !" Persāšān jā xorasāni. Xorasāni wāt : "Hār kisēnā ān nāšā⁶-ānā čānā." Wāxt šomārāšān kārδ, bi ziā u kam qse⁷ xorasāni biē.⁸ Čāwδmaj sād dānā lirāšān⁹ jā sārāfi asā.¹⁰ Jā jāza-i-nāxtiēnā¹¹ ba'azešān dā¹² ow sārāfi.

Čāwδmaj xorasāni wātāš bā Dälā : "Amən čāni piājāw-ānān ?" Wātāš : "Äfārim,¹³ barākala ! lajēq-ni amən šū-pēnā-δ b'kārū." Xorasāni dās-u-Dälāš gort, bārdāš ow, luaj ow janāw Dälā. Mullājēwāš tälāb kārδ, māharāw¹⁴ wēš bāri paj xorasāni. A šæwā luānā baḫālāš, bā wāsālāš¹⁵ šād bē.

Čāwδmaj Dälā lāmāš pōræ biē jā xorasāni. No mæg o no ro šī,¹⁶ čoar kēnāčē bā jarēwæ die. A čoar kēnāčē dai,¹⁷ bā dās-u-dājānā. Do jarā Dälā lāmāš pōræ bie. No mæg o no ro šī, jarā knāčē ftārāš die. Tā gāwre biē ḥaft lotiāš āwōrde, hār kēnāčē wēš dā bā lotiēwāšān. Ḥaft zāmā, ḥaft knāčē, wēš-u-Dälā čāni šuš, šarjzdā nefāri, nān u bārgšān gārāk-ān . . .

¹ Ar.-p. *šekājāt* ; o is = *ow* (preposition).

² § 80.

³ *šūrā*, assembly (Benedictsen's remark), perhaps ar.-p. *šūrā* "counsel", "consultation".

⁴ p. *čānd*.

⁵ Preposition used as an adverb.

⁶ *ān nāšā* = p. *ān qādār* (Benedictsen's remark).

⁷ Cf. § 34.

⁸ The Khorasanian, having weighed the purses one by one, knows approximately how much money there is in each.

⁹ *lirā*, ital. *lira*.

¹⁰ § 90.

¹¹ *nāxt* is probably a corrupt form of ar.-p. *naqd*.

¹² Cf. Awr. p. 86, l. 20 ; p. 108, ll. 8 and 9.

¹³ *āfārim*, *āfārem* or *āfārun* ? reading uncertain ; p. *āfārin*.

¹⁴ *mahar*, ar.-p. *mahr*.

¹⁵ *wāsāl*, ar.-p. *vaṣl*.

¹⁶ § 93.

¹⁷ *dā*, § 46.

In the city of Baghdad there was a person whose name was Khója Moḥammad. He was very rich and very mighty. He had a wife who was very handsome. This woman was pregnant (lit. : this woman, her womb was full) ; at last Khója Moḥammad resolved to go on a pilgrimage to the house of God. By the predestination of God Khója Moḥammad prepared his provisions [and] with the pilgrims he went on to the holy Mecca. For three years he dwelt in Mecca, until he had performed the [ceremonies of] pilgrimage three times. Then Khója Moḥammad returned to Baghdad and arrived at his house. He saw that his wife was still pregnant, had not been delivered. He (lit. : his head) was struck with astonishment. Then he said to his wife : "Come, let us go to Abú Ja'far Hellálí the geomancer (rammāl)." He seized the hand of his wife, they went on to Abú Ja'far Hellálí. They gave to Abú Ja'far an account of the pregnancy (lit. : the womb) of that woman. Abú Ja'far examined his *raml* and said : "This is (lit. : continues to be) wonderful." He continued : "A child will be born from the womb of this woman, but it will be a curious child, and its steps will not be happy for its mother and father." Then they get up, came [back] to their own house.

After three months that woman gave [birth to] a girl-child. The mother and the father, after three months, died both of them. People gave them into the hands of a nurse. For three years the nurse suckled them (lit. : gave them milk) ; they gave (lit. : put on) her the name Dälā. She is known as "Dälā of Baghdad". Then she remained in the house of her father. She read the Qur'án, but she was a sweet, gracious, and nice girl. All created beings who were in Baghdad were in love with Dälā. Dälā did not make anyone her husband, until once a day a man from Khorásán came to Baghdad. On the way to the bath the Khorásánian saw Dälā, fell in love with her. He went (lit. : fell) after her, until she came to the house of her family. The Khorásánian said : "O Dälā, come, make me your husband." Dälā said : "If you have skill, there is no fault in that I make you my husband." The Khorásánian said : "Rise ! let us go to the bazaar." They joined hands (lit. : took the hand of each other) and went to the bazaar.

For some time they were walking in the bazaar. They saw a money-changer [who] was sitting in his shop ; he had laid down much gold and silver before his face. The Khorásánian said to Dälā : "Sit down there, whilst I go off to the money-changer ; then you shall know what I [am able to] do." Dälā sat down. The Khorásánian went off, sat down with the money-changer. The money-changer

bade him welcome, said : " This is your own shop, say what you want." The Khorásánian said : " Have you Roman gold-pieces ? " He said : " Yes, I have." The Khorásánian said : " Bring [me] a sealed purse." The money-changer went off, brought him a full purse ; it was sealed. The Khorásánian said : " Go [and] bring another purse [full of] money of Nishápúr." The money-changer went off, brought another sealed purse. The Khorásánian said : " Go [and] bring another purse [full of] Iranian money." The money-changer went off, brought it. [The Khorásánian] said : " Go [and] bring a purse [full of] English money." The money-changer went off, brought it. The Khorásánian said : " Go [and] bring a purse [full of] Russian money." The money-changer brought it. In short, he brought seven sealed purses [full of] gold, laid them before the face of the Khorásánian. After that the Khorásánian weighed the purses one by one, put them in his pocket one by one. The money-changer said : " What are you doing ? " The Khorásánian said : " I am going away." The money-changer said : " Lay down my seven purses and go away." The Khorásánian said : " They are my property." The money-changer said : " How are they your property ? " The Khorásánian said : " Do you think you can rob me ? What is the matter with this gold ? " The money-changer repeated : " Lay down my property and go away." The Khorásánian said : " It is my trust (i.e. I have entrusted the purses to you), that I may do business with it ; in such a manner I do not do business. No profit comes from falsehood."

Finally the Khorásánian and the money-changer fell to blows, fought much with each other, until the people of the bazaar came up, asked : " What conflict is this ? " The money-changer said : " Oh you who are present, this man has seized upon seven purses which are my property ; now he will not give them back." They asked the Khorásánian : " Why do you not give back the money of that man ? " The Khorásánian said : " It is my own money. It is my trust [with which] I shall do business. I do not do business with that money-changer ; no profit comes from falsehood." The money-changer went on, made complaint before the Governor. The Governor summoned the Khorásánian. They brought the Khorásánian. The Governor asked : " Why do you not give back the money of this man ? " He said : " It is my money." The Governor asked the money-changer : " Whose property are these seven purses ? " The money-changer said : " They are my property." The Khorásánian said : " No, they are my property." The people of the assembly proposed

the [following] decision: "Anyone [of them], the money-changer or the Khorásánian, whosoever knows how many gold coins there are in each purse (lit.: in each purse how many gold coins there are therein), to him they belong." They asked the money-changer: "Now, in each of these purses how many gold coins are there?" The money-changer gave answer, said: "I don't know." They asked the Khorásánian. The Khorásánian said: "In each purse there is so and so much [therein]." As they counted their content (lit.: them), there was what the Khorásánian said, a little more or less. After that they took a hundred lire from the money-changer [as a fine]. In return of the cash (?) they dealt some strokes to the money-changer.

Then the Khorásánian said to Dälā: "What kind of man am I?" She said: "Bravo! May God bless you! You are worthy [that] I make you my husband." The Khorásánian seized the hand of Dälā, took her with him; they went on to the house of Dälā. She sent for a Molla, entered into marriage with the Khorásánian. That night she embraced him (lit.: went into his arms), was happy in the union with him.

After that Dälā was pregnant by the Khorásánian. Nine months and nine days passed, she bore four girl-children at the same time. She gave those four girls in the hands of a nurse. Another time Dälā was pregnant. Nine months and nine days passed, she bore three more girl-children. As they grew great, she brought seven buffoons, gave each of her daughters [in marriage] to [one of] the buffoons. Seven sons-in-law, seven daughters, Dälā herself with her husband, sixteen persons [in all], needed bread and victuals. . . .

SENTENCES

(Bacmeistersche Sprachproben)

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. Xodá mémero. | God dies not. |
| 2. Piá kæm žiwo. | Man lives [but a] short [time]. |
| 3. Ādā zaruā wēš woš gārāk-
ānā. | The mother loves her children. |
| 4. Jā mamāw ādānā šōt fērān. | In the breasts of the mother
there is much milk. |
| 5. Šuš wošāš gārāk-ānā. | Her husband loves her. |
| 6. I žānā lāmāš pōra bē. | This woman was pregnant. |
| 7. Šeš rūwā čāowāte ¹ ādā
kurrā bi pāidā. | Six days ago the mother bore
a son. |
| 8. Āš hallai nāwoš-ā. | She is still ill. |

¹ § 134.

9. *Konáčā-u-ādi lāw ādinā*
*nišorā gārawai gārāwo.*¹

10. *Zāro gārākāš niæ mžo.*²

11. *Knáčā hállai mætawo bōlo*
rāre.

12. *Sālewæ u dūē mæge čaowāti*
*ād āmā dānjā.*³

13. *I čoær zaruæ gārdi sālām-*
ānā.

14. *Jōšā ramāj ramó,*⁴ *duāmin-*
šā hur fērō, jārāminšā guranā
*čorō, čoarāminšā xoaje xo.*⁴

15. *I piā kūr-a.*

16. *Zāniš kær-ānā.*

17. *Ādā mæžnāwo waxt-e ēmæ*
qse karmā.

18. *Bāraw to pšmāi pšmó.*⁴

19. *Wāfā-u-to wutānā.*

20. *Tātow-šēmæ xabārāš biwæ.*

21. *Ād kæm wāro.*

22. *Lutā delāw ruēnā.*

23. *Ēmæ dūā pāj-mā hænā ;*
hær dæsāwæ pæn j agusæ-mā hænā.

24. *Zōhf sār-u-sārej sāwz bo.*

25. *Zāwān dādānā inaj dæm-nā.*

26. *Dæs-u-rās-ēmā mæhkam-*
tær-ā jā dæs-u-čæpi.

27. *Mū dærāz u bārik-ā.*

28. *Wūni sūr-ānā.*

29. *Āswuxānā sæxt-ānā pēsāw*
tawānā.

30. *Māsāwi čemāš hæne, gušāš*
niæne.

31. *I pālāwārā jāwāš pērō.*

32. *Ād gnare sār-u-zāmininā.*

33. *Ā pālāwārā pār-e-siāwā jā*
bātāš-ānāne.

Her daughter sits weeping at
 her side.

The child will not suck.

The girl-child can not yet walk.

She is born one year and two
 months ago.

These four boys (children) are
 well, all of them.

One of them runs, the other
 leaps, the third sings, the fourth
 laughs.

This man is blind.

His wife is deaf.

She does not hear, when we are
 speaking.

Your brother sneezes.

Your sister sleeps.

Your father is awake.

He eats [but] little.

The nose is in the middle of the
 face.

We have two feet ; on each
 hand we have five fingers.

The hair grows (lit. : turns
 green) on the head.

The tongue [and] the teeth
 are in the mouth.

Our right hand is stronger than
 the left hand.

The hair is long and thin.

The blood is red.

The bones are [as] hard as
 stone.

The fish has eyes ; it has not
 ears.

This bird flies slowly.

He sits down on the earth.

That bird has black feathers in
 its wing[s].

¹ § 99.

² § 87.

³ p. *be donjā āmād.*

⁴ § 99.

34. Dräxt getāj-e-sāwz ħāqāw The tree has green leaves [and]
gāwrēs hēnā. big branches.
35. I pālāwārā dænu*k*-i-tež, This bird has a peaky beak
kālīcke kōtāš han. [and] a short tail.
36. Āš jā hālāninā hēfēw čærmēs It has white eggs in its nest.
hænā.
37. Awir sōčnō, ēmæ wīnmē The fire burns, we see the
duka*t*, be*f*esæ wā zōχāl. smoke, the flame, and the coal.
38. Āwi jā ruχānānā tōn wiārō. The water of the river flows
quickly.
39. Mæpā gāwrātær-inā jā The moon is greater than the
hāsārā wā wurditær-enā jā rō- stars and smaller than the sun.
jāwe.
40. Hezī warān āmā. Yesterday there was a rainfall.
41. Arō sobhānāmæn čæmæm This morning my eyes fell on
penā kæft hāzār-e-zærinā. a rainbow.
42. Šāw tārīk-ānā, rō rōšnā. At night-time it is dark, at
day-time it is light.
43. Ēmæ qse kārmā bā haw- We speak Awromānī.
rāmī.
44. Tawdā šmæ qse kārdā bā Do (can) you speak Awromānī?
hawrāmī?

ADDITIONS TO THE GRAMMAR

(*Les Dialectes d'Awromān et de Pāwā*, pp. 17-75)

- § 43. Verb substantive. Present sing. 1 ānān.
- § 45. "To go." Preterite ii, sing. 3 luānā.
- § 46. "To give." Present sing. 2 neg. nāmə*d*āj, nāmə*d*ājno ;
3 neg. nāmə*d*o. Pret. i, sing. 3 dāi, plur. 3 -šān dā.
- § 47. "To come," also "to become," "to turn." Pres. sing. 3 :
māwo, neg. nāmāwo. Pret. sing. 3 āmā, plur. 3 amēwā.
- § 48. "To see." Pret. i, plur. 3 -šān dī.
- § 50. "To be able." Pres. sing. 3 neg. mətawo.
- § 53. "To bring." Imperative sing. bowrā, Pret. ii, sing. 3 āwörde.
- § 59. "To do." Imperative sing. b'kār. Pres. sing. 1 mākāru, neg.
n'mākāru, 2 mākāri. Subj. sing. 1, bākāru, b'kāru, 2 bākārino.
- § 61. "To die." Pret. i, plur. 3 mār*d*ē.
- § 62. "To place." Imperat. sing. bāniéro. Pret. sing. 3 niāšārā,
niāšēnā. Pluperf. sing. 3 niā bē*r*ā.
- § 63. "To sit down." Imperat. sing. bānišārā.

- § 64. Pres. sing. 3 *hur fəró* "he leaps".
 § 65. "To say." Imperat. sing. *buāčā*.
 § 66. "To rise." Imperat. sing. *hurāzā*. Pret. plur. 3 *hurāzaj*.
 § 68. "To pass," "to flow." Pres. sing. 3 *wiāro*.
 § 69. "To be born." Pret. sing. 3 *zajnā*. Fut. (?) *zaruewæn*.
 § 70. "To know." Pres. sing. 1 neg. *nāmāzanu*.
 § 73. "To carry off." Pres. sing. 3 *bāri*. Pret. sing. 3 *bārdān*.
 § 75. Pres. sing. 3 (*guraniā*) *čəro* "he sings".
 § 79. "To make war," "to quarrel." Pret. plur. 3 *goziāj*.
 § 80. "To ask for." Pret. i, sing. 3 *kiasās*.
 § 96. "To read." Pret. sing. 3 *wēnē*.
 § 98. "To live." Pres. sing. 3 *žūwo*.

Other verbs :—

"To ask." Pret. sing. 3 *persās*, plur. 3 *persāsān*.

"To hear." Pres. sing. 3 neg. *mæžnāwo*.

§ 99. *luaj mēlū*, "I am going."

§ 123. Other forms of the Reciprocal Pronoun: *jošān*, *jāktārinšān*.

§ 127. Indefinite Pronouns: *jo-jo* "one by one".

§ 128. Prepositions: *o* "to", = *ow*.

§ 134. Adverbs: *čən*, *čən* "how much", "how many". *ān nāšā*, "so (and so) much".

ADDITIONS TO THE VOCABULARY

(pp. 120-8)

bābā "father".

baḡal "armpit", "arm" (p.

baḡal).

betesæ "flame".

χodrūt "power" (ar.-p. *qodrūt*).

lāqā "branch" (känd. *lāq*, M.-H.

Gūr., p. 264).

mōr "seal" (p. *mohr*).

naḡt "cash" (?) (p. *naqd*).

garas "in short" (ar.-p. *al-ḡaraž*).

rānki "trousers" (coloured).

rōjāwe "sunshine", "sun" (p. *rūz* + *āb*).

rut "naked", "void" (känd. *rūt*,

M.-H. Gūr., p. 278; p. *loḡt*).

šikāt "complaint" (ar.-p. *šekā-jat*).

šurā "assembly".

taqdiā "predestination" (ar.-p. *taqdīr*).

tež "sharp" (känd. *tīzh*, M.-H. Gūr., p. 287; p. *tīz*).

zāmā "son-in-law" (känd. *zāmā*, M.-H. Gūr., p. 293; p. *dā-mād*).

ziāj "much", "more" (ar.-p. *zīād*).

Les nasales en fin de mot en sanskrit (et latin)

Par A. CUNY

I. ORIGINE DES NASALES FINALES

M. A. MEILLET (*MSL. Paris*, t. ix, pp. 365-372) enseignait, — depuis il est revenu souvent sur la question et s'est toujours prononcé dans le même sens — que, à l'accusatif singulier des thèmes en *-o-* du genre animé (masculin, féminin) et au nominatif-accusatif singulier des thèmes en *-o-* du genre inanimé (neutre), la nasale finale était en indo-européen, non pas *-m* comme on l'écrit généralement, mais bien *-n* (de même pour les thèmes consonantiques masc.-fém.: arm. *otn* "pied", comme *tasn* "dix" et les thèmes en *-i-* et en *-u-*). C'est que cette nasale se présente effectivement avec l'articulation dentale en celtique (gaul. *nemeton*, etc. . . .), en germanique (got. *pan-a*, *hvan*, etc. . . .), en lituanien, en slave (*sŭn-* devant voyelle à côté de *sŭ-* devant consonne, et autres *exx.*), en grec (*τὸν*, etc. . . .), en arménien (cf. *otn*, *tasn* contre skr. *pādam*, lat. *decem*, etc. . . .), toutes langues auxquelles s'ajoute maintenant le hittite (*maḥlan* acc., etc. . . .). Au contraire, elle n'affecte l'articulation labiale qu'en indo-iranien et en italique. De plus, M. A. Meillet faisait observer que chaque langue indo-européenne prise à part ne présente jamais qu'un des deux traitements, le traitement labial *-m* ou le traitement dental *-n*. Cette seconde remarque n'est contredite qu'en apparence par les substantifs neutres en *-en*, *-men* du latin (ici l'analogie a fait disparaître les effets de l'évolution phonétique régulière, qui seraient **-em*, **-mem*, les gén.-dat. sing.: *-inis*, *-inī*; *-minis*, *-minī* et tous les cas du pluriel, c.-à-d. *-ina*, *-mina*, *-inum*, *-minum*, etc., dans lesquels *-n* était intérieur, ayant fait rétablir *-n* au lieu du *-m* attendu, et attesté par l'ombrien) et par les finales sanskrites du type de *tasmīn*, locat. masc.-neutre et *vājīn*, vocat. masculin, etc. qui sont, évidemment, d'origine récente, cf. p. ex. avest. *čahmi*, *kahmi*. (Aussi le *saṃdhi* n'est-il pas le même: *tasmīn-eva* mais *tam-eva*.¹)

Est-ce à dire que l'indo-européen ne connaissait absolument que *-n* final et que, dans tous les cas de mots finissant sur une nasale, cet *-n* ait été mécaniquement transformé en *-m* en indo-iranien (et de même en italique commun ou du moins en prélatin, cf. arch. *dōnom*,

¹ Le sanskrit connaît des *n* finaux d'origine récente (*prān*, etc., neutre *prāk*). L'indo-européen n'avait certainement que *-n* ou *-m* en fin de mot. À plus forte raison n'avait-il en cette position ni *ṇ*, ni *ṣ*.

en préosco-ombrien, cf. o. *Núvlanúm* "Nolanorum", etc. . . .) ? Non, car il est certain que l'indo-européen disposait, non seulement de thèmes, mais de formes nominales ou verbales finissant les unes sur *-n*, les autres sur *-m*. Ce qui reste vrai, c'est que chaque idiome, pris en particulier, ne connaît plus que *-m* ou *-n* final. Il faut au reste distinguer ici entre suffixes et désinences. Là où il s'agit de thèmes appartenant au genre inanimé (neutre), le morphème suffixé finissant sur une nasale : *-n* ou *-m* (soit *-ñ*, *-m̃* au degré zéro) se trouvait être en finale absolue, et la chose se produisait également dans quelques noms de nombre et dans quelques indéclinables, v. ci-dessous.

1. *Désinences* (il faut en outre distinguer ici entre désinences nominales et désinences verbales).

A. *Nom.*—Parmi les différentes désinences nominales la première à considérer est celle de l'accusatif singulier des thèmes masculins et féminins en *-ā-*, *-ḡ-*, *-ō-*, *-ī-*, *-ū-*, etc. (cf. aussi les thèmes m.-f. consonantiques) et la nasale du nominatif-accusatif singulier des thèmes neutres en *-o-* (finale sans doute inorganique). Il est bien certain que c'est M. A. Meillet qui a raison et que c'est sous la forme **ton*, **tām*, **agron*, **owin*, **bhāghun*, etc. . . ., **dōnon*, etc. . . ., qu'il convient de restituer les prototypes des formes sanskrites *tām*, *tām*, *ájram*, *ávīm*, *bāhúm*, etc. . . ., *dānam* n., etc. . . ., cf. gr. *τόν*, *τήν* (dor. *τάν*), lat. *(is)tum*, *(is)tam*, *ἀγρόν*, *αγρὺν*, ép. *οἶν*, att. *οἶν*, lat. *ouem*, *πῆχυν*, cf. *senātum*, *manum*, etc., etc. . . .

Ensuite, il faut faire état de la désinence de génitif pluriel : indo-européen *-ōn*, gr. *-ων*, *-ῶν*, lat. *-um*, etc. . . ., soit un indo-iranien très antique **-ān* et, avec répétition de l'indice de cas (mais on a encore véd. *devām* et un ou deux autres exemples), la désinence ordinaire *-ānām* des thèmes en *-o-* et en *-ā-*, telle qu'elle a été expliquée par M. A. Meillet (article cité). C'est donc au cours de l'époque indo-iranienne qu'a eu lieu la transformation phonétique de *-ān* final en *-ām*, et le cas est le même que celui de l'accus. sg. dont les formes telles que *undām* (accompagné d'un auxiliaire et suppléant le parfait de *unātti* [Atharvaveda]) n'est sans doute qu'une attestation particulière : accus. **undā-n* ; si cette forme existait déjà en indo-européen, elle a entraîné, en latin, la création d'un paradigme : *unda*, *undae*, etc. . . . sur le modèle de *aqua*, *aquae*, etc.

Mais il y a aussi, dans les pronoms à genres et dans les pronoms personnels, une sorte de désinence indo-iranienne *-am* (on la retrouve également en latin dans *id-em*, de même qu'en ombrien) ; on a : skr. démonstr. nom. masc. *ay-ām*, fém. *iy-ām*, n. *id-ām* (cf. lat. *is*, *ea*, *id*),

pronom 1^{ère} pers. *ahám*, v.p. *adam*, avest. *azəm* "ego", 2^e pers. *t(u)v-ám* "tu", plur. 1^{ère} p. *vay-ám* "nous", *yūy-ám* "vous", indo-iran. **yūž-am* de **yūš* + *am*, c.-à-d. **yūs-ə, en*, v. ci-dessous — l'explication est celle de M. A. Meillet qui, dans skr. *yūyám*, voit une assimilation (au lieu du **yūrám* attendu), etc. . . . On a même le réfléchi *svay-ám*, mais la forme est indéclinable. Bien que *-am* se rencontre dans un neutre (*idám*, lat. *id-em*) et dans des formes de pluriel, on peut y voir un indice de nominatif (*mihī* et *tībī*, etc., montrent qu'il est analogique dans skr. *māhyam* et *túbhyam*, on a aussi *túbhya*). C'est l'équivalent sémantique à la fois du *-s* du nomin. masc.-fém. sing., du *-es* du nominatif plur. de même genre et du *-n* du nominatif (acc.) neutre des thèmes en *-o-*. La comparaison de cet élément avec le 'an- du sémit. comm. dans **an-'a* "ego" (ar. class. etc., 'ana), **an-ta*, fém. **an-tī* "tu" (ar. class. etc., 'anta, fém. 'anti), **an-tun* "uōs" (ar. class. etc., 'antum) et autres formes pronominales dans lesquelles le morphème 'an- occupe la première place au lieu d'apparaître à la seconde (fait assez fréquent pour tous les morphèmes en sémitique) prouve que, dans la restitution sous forme indo-européenne de cet élément il faut se décider pour *-ə, en*. On notera que *-n* des neutres en *-o-* pourrait très bien représenter le degré zéro de cet élément, mais la chose supposerait l'amuïssement de *ə*.

Le cas est donc le même que le précédent : l'indo-iranien et l'italique ont transformé phonétiquement *-ə, en* en *-am* (resp^t *-em*). Les autres langues ne semblent pas avoir gardé de traces de cet *-ə, en*. [il fonctionne comme pluriel aussi bien que comme singulier en indo-européen et en sémitique. Sur ce dernier domaine il est même admis dans le duel : ar. cl. 'antumā, mais le fait se retrouve encore en indo-iranien : véd. *āvám*, accus. *āvdm* "nous deux". L'identification proposée est donc des plus plausibles.]

B. *Verbe*.—Ici il faut d'abord retenir les désinences de duel aux 2^e et 3^e personnes secondaires de l'actif : skr. *-tam*, *-tām* (on en a l'équivalent en vieux-perse et en avestique, cf. aussi gr. *-τον*, *-τᾶν* (Pindare), att. *-την*. Le vieux-slave *-ta* (de même le lituanien) ne présente pas de nasale finale, non plus que l'ombrien *-tu-ta* (si l'on adopte les vues de M. Nacinovich, *Carmen Arvale*, qui y voit d'anciennes désinences de duel, cf. lat. *-tis* pluriel, mais skr. *-thaḥ* duel) et ne décide naturellement rien au sujet de la qualité de la nasale finale. Mais il y a toute chance pour qu'ici nous ayons affaire à d'anciens **-to-n*, **-tā-n* indo-européens, étant donné le hittite *-ten* (devenu pluriel dans l'usage, p. ex. *iyatten* "vous faites", cf. aussi le sémit. **-tun* (hébr. *-tēn*, etc. . . .)

et peut-être même le hittite hiéroglyphique *-tana* dans *rastana* d'après B. Hrozný, *Les Inscriptions Hittites Hiéroglyphiques*, 1^{re} Lieferung, p. 93 (mais M. P. Meriggi¹ n'est pas de l'avis de M. Hrozný). À plus forte raison songera-t-on à **-tān* pour la 3^e sing. de l'impératif médio-passif (skr. *kriya-tām*) qui n'a même peut-être pas une antiquité indo-iranienne, et à **-dhwon* pour la désinence secondaire de deuxième personne plur. au moyen, désinence indo-iranienne que l'on retrouve presque identiquement en hittite et qui peut-être était duelle autrefois, cf. gr. *-σθον*. Comme ici *-n* était inorganique, cf. 2^e primaire plur. moyen skr. *-dhre*, il n'y a pas de raison pour y voir autre chose que *-n* à l'origine, cf. les neutres en *-o*.

Il en est en revanche tout autrement de la désinence secondaire de première personne singulier actif. En effet, soit au présent (lat. *sum*, o. *súm*, indo-europ. **s-om*, existant à côté de **es-mi* suivant les vues de M. J. Bonfante, admises maintenant en partie par M. A. Meillet dans son *Introduction*, 7^e éd.), soit à l'imparfait, qu'il s'agisse d'un thématique : skr. *ābharam*, gr. *ἔφερον*, etc. . . ., ou d'un athématique (skr. *ācruṇavam*, gr. *ἔδεικνῦν*, etc. . . ., soit dans les divers aoristes, thématiques, p. ex. *āvocam* (analogique pour **āvokam*, cf. avest. *vaocāt*) ou athématiques (*ārautsam*, *ādarṣam*, etc. . . — pour *ācruṇavam*, *ārautsam*, etc., cf. dans les noms *pād-am* comme *ācva-m*, mais gr. *πόδα* et *ἵππον* —, il paraît certain que la finale primitive était *-m*, *-m̃*, soit donc *-o-m* dans le type thématique, que l'on pense, comme l'auteur de ces lignes, ou que l'on nie, ainsi qu'on le fait généralement, qu'il y ait un rapport étymologique entre cet *-m* (*-m̃*) et le **m̃* qui est à la base des formes du pronom singulier de 1^{ère} personne : skr. gén.-dat. atone *me*, gr. *μοι*, lat. *mī*, skr. dat. tonique *māhyam*, lat. *mihī* ; skr. accus. tonique *mām*, v. sl. *me*, lat. *mē*, gr. *με*, etc. . . .

2. Morphèmes nominaux suffixes (cas de la désinence zéro)

Si les mots qui comportent des suffixes à nasale *-n*, *-m* appartiennent à un des genres animés, p. ex. **g^hhyem-* "hiver" (fém.), **g^hhem-*, **g^hhem-* "terre" (fém.), **sem-* "année, été" (skr. *sām-ā*, etc. . . , fém.), ils ne viennent pas ici en considération, car la nasale qui termine le thème ne se trouve jamais placée en finale absolue. On peut signaler seulement que, pour le premier de ces mots, **g^hhyem-*, M. M. Ernout et Meillet (v. leur *Dictionnaire*, p. 431) admettent l'existence d'un second thème (à nasale dentale), soit **g^hhyen-* et que dans

Emerita (Madrid, n° de décembre 1935), il est montré que le bénéfice de cette observation doit être également étendu aux noms de la "terre" et de l' "année", soit donc des formes parallèles *g^h/on- (gr. χθόνα, etc. . . .), *sen- (lat. *senium*, *senecta*, etc. . . .). Car le fait a de l'importance pour le nom de nombre "un" (en grec εἷς, μία, ἓν). D'après l'explication courante, il s'agirait d'anciens *sem-s, *sm-iy₂, *sem. Mais, plus probablement, on avait d'abord *sen-s masculin et surtout *sen neutre (nominatif-accusatif). Si on l'admet, on sera dispensé de recourir au détour proposé par M. A. Meillet (art. cité, p. 372): "Le passage de -m à -n doit être tenu pour antérieur à l'existence séparée des dialectes historiquement connus." En effet, dans cette hypothèse, *sem (nomin.-accus. neutre sing.) aurait passé à *sen dans la langue commune, pour redevenir *sem en italique et *sam en indo-iranien (cf. skr. préverbe sam- "avec", littéral "en un", lat. *sem-el*, arch. *semul*, class. *simul*, etc.). Au reste, *sen originaire était déjà admis par R. Gauthiot (*Fin de mot*, 1913) et par M. J. Mansion, *Muséon*, 1913, p. 250). Suivant donc qu'on partira — pour rendre compte du skr. *sam* — de indo-europ *sem ou *sen, qui sans doute existaient côte à côte, on constatera une conservation ou une transformation phonétique de l'état indo-européen. Mais, pour les dérivés: skr. *samá-*, etc. . . ., lat. *similis*, etc., il faut sûrement partir de *sem comme base.

Dans le cas des substantifs de genre neutre (ceci serait vrai du reste du nom.-acc. neutre d'adjectifs du type correspondant au nom. masc. sing. *sómarājā* p. ex.): skr. *nāma*, *çárma*, *çróma (on n'a que *çrómatam*, cf. v. h. all. *hlīumunt* "renommée), etc., gr. ὄνομα, λεῖμμα, etc. . . ., lat. *inguen* (serait en grec *ἄβα, cf. le masculin régulier ἀδῆν < *ḡ₂ēn), lat. *unguen* (cf. *unguentum*, skr. *āñjati*, v. h. all. *ancho* masc., etc.), il est absolument sûr que l'on doit partir de thèmes finissant par la nasale dentale, soit donc *nóm-n, *^on^om-n, *leik₂-m₂, *ḡ₂n, *oḡ₂n (*oḡ₂nton), etc., etc. On a naturellement ici -a comme finale en sanskrit. [Il est à noter que si l'analogie avait amené la création de *an (cf. le cas de *pādam*, etc. . . ., *árait^sam*, etc. . . .), cet *an serait phonétiquement devenu *am.] De la sorte *nāma* et autres neutres analogues se comportent exactement comme *náva* "9" (*néw₂) et comme *saptá* "7" (*sept₂) et *dásá* "10" (*dék₂). En latin, seuls *nōmem, *īnguem, *ūnguem, etc., auraient été réguliers, mais on a vu que l'analogie avait fait disparaître ces finales, l'ombrien gardant toutefois des traces du traitement phonétique régulier; malheureusement dans cette langue, comme dans le cas des accusatifs sg. masc.

et fém. et dans le cas des nom.-acc. neutres en *-o-*, le *-m* final est très souvent omis dans la graphie, mais on a *numem* "nōmen" bien attesté sur les tables en écriture étrusque.

Noms de nombre et mots isolés

Ces mots étant indéclinables, il ne pouvait être question d'influences analogiques provenant de la flexion. Ainsi **septm̃*, **dēkm̃* et **nēwm̃* sont donc indifféremment *saptá*, *dása*, *náva* en sanskrit, *septem*, *decem*, *novem* en latin (ceci malgré lat. *nōn-us*, got. *niun*, lituan. *deviñtas* "neuvième", opposer lituan. *dēsimtas* "dixième"), tout comme gr. *ἐπτά*, *δέκα*, (ἐν)νέα, arm. *ewthn*, *tasn*. À noter que la plupart des faits résumés jusqu'ici sont bien connus, mais il fallait les remettre en mémoire pour bien montrer que, dans la question du traitement des finales, il ne faut tenir compte ni des formes nominales du genre de *pādam*, etc., ni des formes verbales du genre de *árautsam*, mais envisager uniquement les finales (indo-européennes) *-in*, *-ūn*, *-ōn*, *-ān*, *-en*, *-ēn*, c'est-à-dire indo-iraniennes : *-im*, *-ūm*, *-am*, *-ām*, etc. (le sanskrit comme le latin n'a conservé que les thèmes en *-ō-*, tandis que le grec a encore les deux, en *-ō-* : *κάλω-s* "câble" en attique et en *-o-* *κάλος* "câble" en ionien, etc. . . . ; de même *-en* (gr. *-ān*) ne paraît pas avoir de répondant en sanskrit, opposer *vr̥kīm* à *λύσσαῖν*).

Pour les mots isolés, on peut rappeler **kon*,¹ skr. *kām*, v. sl. *kŭ* (et *kŭn* devant voyelle, cf. p. ex. russe *kŭ-jemú* "à lui"), lat. *cum* (*con-* et *co-* en composition), **k^uon* (lat. *quom*, *cum*, got. *hvan*), **ton* (got. *pan*), lat. *tum* comme *num* (cf. *tun-c* et *nun-c*) soit **tu-n* et **nu-n* (gr. *νῦν*, cf. skr. *tu*, *nu*) ; **k^uān* (lat. *quam*, d'où *quan-de*, *quan-dō*, armén. *khan*). Le cas est le même que pour toutes les catégories précédentes (sauf celle de **[é]bherom*, skr. *ābharam*, gr. *ἔφερον* et autres formes analogues). On a *-n* → *-m* en indo-iranien comme en italique.

II. ARTICULATION INDO-IRANIENNE DES NASALES EN FIN DE MOT

Le traitement indo-iranien et le traitement italique (connu surtout par le latin), bien qu'il y ait entre eux de grandes ressemblances, ne sont pourtant pas de tout point identiques. C'est quand il s'agit de la phonétique de la phrase (*samdhī* = phonétique syntactique) qu'apparaissent les différences. Une citation quelconque suffit à le rappeler, soit par exemple le *śloka* emprunté par A. Bergaigne (*Manuel*, p. 2) aux *Indische Sprüche* de Weber :

¹ D'où gr. *κοινός* < **kon-yús*. Car *βαίω* représente **g^uh²yō*, ainsi que le montre le lat. *uenio*, *uēnī*, osque *kūm-bened*.

tenādhītaṃ śrutaṃ tena tena sarvān-anuṣṭītaṃ |
yenāśāṃ prasthataḥ kṛtvā nairāśyam-avalambitaṃ ||

à côté de ce vers de l'Odyssée (α, 1) :

ἄνδρα μοι ἔννεπε, Μοῦσα, πολύτροπον, ὃς μάλα πολλά

et de ce vers de Virgile (*Eglogues*, x, 13) :—

ill^{um} etiam laurⁱ ill^{um} etiam flēuēre myricaē.

Dans le texte sanskrit *sarvān* devant *anuṣṭītaṃ* et *nairāśyam* devant *avalambitaṃ* sont traités de la même façon exactement que *πολύτροπον* dans le texte grec devant *ὃς* (mot à initiale purement vocalique, si l'on tient compte de la psilose éolienne ou ionienne masquée par la graphie attique avec esprit rude, *h* = '). Dans le texte latin au contraire, la finale *-um* devant *etiam* est traitée exactement de la même façon que la finale *-i* de *laurⁱ* devant *ill^{um}*, c'est-à-dire qu'elle est "escamotée" dans la prononciation (fausse élision, suivant l'enseignement de Louis Havet, mais réelle disparition).

Pour le vieux-perse et l'avestique la graphie ne nous révèle pas qu'une finale *-am* (par exemple) soit traitée différemment selon qu'une voyelle ou une consonne ouvre le mot suivant dans la phrase. Ainsi *adam dārayavauš* est noté de la même façon que s'il était suivi d'un mot à initiale vocalique, p. ex. *avam asmanam*, Meillet-Benveniste, *Gr.*, p. 11, comme *adam Bardiya a(h)miy*, *ibid.*, p. 135 (de même pour avest. *azəm*).

Outre l'option pour la nuance labiale *-m* devant voyelle en sanskrit (et partout en latin), ce qu'il y a de commun entre le traitement sanskrit de *-am* (par exemple) et le traitement latin de *-um* (par exemple) en cas d'initiale consonantique du mot suivant—le choix de la nuance labiale, *-am*, est uniquement le fait des transpositeurs européens, mais ils paraissent avoir été guidés par un sens exact de la langue—le trait commun de ces traitements, c'est l'affaiblissement (il se manifeste, on le sait, dans toutes les tranches finales de mot, v. Gauthiot, *Fin de mot*). Cet affaiblissement a entraîné les conséquences que voici : en sanskrit comme en latin le complexe phonétique formé par voyelle + nasale finale s'est réduit à une simple voyelle nasalisée du genre des voyelles françaises *-an*, *-in*, *-on* ou des voyelles polonaises *ę*, *ɔ*, mieux encore de *-an*, *-in*, *-on* français articulés par des sujets parlants originaires du Sud-Est de la France, p. ex., *pēm* au lieu de *pę* (écrit *pain*). Toutefois l'affaiblissement était bien plus considérable en latin. Les grammairiens indigènes signalent le fait et très souvent *-m* final n'est pas noté sur les anciennes inscriptions (même fait en

ombrien, p. ex. *ivengaru* = lat. *iuuencarum*, etc. . . .). Malgré des juxtaposés tels que *quamobrem*, *quemadmodum*, pour lesquels les Anciens ne nous disent pas si l'on escamotait *-am*, *-em* ou si l'on articulait *qua-mo-bre(m)*, *que-ma-dmo-du(m)*, la poésie classique prouve qu'une voyelle quelconque suivie de *-m* final s'élidait (ou mieux s'escamotait), même en cas de monosyllabes : ici on évitait généralement l'élision, *rem* par exemple étant réduit à une seule consonne *r*, et cela comme si le mot finissait directement sur une voyelle. En un mot, l'affaiblissement des finales latines *-um*, *-im*, *-em*, *-am*, etc., était aussi considérable que celui des finales arabes *-uⁿ*, *-iⁿ*, *-aⁿ* même en ar. classique (cf. vieux-babylonien *-um*, *-im*, *-am*, sabéen *-um*, *-im*, *-am*, sémit. comm. **-uⁿ/m*, **-iⁿ/m*, **-aⁿ/m*). Ici l'affaiblissement était si sensible que, même quand il s'agit de textes anciens, les arabisants traitent aujourd'hui ces finales comme n'existant pas, qui pis est, comme n'ayant jamais existé, ce qui est aussi contraire à la réalité historique que si l'on enseignait qu'en latin *-um*, *-im*, *-am*, etc., n'ont jamais été prononcés, parce qu'en français ils sont représentés par zéro ou par *e* muet et qu'ils ne le sont que par de simples voyelles *-o*, *-e*, *-a* en espagnol, italien, etc. . . .

Vu cet affaiblissement, la véritable notation pour le latin serait *û*, *î*, *ô*, *ã*, *ẽ*, soit de simples voyelles nasalisées. Ceci veut dire que le stade intermédiaire (*-ũ^m*) entre *-um*, etc., et *û*, etc. . . . était déjà définitivement dépassé (au moins à l'époque classique : 1^{er} siècle avant notre ère). Au contraire, le sanskrit (védique, etc. . . .) en était encore exactement au point moyen de l'évolution. En effet, on voit très bien, si on l'admet, pourquoi, devant initiale vocalique de mot suivant, on a en sanskrit *-um*, *-im*, *-am*, etc. . . . C'est qu'il s'agit ici d'anciens *-ũ^m*, *-ĩ^m*, *-ã^m*, etc. (cf. les transcriptions *-um*, *-im*, *-am*, etc., devant consonne alors que peut-être il ne s'agit plus déjà que de *-û*, *-î*, *-ã*, etc. . . . tout ceci malgré la prononciation de *-m* en *-n* reconnue maintenant, mais pour le tokharien seulement). Dans ces finales, *-ũ^m*, *-ĩ^m*, *-ã^m*, le *m* a été renforcé par l'attaque vocalique (douce) du mot qui suivait. Cet *m* une fois consolidé (au contraire devant initiale consonantique il s'était sans doute évanoui¹) a dénasalisé les *û*, *î*, *ã*, etc., qui le précédaient immédiatement [phénomène de *différenciation*, v. A. Meillet, *M.S.L.*, t. xii, pp. 14-34], d'où, en définitive, dans la phrase, *-um*, *-im*, *-am*, etc., devant voyelle. En grec, l'évolution a dû être la même, à part ce détail que la langue avait, au rebours de l'indo-iranien, opté pour l'articulation dentale de toute nasale en

¹ Ne laissant subsister que la nasalisation.

fin de mot et que, comme le vieux-perse et l'avestique, le grec ne fait aucune différence entre le cas d'initiale vocalique et celui d'initiale consonantique du mot suivant, employant partout la *scriptio plena* (et sans doute aussi la prononciation inaltérée de la nasale en fin de mot comme à l'intérieur).

En grec on a donc eu, comme en sanskrit, devant voyelle, un stade -ōⁿ, -āⁿ, -ūⁿ, etc. . . ., puis -on (-ov), -an (-av), -un (-uv), etc. . . . dénasalisés par le même procédé de différenciation que ci-dessus, cf. p. ex. πολύτροπον devant ὄς, soit [h]os. Toutefois — on l'a déjà rappelé — ce traitement, après consolidation de -ⁿ en -v, a été étendu en grec à tous les cas. De même, l'aspect sourd de la "sistante" s (terminologie de F. de Saussure), soit -s, aspect qui n'était légitime que devant occlusive sourde, a été généralisé (il n'y a des traces de l'aspect sonore ancien, -z, (sous forme de -ρ) qu'ici dans quelques inscriptions dialectales : laconien, érétien, éléen, tandis que le sanskrit, on le sait, distingue toujours entre les cas d'initiale sonore et initiale sourde du mot suivant, p. ex. -aḥ (-as) et -o, de même que dans le cas de -m, il distingue toujours entre initiale vocalique et initiale consonantique. Devant initiale consonantique, l'accord du sanskrit et du latin est presque parfait : etaṃ (vīram) p. ex. comme illum (uirum) p. ex., avec une voyelle nasalisée plus ou moins affaiblie, le latin toutefois étant beaucoup plus évolué. Devant voyelle, la finale nasalisée a continué de s'affaiblir en latin et a fini par ne plus compter, tandis que, par la voie indiquée ci-dessus, elle a été en fin de compte, rétablie en sanskrit.

Ce qui est donc indo-iranien dans le traitement indien des nasales finales, c'est l'option pour -m seul (au lieu de -m et -n primitivement existants). Ce qui appartient en propre au sanskrit, c'est l'emploi de -am devant initiale vocalique (mais aussi en fin de phrase) et de -aṃ devant initiale consonantique, alors que l'iranien ne semble faire ici aucune distinction. Cette distinction est-elle ancienne ou non ?

K. Brugmann, dans son *Grundriss*, enseignait que les traits essentiels du *saṃdhi* (védique et classique) remontaient à l'indo-iranien et même à l'indoeuropéen. Il avait sans doute raison, ainsi qu'on le voit par la chute indoeuropéenne de -m, -n, -r en fin de mot après voyelle longue : védique kṣd-h "terre", c.-à.-d. prévéd. *kṣd (avec -s surajouté), issu d'un nomin. indo-europ. *g₁zhō (pour la voyelle, cf. χθών), avec chute de l'-m de *g₁h^e/om- après allongement de la voyelle thématique ; de même avest. zyā "hiver", ancien *jhyā (avec -s du nominatif surajouté) issu d'un nominat. indo-europ. *g₁hyō (pour

la voyelle, cf. *χῶν*), avec chute de l'-*m* de **g_hy_e/om*- après allongement de la voyelle thématique), puis tout le type de skr. *ádhvā* "chemin", thème *ádhvān*-, v.-lat. *hemō*, lat. *homō*, *sermō*, etc. . . ., anciens nominatifs en -*ō* avec chute indo-européenne de -*n* après allongement de la voyelle thématique, cf. encore *pitā*, de indo-europ. **p_tetē*, avec chute de -*r* final après allongement de la voyelle du thème au nomin. singulier. Si donc -*m*, -*n*, -*r* tombaient en fin de mot après voyelle longue (**g_hzhō* < **g_hzhō^m*, etc.), c'est la preuve que -*m*, -*n*, -*r* étaient faibles même après voyelle brève. Au reste, l'indo-européen, dans les cas cités plus haut, paraît avoir généralisé la forme à nasale (ou à liquide) complètement réduite. L'état indo-européen des nasales en fin de mot devait donc être à peu près ce qui suit (par convention la voyelle *o* représentera ici une voyelle quelconque) :

1) devant initiale consonantique -*ōⁿ* et -*ō^m*.

2) devant initiale vocalique -*ōⁿ* et -*ō^m*.¹

À l'époque indo-iranienne on eut :

1) -*ā^m* (avec identification des deux finales, devant consonne).

2) -*ām* (avec identification des deux finales, devant voyelle).

[En iranien le traitement 2) paraît avoir été généralisé comme en grec.]

De même à l'époque italique (commune) on eut :

1) -*ō^m* (d'où : lat. arch. -*om* et -*o*, class. -*um* devant consonne).

2) -*ōm* (et lat. class. -*um*, noté de même, mais très faible ainsi que le prouve l'élision en poésie).

En résumé, ainsi qu'il arrive souvent, le sanskrit, à l'intérieur de l'indo-iranien, et le latin, à l'intérieur du groupe italique, ont évolué par des voies très analogues et se montrent très conservateurs, là surtout où ils sont d'accord. L'innovation, qui a introduit -*m* au lieu de -*n* s'est produite, la chose va de soi, indépendamment en indo-iranien et en italique.² Quant à l'affaiblissement du complexe voyelle + nasale finale, le latin qui l'a maintenu et peut-être exagéré, paraît avoir été plus conservateur que le sanskrit, qui l'est à son tour plus que l'iranien (et que le grec).

¹ Dans beaucoup de parlers *n* et *m* consonnes, comme elles le sont ici, nasalisent la voyelle précédente. Ainsi dans tout le français de l'Est (au centre aussi : Pithiviers), on prononce p. ex. *il mèn(e)* au lieu de *il mēn(e)*, etc., etc.

² C'est le seul point sur laquelle la tradition a été altérée en latin et le fait n'est pas très ancien ainsi que l'indique lat. *quon-iam* à côté de *quom*, *cum*. Le sanskrit a sans doute cédé aussi sur celui des voyelles nasalisées finales devant voyelle.— J'aurais dû citer plus tôt *La nasalité en indo-aryen* de M. J. Bloch, article paru dans le volume du *Cinquantenaire de l'École des Hautes Études* (1918).

Der Typus *tudá-* im Altindischen

VON ALBERT DEBRUNNER

DIE folgende Untersuchung ist aus der Arbeit an Band ii, 2, von J. Wackernagels *Altindischer Grammatik* hervorgewachsen, der die nominale Ableitung behandelt. Das Material ist gewonnen aus dem Konträrindex in Grassmanns *Wörterbuch zum Rigveda*, aus Whitney's „Index verborum zum AV.“ (*JAOS.*, 12), aus Whitney's „Roots“ (Anhang ii zu seiner *Grammatik*), aus den einschlägigen Regeln des Pāṇini (nebst Mahābhāṣya, Kāśikā und Siddhānta-Kaumudī) und aus Wackernagels wertvollen Sammlungen zu diesem Kapitel. Jeder, der selber auf dem Gebiet der ai. Grammatik arbeitet, weiss, dass ein so gewonnenes Material Lücken aufweist; sie wären nicht wesentlich kleiner geworden, wenn ich alle Stichwörter der Petersburger Wörterbücher durchgesehen hätte. Das Gesamtbild dürfte trotz der Lücken in den Grundzügen richtig sein. Für die Verarbeitung und Darstellung trage ich die Verantwortung allein.

Ich gebe zuerst eine alphabetische Liste aller irgendwie in Betracht kommenden Wörter, Sicheres, Zweifelhaftes und Falsches nebeneinander. Dabei sind die Wörter, die sicher oder sehr wahrscheinlich nicht zum Typus *tudá-* gehören, in Kleinsatz gedruckt; diese Wörter sind in der nachherigen Behandlung nicht berücksichtigt.

Mit *Ai. Gr.* wird im Folgenden auf die erschienenen Bände von Wackernagels Werk verwiesen; nach diesem sind auch die Umschrift und die Abkürzungen gestaltet.

ALPHABETISCHE LISTE

ep. *īnga-* „beweglich“: v. *īng-* „sich regen“ (Präs. ep. kl. *īnga-*).

v. *iná-* „stark, tüchtig“: *in-* in ŚB. *ūpenita-* „eingedrückt“ (SV. 1, 2, 2, 4, 2 = 1, 176a *inīmasi* für RV. 10, 134, 7a *minīmasi* ?); vgl. aw. *a(i)ṇita-* aus **an-ṇita-* „nicht gekränkt“, *in-ti-* „Kränkung“; aber sonst v. *inóti*, *invati* „treibt“ und dazu *invá-* (Wackernagel, *Ai. Gr.*, ii, 1, 181).

v. *gav-iṣá-* „Kühe begehrend“ (= v. *gav-iṣ-*), v. *préṣa-* „Drang“ (= v. *préṣ-*): v. *iṣ-* „wünschen“ (Präs. *iṣa-* erst ep.).

-īkṣa- V. 8 zu P. 3, 2, 1, dazu Pat. *sukha-pratīkṣa-* „Glück erwartend“, andere Vorderglieder mit *pratīkṣa-* ep. kl.: nicht zu v. *īkṣ-* (Präs. *īkṣa-*) „sehen“, AV. *prati īkṣ-* „erwarten“, sondern

Bahuvrīhi-Hintergliedform von U. ep. *pratīkṣā-* „Erwartung“; ŚB. *īkṣa-* ist nur etymologische Spekulation.

-*īṅkhá-*: v. *preṅkhá-* „schwankend, Schaukel“: v. *pra īṅkh-* (Präs. AA. *īṅkha-*) „schütteln, schaukeln“ (vgl. v. -*īṅkhayá-* aus dem Präsensstamm Ai. Gr., ii, 1, 180).

ep. *īra-* „Wind“: v. *īr-* (Präs. *īra-*) „in Bewegung setzen“. Vgl. aw. *īra-*, n. „Anlauf, Tatkraft“.

ŚB. *īśá-* „Herrscher“ (= VS. *īś-*), U. als Hinterglied: v. *īś-* „herrschen“ (Präs. v. einmal *īśate* neben gewöhnlichem *īšte*).

kl. *īha-* „Verlangen“: B. *īh-* (Präs. *īha-*) „verlangen“.

B.S. -*ukṣa-* „besprengend“ (= v. -*úḁṣ-*): v. *ukṣ-* (Präs. *ukṣá-*) „besprengen“. Anders *bṛhád-ukṣa-*, s. Ai. Gr., ii, 1, 116, und Keith zu TS. 1, 4, 26b.

S. -*ujjha-* „aufgebend“: ep. kl. *ujjh-* (Präs. *ujjhá-*) „aufgeben“.

S. *uñchá-* (Oxytonese nach P. 6, 1, 160) „Nachlese“: S. kl. *uñch-* (Präs. *uñcha-* und *uñchá-*) „auflesen“.

-*uda-* in P. Vop. *avoda-*: v. *ud-* „benetzen“ (P. 6, 4, 29 aus v. *und-* mit Nasalschwund); doch eher Bahuvrīhi mit -*ud-a-* (Ai. Gr., ii, 1, 92).

-*ubjá-*: v. *urubjá-* „weit geöffnet“ aus **ud-ubjá-* (Ai. Gr., ii, 1, 12), S. *ny-ubja-* „nach unten gekehrt“: v. *ubj-* (Präs. *ubjá-*) „niederdrücken“.

uṣá- „leuchtend“ BR. ist Irrtum (*uṣēna* RV. 2, 2, 8b, statt *arusēna*); Lex. *uṣa-* „Tagesanbruch“, Suśr. *uṣā-* „Brennen“: v. *vas-uṣ-* „leuchten“; über *uṣá-* „Morgenröte“ s. Ai. Gr., iii, 283.

úṣa- „begierig“ RV. 10, 95, 4a (?), „Liebhaber“ Lex.: v. *vaṣ-uṣ-* „begehren“? (nach Grassmann Wb. § für *ś* nach Ai. Gr., i, 226).

(1) -*ūhá-* in AV. *sam-ūhá-upohá-* „Anhäufung“: v. *ūh-* (Präs. *ūha-*) „schieben“.

(2) ep. *ūha-* „Überlegung“, M. kl. *dur-ūha-* „schwer zu begreifen“: v. *ūh-* (Präs. v. *óhate*, ep. kl. *ūhate úhati*) „überlegen“.

ṛkṣa- „Verderber“ (?) RV. 8, 24, 27a: AV. *raṁṣ-* „verderben“ (?).

-*ṛdha-*: *sam-ṛdha-* „zusammengefügt“ (zu *ṛdh-* „gelingen, fördern“) wird aus *samṛdhe* 'va RV. 7, 103, 5c erschlossen; richtig ist aber Annahme von Instr. *samṛdhā* (*sam-ṛdh-* „gutes Gelingen“ RV. 6, 2, 10c), s. Oldenberg z. St.

Lex. *kirá-* (auch *kiri-* und *kīti-*) „Wildschwein“ nach P. 3, 1, 135 aus v. *kṛ-* „ausstreuen“. Sehr fraglich.

ep. *kuca-* „weibliche Brust“: S. *kuc-* (Präs. *kucá-*) „sich zusammenziehen“? v. *kútsa-* Eigennamen: ep. kl. *kutsáya-* „schmähen“?

B.S. *kupá-* „Wagebalken“: v. *kup-* „in Aufregung geraten“.

ep. kl. *kūja-* „Gemurmel“: AV. *kūj-* (Präs. *kāja-*) „knurren“.

S. *kārda-* „Sprung“: ep. kl. *kūrd-* (Präs. *kārda-*) „aufspringen“.

v. *kṛśá-* „mager“ (= jungaw. *kərəsa-*, vgl. tschech. *krs* „Zwergbaum“ u. dgl. bei Walde-Pokorny, *Vergl. Wörterb.*, i, 420): v. *kṛś-* „abmagern“.

-*kra-*: RV. I, 120, 2c *ákrau* ganz dunkel, gewöhnlich als *á-kr-a-* „untätig“ (: v. *kr-* „machen“) erklärt.

v. *krīdā-* „spielend“, VS. *pra-krīdā-* „Spiel“, S. „Spielplatz“: v. *krīd-* (Präs. *krīḍa-*) „spielen“.

kṣīpa- „werfend“ Siddh.-K. Nr. 2897, *vi-kṣīpa-* Kāś. zu P. 3, 1, 135: v. *kṣīp-* (Präs. *kṣīpá-*) „werfen“.

-*khidā-* in *ā-khidā-* „an sich reissend“ MS. 2, 9, 8 (127, 3) = Kāth. 17, 15 (258, 11), *pra-khidā-* „verzehrend“ MS. ebenda, dafür Kāth. *vi-khidā-* „zerreissend“ (Mantra's): v. *khid-* (Präs. *khidá-*). Älter ist v. *-khādā-* aus der Vollstufe v. *khād-*.

-*girá-* -*gīlā-*: *saṃ-girá-* AV. 6, 135, 3b (vgl. 3a *sám girāmi*!) (verdorben, 18, 4, 60b, *saṃgirāḥ* für *saṃgíram* des RV.), *a-saṃ-sūktā-gīlā-* „Unzerkleinertes verschlingend“, 11, 2, 30b, -*gīla-* V. 7 zu P. 6, 3, 70, *gīla-* „Krokodil“ Siddh.-K. Nr. 2919: v. *gī-* (Präs. AV. *gírā-gīlā-*). Vgl. auch v. *-gír-* „verschlingend“ und unten *-gra-*.

Lex. *guṇja-* „Gesumme“: kl. *guṇj-* (Präs. *gūṇja-*) „summen“.

AV. *gulphá-* (v. ŚB. *kulphá-*) „Fussknöchel“: S. *vigulphaya-* „daranreihen“?

guha- ep. kl. als Name, *kāka-guha-* „Krähen verbergend“ Pat. zu V. 2 zu P. 3, 2, 5: v. *guh-* (Präs. *guhá-* und *gūha-*) „verbergen“. Doch ist *kāka-guha-* eher *Bahuvrihi*: „den Krähen als Versteck (v. *gúh-*) dienend“. Kl. -*gūha-* Whitney, „Roots“.

grbhá- RV. 7, 21, 2c, wohl „ergreifend“ (vgl. v. *grbh-* „Zugriff“), dafür 10, 119, 13a *grhá-* (s. *Ai. Gr.*, i, 251) in der Bedeutung „Diener“ (oder auch hier = „Haus“?): v. *gr(b)h-* „ergreifen“.

**grdhá-*: v. *grhá-* m. „Haus“ = aw. *gərəda-* „Höhle (als Wohnung daevischer Wesen)“: idg. **gherdh-* „umhegen“. Mit *grhá-* ist vielleicht gleichzusetzen Samh. *gehá-*, n. „Haus“ (daraus v. *gehyá-* „Hausrat“); über das auffällige *e* = *r* s. *Ai. Gr.*, i, 39.

-*gma-*: *su-gmá-* zu v. *gam-* Benfey, *Vollst. Gramm.*, 135, § 368, I B 1: woher?

-*grá-* „verschlingend“ in *tuvi-grá-* „gewaltig verschlingend“ RV. 1, 140, 9b; v. *gr-* „verschlingen“. Vgl. *tuvi-gr-í-* 2, 21, 2c; oder ist dies = „laut schreiend“ (Geldner, Übersetzung), also aus v. *gr-* „singen“?

-*ghuṣá-* „tönend“ in *aram-ghuṣá-* „laut tönend“ (?) AV. 10, 4, 4a: v. *ghuṣ-* „tönen“.

-*ghná-* kommt in doppelter Weise vor:

1) Als substantivisches Neutrum im Sinn eines Nomen actionis

(vgl. *Ai. Gr.*, ii, 1, 108 ff.) 1, d. h. als Ableitung mit *a* aus Komposita auf *-hán-* „tötend“: *su-ghnáya* „zu leichtem Erschlagen“ RV. 8, 59 (70), 11d, *go-ghná-* und *pūruṣa-ghná-* „das Töten von Rindern, Menschen“ 1, 114, 10a, *parṇaya-ghná-* 10, 48, 8d, *āhi-ghna-* 6, 18, 14a, **śva-ghná-* „die Kunst, den schlechten Wurf (den ‚Hund‘) zu töten“ in v. *śvaghnīn-* „diese Kunst verstehend“ (E. Sittig KZ. 52, 209). Vgl. aw. *vrəθra-yna-* „das Niederschlagen der Gegenwehr“ (Benveniste-Renou, *Vrtra* [Paris, 1934], 117); aber *vrtraghnē* RV. 5, 86, 3d ist nicht Lok. von *-ghná-* (Hillebrandt, *Ved. Myth.*, 1, 191, A. 4), sondern Dativ von *-han-* (Oldenberg z. St.), ebenso AB. 8, 23 (BR.).

2) Als Nomen agentis: *á-pūruṣa-ghna-* RV. 1, 133, 6 f, *hasta-ghná-* „Handschatz (gegen das Aufschlagen der Bogensehne)“, eigentlich „Handschläger“? 6, 75, 14c, **śva-ghná-* als Name vorausgesetzt durch den Namen *āśvaghná-* 10, 61, 21d, *pāṇi-ghná-* „Händeklatscher“ VS. 30, 20 (TB. 3, 4, 1, 15 in ähnlicher Umgebung *pāṇi-saṃ-ghātá-*, P. 3, 2, 55 und Lex. lehren *pāṇi-ghá-*), Kauś. *rakṣo-ghna-* „Rakṣas tötend“, S. ep. kl. *vi-ghna-* „Zerbrecher, Hemmnis“, M. *bhrūṇa-ghna-* „Töter der Leibesfrucht“, Bhag. *kula-ghna-* „das Geschlecht vernichtend“ (Fem. *-ghnī-* Rām., *-ghnā-* Mbh.), ep. *tamo-ghna-* „Sonne“ („Finsternisvertreiber“). P. 3, 2, 52-4; 3, 3, 83; 3, 4, 73 lehrt die meist sonst nicht belegten Komposita mit *jāyā-* „die Gattin tötend“ (Gegensatzbildung zu S. *pati-ghnī-* „den Gatten tötende Frau“, v. *á-pati-ghnī-*, wo natürlich *-ghnī-* das Fem. zu *-hán-* ist), mit andern Wörtern, wenn der Täter kein Mensch ist, mit *hastin-* „Elefant“ und *kapāṭa-* „Türflügel“ im Sinn von „zu schlagen vermögend“, mit *stamba-* „Grasbüschel“ im Sinn eines Werkzeugs, ferner *upa-ghna-* im Sinn von „Lehne, Angrenzung“.

kl. *jīra-* „Kümmel“ (auch *jarāṣa-*, *jīra-* u.a.): v. *jī-* „zerreiben“? (BR., Renou, *Gramm. sanscr.*, 214).

v. *jīvā-* „lebendig“ = aw. *fiwa-* (lies **fiwa-*), ap. *fiwa-*, lat. *vīvos*, lit. *gyvas*, abg. *živŭ*, usw.: v. *jīv-* „leben“ (Präs. v. *jīva-*, aw. *fi(ī)va-*, ap. *fiwa-*, lat. *vīvō*, abg. *živō*).

-juṣa-: ŚB. *alām-juṣa-* „für sich ausreichend“: v. *juṣ-* (Präs. *juṣá-*) „geniessen“, vgl. auch v. *-jūṣ-* „Gefallen findend“.

kl. *jṛmbha-* „das Gähnen“, R. „ein Tier“: v. *jṛmbh-* (Präs. *jṛmbha-*) „gähnen“.

-jya- in AV. *brahma-jyá-* „Brahmanen unterdrückend“ nicht von v. *ji-* „überwältigen“, sondern von der Form *jiyā-* derselben Wurzel, also wie v. *-da-* von *dā-* usw.

-tira-: TA. *pra-tirá-* „fördernd“: v. *tī-* „hinübergelangen,

-bringen“ (Präs. v. *pra tirá-* „fördern“). *uttiráḥ* AV. 19, 32, 1b, „aufhebend“? (Komm. *úttaráḥ*!): v. *ud tṛ-* „erhöhen“.

-*tudá-*: AV. 3, 25, 1a *ut-tudá-* „Aufstachler“ (Augenblicks-sondergott: aus *út tudatu* ebenda; J. Zubatý, KZ. 40, 516), P. 3, 2, 35 *aruṃ-tuda-* „Wunden schlagend“ (ep. kl.) und *vidhuṃ-tuda-* „den Mond verfinsternd“ (kl., Name Rāhu's), V. 1 zu P. 3, 2, 28 *tilaṃ-tuda-* „Sesamkörner stampfend“: v. *tud-* (Präs. *tudá-*) „schlagen“ (-*tud-* „schlagend“ erst S. ep.).

v. *turá-* vielleicht in zwei Wörter zu trennen: *tu-rá-* „stark“ zu v. *távyas-* „stärker“ usw. (vgl. *Ai. Gr.*, i, 22) und *tur-á-* „schnell“ von B. *tear-* „eilen“ (nicht von v. *tṛ-* „hinübergelangen“); doch vgl. v. *táya-* „stark“, Adv. „schnell“ und H. Petersson, *Zwei sprachl. Aufsätze* (Lund, 1917), 62 ff. Wie verhalten sich dazu v. *dtura-* „krank“ und v. *anāturá-* „wohlbehalten“?

v. *turvá-* Name: v. *tūrv-* (Präs. *tārva-*) „überwältigen“?

kl. *tula-* „die Wage im Tierkreis“: ep. kl. *tul-* „aufheben“.

-*trpá-*: RV. 4, 5, 14b *a-trpá-* „nicht befriedigend“: v. *trp-* (Präs. *trpá-*) „befriedigend“ (vgl. v. *-tṛp-* „sich ergötzend“).

tṛṣa- Divyāv. für kl. *tṛṣā-* „Durst“ (Renou, *Gramm. sanscr.*, 229): v. *tṛṣ-* „durstig sein“.

-*tka-*: AV. 2, 3, 1c *ava-tk-á-* „herabstürzend“: v. *tak-* „stürzen, fließen“ (J. Wackernagel, KZ. 61, 190).

daśa- JB. 2, 183, nach Caland „Bremse“, also „Beisser“: v. *daś-* (Präs. *dáśa-*).

U. *dīpa-* „Leuchte“: AV. *dīp-* „leuchten“.

-*dughá-*: VS. *bhāga-dughá-* „Anteilgewährer, Verteiler“; mit anderm Akzent *dúghā-* „Milchkuh“ RV. 8, 50 (= Vāl. 2), 3d; 10, 67, 6a, -*dúgha-* (P. 3, 2, 70, Sonderregel) „(Milch) spendend; strömen lassend“ v. hinter *śukra-* und *sabar-*, sonst nur Fem. -*dúghā-* v. hinter *madhu-* und *su-*, Samh. hinter *kāma-* und *gharma-*, ep. hinter *droṇa-*, Kās. zu P. 3, 2, 70 hinter *artha-*: v. *duh-* „Milch geben, melken“: Doch vgl. -*dúh-* als Nomen agentis v. hinter *go-*, *sabar-*, *ghṛta-*, SV. hinter *payo-*, TB. S. hinter *gharma-*, ep. kl. hinter *kāma-*; also ist -*dúgha-* zum grössten Teil nur Erweiterung von -*duh-* (vgl. *Ai. Gr.*, ii, 1, 222).

durá- „Erschliesser“ RV. 1, 53, 2a, b: v. *dṛ-* „bersten, zersprengen“?

-*duha-*: Mbh. *dur-duha-*, Spr. *su-duha-* „schwer, leicht zu melken“: v. *duh-* „melken“.

ep. -*dūṣa-* „verunreinigend“: v. *duṣ-* „verderben“.

-*dṛśa-* „aussehend“ (P. 3, 2, 60, und V. 1) seit TS. 7, 3, 17, 1 (Mantra's) hinter *ī-*, *kī-*, *tā-*, *sa-* neben dem ältern v. -*dṛś-*; vgl. auch Lanman, *JAOS.*, 10, 489 f.; für Herleitung von -*dṛśa-* aus -*dṛś-*.

spricht auch das seit dem RV. belegte und von P. vorgeschriebene Fem. *-dṛśī-*. Im Anschluss an diese Komposita ist auch v. *su-dārśa-*, U. *dur-dārśa-* (vgl. Pāli *su-dassa-*) „leicht, schwer zu sehen“ zu ep. (*su-*)*dur-dṛśa-* (Pāli (*su-*)*dud-dasa-*) umgestaltet worden. Mit kompositionellem a v. TS. (a.a.O.) *vī-sa-dṛśa-*, TS. (ebenda) *sū-sa-dṛśa-* (= v. *sū-sa-dṛś-*), AV. *mādhū-saṃ-dṛśa-* (v. *saṃ-dṛś-*); vgl. *Ai. Gr.*, ii, 1, 108 ff.

ep. *dyuta-* (Whitney, „Roots“): v. *dyut-* „leuchten“.

-dra-: *puram-dram* will Benfey, *Gött. Abh.* 25 (1879), iv, 2, S. 8, für *puram-darām* in dem überzähligen Vers RV. 8, 50 (61), 8c, schreiben (v. *dṛ-* „zersprengen“) mit Berufung auf *-dhra-* neben *-dhara-* (s. unten); andre suchen anders zu heilen (s. Oldenberg z. St.).

kl. *dviṣa-* „Feind“: v. *dviṣ-* (Präs. S. kl. *dviṣá-*) „hassen“, vgl. auch v. *dviṣ-*, f. „Feindschaft, Feind“.

-dhra-: ep. kl. *mahī-dhra-* (Gaṇar. 8, 460; Vām. 5, 2, 36; Siddh.-K.) neben ep. kl. *mahī-dhara-* „Berg“ („Erdenträger“): v. *dhṛ-* „tragen“. Vgl. auch Lex. *ku-dhra-* „Berg“ (mit dem *ku-* von *Ai. Gr.*, ii, 1, 83?). V. *ādhrá-* „dürftig, arm“: ep. kl. *ā dhṛ-* „bewahren“?

v. *dhruvā-* „fest“ = aw. *drva-*, ap. *duruva-* „gesund“ nach H. Osthoff, *Etym. Parerga*, i, 119, von *dru-* „Baum“ mit Anschluss an die Wurzel *dhṛ-* „festhalten“, also Mischung aus denominativer und deverbativer Bildung.

-nuda- in ep. kl. *apanuda-* „vertreibend“ (P. 3, 2, 5 hinter *śoka-*): v. *nud-* (Präs. *nudá-*) „wegstossen“; doch vgl. auch U. ep. BhP. *-nud-* „wegstossend“.

v. *piśá-* „Damhirsch“: v. *piś-* „schmücken“?

-pīda-: ep. *tila-pīda-* „Ölpresser, Ölmüller“, ep. *trṇa-pīda-* „das Zerdrücken wie Gras“: v. *pīd-* „drücken“.

B. *puṭa-* „Falte, Tasche“: kl. *puṭ-* (Präs. *puṭá-*) „zerreiben u.a.“

B. *pāya-* „Jauche, Eiter“: B. *pūy-* (Präs. *pāya-*) „stinken“.

kl. *-pūra-* „(sich) füllend“, ep. *duṣ-pūra-* (Pāli *dup-pūra-*), BhP. *dur-ā-pūra-*, Spr. *su-pūra-* „schwer, leicht zu erfüllen“, kl. *pūra-* „Flut“: AV. *pūrāya-* „füllen“.

ŚB. *prthá-* „flache Hand, Handlänge“, TB. *prtha-mātrá-* „Handbreite“, ep. *prthā-* Eigennamen: v. *prath-* „ausbreiten“. AV. 13, 2, 26b *viśvátas-prthah* „mit Händen auf allen Seiten“ für RV. 10, 81, 3b, *viśvátas-pāt* „mit Füßen a.a.S.“

v. *-prá-* „erfüllend“ nicht zu Wurzel *pṛ-*, sondern zur Wurzelform v. *prā-*; vgl. auch v. *-prá-* „erfüllend“.

v. *priyá-* „lieb“ = aw. *frya-* (lies **frya-*), germ. **frija-* in ahd. *Frija*, aisl. *Frigg* usw.: v. *prī-* „erfreuen“ (P. 3, 1, 135; *-iy-* nach *Ai. Gr.*, i, 198); vgl. auch v. *-prī-* „sich erfreuend, liebend“.

ep. kl. *budha-* (Kāś. zu P. 3, 1, 135) „klug“, als Eigennamen B.

ep. kl., AV. *su-búdha-* „wachsam“, *a-budhá-* ŚB. 14, 7, 2, 14 (= *a-budh-* BAU. 4, 4, 11), kl., *dur-budha-* ep., *uṣar-budha-* Lex. spätkl. (= v. *uṣar-búdha-* „früh wach“): v. *budh-* „wachen“.

-bṛha-: Kauś. 75, 10, *vi-bṛha-* „das Losreißen“: v. *vi bṛh-* (Präs. AV. *bṛha-*) „wegreißen“. Unklar Lalit. *abṛha-* oder *avṛha-* „eine buddh. Götterklasse“.

-bda-: RV. 7, 104, 17d *upa-bdā-* (= häufigerem v. *upa-bd-i-*) „Getrampel“ nebst *dūrā-upabda-* „weithin schallend“ 7, 21, 2d: v. *pad-* „fallen“ (Walde-Pokorny, *Vergl. Wörterb.*, ii, 24, wo aw. und griech. Verwandte verzeichnet sind) oder von v. *pad-* „Fuss“ (*Ai. Gr.*, i, 76)?

-bruvá-: AV. 15, 13, 6c *vrātya-bruvá-* „sich (fälschlich) Vrātya nennend“, ep. *brāhmaṇa-bruva-* usw.: v. *brū-* (v. *bruvānti*!) „sprechen“; vgl. *Ai. Gr.*, ii, 1, 183 (-uv- i, 198).

bhida- Pat. zu V. 2 zu P. 3, 1, 135, ep. (*su-*)*dur-bhida-* „(sehr) schwer zu sprengen“: v. *bhid-* „spalten“, aber auch v. *-bhid-* „zerbrechend“.

ep. kl. *bhuja-* „Arm“, V. 2 zu P. 3, 2, 5 *mūla-vi-bhuja-* „Wurzeln niederbiegend“: v. *bhuj-* (Präs. *bhujá-*) „biegen“.

bhṛmá- „Verirrung“ (?) RV. 7, 1, 22c; 8, 50 (61), 12c (Oldenberg: „sich rasch tummelnd“?): ep. kl. *bhram-* „umherstreifen“.

-bhrá-: v. *an-ava-bhrá-rādhas-* „dessen Geschenke nicht zu entreissen sind“; kl. *ura-bhra-* „Widder“ (nach BR. „Wolle [*ura- = *ūrṇā*-] tragend“), daraus M. ep. kl. *aurabhra-* „vom Widder, Schaf stammend“; *pra-ba-bhrá-* „Schleuderer“ Kāṭh. 10, 9 (135, 12. 13), MS. 2, 2, 10 (23, 12. 13) immer im Zusammenhang mit *vájra-* „Donnerkeil“ (vgl. dazu RV. 1, 61, 12a, b; 2, 30, 3b; 5, 32, 7c, und *babhrír vājram* „den D. tragend“ 6, 23, 4b): v. *bhṛ-* „tragen“, *pra bhṛ-* „schleudern“.

-bhva-: v. *ábhva-* (AV. *abhvā-*) „ungeheuer, Unwesen“, v. *vibhva-* „ausgezeichnet“ (neben v. *vibhú-*, *vibhū-*, *vibhvan-*, *vibhván-*): Erweiterung aus v. *-bhū-* „seiend“?

-miṣá-: v. *a-ni-miṣá-* (und *á-ni-miṣat-*) „wachsam“: v. *ní miṣati* „schliesst die Augen“. Vgl. auch die adverbialen v. *á-ni-miṣ-am* und *-ā*, die ein Nom. act. *-miṣ-* voraussetzen; also ist *-miṣa-* Erweiterung des athematischen Nominalstamms im Kompositum (s. *Ai. Gr.*, iii, 323).

S. *-mūla-* (Whitney, „Roots“): v. *mūl-* (Präs. B. *mūla-*) „die Augen schliessen“.

-muca-: V. 2 zu P. 3, 2, 5, Gaṇar, 8, 460 *nakha-muca-* „die Finger

loslassend “: v. *muc-* (Präs. *mucá-*) „loslassen“. Aber AV. *ámucī* Name einer Dämonin gehört zu v. *-múc-* „loslassend, befreiend“.

-mudá-: AV. *hasā-mudá-* „fröhlich lachend“, nach Kāś. zu P. 3, 2, 5 (vgl. *Ai. Gr.*, ii, 1, 83) auch in AV. *kú-muda-* „weisse Wasserlilie“: v. *mud-* „fröhlich sein“, aber auch v. *múd-* „Lust“.

mur-mura- ist zweifelhaft; s. *Ai. Gr.*, i, 23.

mṛkṣá- „Striegel“ RV. 8, 55 (66), 3a: v. *mṛkṣ-* (Präs. *mṛkṣá-*) „striegeln“.

-mrja-: *tunda-pari-mrja-* „sich den Bauch streichend“ P. 3, 2, 5 (V. 1: nur im Sinn von „träg“), Lex.: v. *pari mrj-* (Präs. *mrja-* AV. S. kl.) „rings abreiben“.

Lex. *mrja-* „eine Art Trommel“: Dhātup. *mrj-* „tönen“.

Kāth. *mṛḍa-* „gnädig“: v. *mṛḍ-* (Präs. *mṛḍá-*) „gnädig sein“.

S. *-mṛda-* (Whitney „Roots“): v. *mṛd-* „zerdrücken“.

-mṛdhá-: *vi-mṛdhá-* „den Verächter abwehrend“ RV. 10, 152, 2b, AV. TS. ist Erweiterung von *vi-mṛdh-* VS. usw. (*Ai. Gr.*, ii, 1, 109), vgl. v. *mṛdh-* „Verächter“.

-mṛśá-: VS. 16, 36 *pra-mṛśá-* „antastend“, BhP. *vi-mṛśa-* „Prüfung“ (= ep. kl. *vi-marśa-*): v. *mṛś-* (Präs. *mṛśá-*) „berühren“.

-mśa-: *pari-mśa-* „Anteil“ (?) RV. 1, 187, 8b: v. *naś-* „erreichen“ (vgl. v. *ámśa-* „Anteil“)? Vgl. Oldenberg z. St.

v. *yugá-* „Joch“ = np. *jug*, lat. *jugum*, gr. *ζυγόν*, got. *juk*, abg. *igo*, heth. *yukan*: v. *yuj-* „anschrillen“.

-yuja-: *a-yujá-* „ohne Genossen“ RV. 8, 51 (62), 2a, ĀśvGS. (nebst *ayujāksara-* PārGS.) mit kompositionellem *a* zu v. *yúj-* *-yúj-* „verbunden, Genosse“.

-yudha-: v. *á-yudha-* n. „Waffe“ ebenso zu v. *yúdh-* „Kampf“, *-yúdh-* „kämpfend“.

v. *yúpa-* „Opferpfosten“: v. *yup-* „glätten“?

-riśá-: AV. *naghā-riśá-* Beiwort von Pflanzen: v. *riṣ-* „Schaden leiden“? vgl. auch v. *riṣ-* „Schaden, Schädiger“.

rucá- „licht“ VS. 31, 20 (*rucdyā* wohl nur spielerische Variation von *ruc-ām* 31, 21), MS. 4, 9, 5 (125, 11) (*rucó* 'si ebenso neben allerlei Formen der Wurzel *ruc-*): v. *ruc-* „leuchten“ (auch Präs. Ptz. *ruc-āná-*). ep. Lex. *rucā-* „Gefallen“ ist Erweiterung von v. *rúc-*, f. „Glanz, Wohlstand“.

ruja- „brechend“ AV. 16, 3, 2 (?), v. hinter *valam-* und *ā-*, Ragh. P. 3, 2, 31 hinter *kūlam-ud-*: v. *ruj-* (Präs. *rujá-*) „brechen“.

kl. *-rudá-* (Whitney „Roots“): v. *rud-* (Präs. S. *rudá-*) „jammern“, vgl. auch AV. *-rúd-* „jammernd“.

-rudha-: v. *á-go-rudha-* „die Kühe nicht für sich behaltend“

(s. W. Neisser, *Zum Wörterbuch des Rgv.* ii, 1930, 9): v. *rudh-* „zurückhalten“.

-*rudha-* „wachsend“ (v. *rudh-* „wachsen“) nur in *virudhānām* AV. 6, 21, 26: Reimbildung zu *bheṣajānām* in a; sonst v. *virūd-* „Gewächs, Kraut“.

-*ruha-*: ep. kl. -*ā-ruha-* „besteigend“, *dur-ā-ruha-* „schwer zu besteigen“, kl. (Pat. zu V. 2 zu P. 3, 2, 5) *sarasī-ruha-* „im Wasser wachsend“: v. *ruh-* (Präs. ep. kl. *ruha-*) „wachsen“; aber vgl. auch v. *rūh-* „Wuchs, Trieb“, seit RV. -*rūh-* „wachsend“.

likha- „ritzend“ Siddh.-K. 2897, *vi-likha-* Kāś. zu P. 3, 1, 135: AV. *likh-* (Präs. *likhā-*) „ritzen“.

-*liga-*: AV. 5, 13, 7a *dhigī-* und *viligī-* als Schlangennamen, wohl Fem. zu *liga-*: ep. kl. (*ā*)*līng-* „umschlingen“.

-*lipa-*: Kāś. zu P. 3, 1, 138 *pra-lipa-*: v. *lip-* „bestreichen“.

-*liśa-*: v. *kū-liśa-* „Beil“ („schlecht abruptend“? s. *Ai. Gr.*, ii, 1, 83): v. *riś-* (Präs. *riśā-*) „zerreißen“.

-*liha-* „leckend“: P. 3, 2, 32 *vaham-liha-* „die Schulter leckend“ und *abhrām-liha-* (ep. kl.) „die Wolken erreichend“, Lex. *go-liha-* „eine Pflanze“: v. *lih-* (B. Präs. *liha-*) „lecken“, vgl. auch kl. *lih-* „leckend“.

-*luñcā-*: VS. *ku-luñcā-* „Ausraufer“, kl. *a-luñcā-* „nicht rupfend“ (?): ep. kl. *luñc-* (Präs. *luñca-*) „raufen“.

kl. -*vida-* „wissend“, ep. (*su*)*dur-vida-* „(sehr) schwer zu wissen“: v. *vid-* (Präs. AV. *vidā-*) „wissen“; vgl. v. -*vid-* „wissend“. Unverständlich AV. 19, 22, 18 *vidagaṇā-*, unklar RV. 5, 45, 1a *vidā*, Pp. *viddh*; der Eigename *vida-* (S. kl.) ist *bida-* zu schreiben.

Lex. *vidha-* „Bohrer“, V. 4 zu P. 3, 3, 58, und Pat. dazu *ā-vidha-* „Bohrer“: v. *vyadh-* (Präs. *vidhya-*) „durchbohren“, aber auch v. (*hṛdayā-*) *vidh-* „(das Herz) verwundend“.

-*viśa-*: R. *dur-viśa-* schwer zu betreten“: v. *viś-* (Präs. *viśā-*) „betreten“.

viśa-: RV. 8, 19, 11c; 10, 109, 5a *viśaḥ* nicht von **viśa-* „Diener“, sondern von *viṣ-*, f. „Werk“ (s. Oldenberg zu 8, 19, 11c). Mbh. *dur-viśa-* als Beiname Śiva's, eigentlich „mit dem man schwer fertig wird“ (?): v. *viṣ-* „geschäftig sein“.

-*viśa-*: v. *pād-bīśa-*, VS. *pād-viśa-* „Fussfessel“: zu lat. *vincire*? (s. *Ai. Gr.*, i, 183, wo *padvīṣa-* nach Fr. Edgerton, *JAOS.*, 51, 170, zu streichen ist; Walde-Pokorny, *Vergl. Wörterb.*, i, 234).

v. *vr̥dhā-* (auch als Hinterglied) „erfreuend, Förderer“: v. *vr̥dh-* „vermehrten, erfreuen“, vgl. auch v. *vṛdh-* „Förderung“, -*vṛdh-* „sich freuend“. AV. 2, 13, 5c, *su-vṛdhā* Instr. von *su-vṛdh-*.

ep. kl. *vṛṣa-* (Akzent nach P. 6, 1, 203) „Stier“ u. a. nicht aus der Wurzel v. *vṛṣ-* „regnen, benetzen“, sondern aus der Hintergliedform -*vṛṣ-ā-* (AV.) von v. *vṛṣan-* „Stier“.

v. *vṛā-* m. „Schar“ (BR., angeblich von v. *vṛ-* „umschliessen“ ist durch *vṛd-*, f. „lockendes Weib“ zu ersetzen (Grassmann, *Wörterbuch*, s.v.; Pischel, *Ved. Stud.*, ii, 121, 313 ff.).

ep. kl. *vṛīḍa-* (häufiger *vṛīḍā-*) „Scham“: ep. kl. *vṛīḍ-* (Präs. *vṛīḍa-*) „sich schämen“.

-*śāsā-*: ŚB. 10, 5, 2, 5, *uktha-śāsām* (Akk. Sg. m.) enthält nicht Tiefstufe von *śams-*, sondern ist irgendwie eine Umgestaltung des v. *uktha-śās-* (jünger -*śās-*) „den Spruch hersagend“, das aus der ursprünglich nasallosen Wurzel *śas-* (s. *Ai. Gr.*, iii, 250) gebildet ist.

v. *śivā-* = v. *śéva-* „lieb, vertraut“ (idg. **kei-uo-*, germ. **heiwa-* und **hiwa-*; Walde-Pokorny a.a.O., i, 359).

kl. -*śiṣa-* (Whitney „Roots“): v. *śiṣ-* „übrig lassen“.

-*śīla-* als Nom. ag. mit Vordergliedbetonung lehrt V. 7 zu P. 3, 2, 1, dazu Pat. *māṃsa-śīla-* „an Fleischnahrung gewöhnt“. Nicht von Dhatup. *śīlati* noch vom Denominativ S. kl. *śīlaya-* (so das Vārtt.), sondern Bahuvrīhi mit VS. *śīla-* „Gewohnheit“ (*Ai. Gr.*, ii, 1, 218 f.).

śucā- RV. 10, 26, 6b „leuchtend“ (? nach Oldenberg z. St. unklar): v. *śuc-* „leuchten“; vgl. jungaw. *suca-*, *sūca-* „sehend, licht“.

ep. kl. *śubha-* „hübsch“: v. *śubh-* „schmücken“, vgl. auch v. *śubh-* „Schönheit“.

-*śūva-* (: v. *śū-* „schwellen“) angeblich in *ahī-śūvaḥ* RV. 10, 144, 3c (Dämonenbezeichnung); dies ist aber vielmehr Akk. Pl. von v. *ahī-śā-* „von Schlangen schwellend“; s. *Ai. Gr.*, ii, 1, 222, und Oldenberg z. St.

v. *śūṣā-* „Kraft, mutig“ nicht aus der Wurzel v. *śvas-* *śuṣ-* „blasen“, sondern s-Erweiterung der Wurzel v. *śū-* „schwellen“.

-*śṛmbhá-*: v. *nī-śṛmbhá-* „sicher auftretend“: ep. kl. *śrambh-* „vertrauen“.

-*śratha-*: P. 6, 4, 29, lehrt für die unbelegten *pra-śratha-* und *hima-śratha-* Schwund eines Binnennasals; vgl. ep. kl. *ślatha-* „locker“. Doch kennt die vor-klassische Sprache ausser dem infixalen *ānu śṛnthati* TS. 6, 1, 9, 7 nur nasalloses *śrath-*.

-*sajā-*: v. *cakram-ā-sajā-* „das Rad hemmend“: v. *sañj-* (Präs. *ā sañjāmi*) „anhaften, anheften“; s. *Ai. Gr.*, ii, 1, 183.

Unklar *siva-* Pat. zu V. 2 zu P. 3, 1, 135.

v. *sūda-*, m. „Süssigkeit“: v. *svād-* *sūd-* „süss, angenehm sein“. Aber TS. 1, 3, 3, 1 (Mantra) *havya-sūda-* „die Opferspeise bereitend“ (die Paralleltex te MS. Kāth. PB. lesen -*sūdana-*) ist Thematisierung von v. *havya-sūd-*.

ep. *stubha-* Name eines Agni: v. *stubh-* „preisen“, vgl. auch v. *stúbh-*, f. „jauchzender Ruf“.

-*spira-* (: v. *spr-* „losmachen“) in RV. 5, 43, 14b *rāspirā-*? Doch ist dieses wie das anscheinend gleichbedeutende *rāspinā-*, 1, 122, 4d, unerklärt; vgl. *Ai. Gr.*, i, 23, iii, 215, Oldenberg zu 1, 122, 4.

-*sprśa-*: Hariv. *du(h)-sprśa-* „unangenehm anzufassen“: v. *spṛś-* (Präs. *spṛśā-*) „anfassen“, vgl. aber auch v. -*spṛś-* „berührend“.

sphiga- Benfey, *Vollst. Gr.*, 135, § 368, 1 A 4 aus Gaṇa kārṇa, wo Böhtlingk in seiner Ausgabe des Pāṇini *sphij-* liest. *apa-sphigá-* lehrt P. 6, 2, 187: Wurzel?

ep. kl. *sphuṭa-* „aufgeblüht, offenbar“: B. *sphuṭ-* (Präs. *sphuṭá-*) „bersten“.

-*sphurá-*: AV. 1, 2, 3b *anu-sphurá-* „schwirrend“ (vom Pfeil), RV. 6, 48, 11c *án-apa-sphura-* „nicht wegschnellend“: v. *sphṛ-* (Präs. *sphurá-*) „wegstossen“, aber auch RV. 8, 58 (69), 10b, c *apa-sphúr- án-apa-sphur-* „(nicht) wegschnellend“.

kl. *sphūrja-* eine Pflanze, ein Rākṣasa: AV. *sphūrj-* (Präs. *sphūrja-*) „brummen“.

ŚB. *syáda-* „das Fahren“, P. 6, 4, 28 „Geschwindigkeit“ (mit Schwund des Nasals), dazu Kāś. *go-syada- áśva-syada-*: v. *syand-* (mit Aor. *á-si-ṣyadat*) „forteilen“. Vgl. auch AV. *saṇiṣyadá-* „fliessend“ zu v. *saṇiṣyadat*, ferner v. *sasyád-*, f. „eilender Strom“, *havana-syád-* „auf den Ruf herbeieilend“.

v. *sruvá-* „Opferkelle“ wohl zu v. *sru-* „fliessen“, vgl. v. *srúc-* „Opferlöffel“.

AV. *svájá-* „Viper“: *svañj-* „umschlingen“ (AV. *pári-ṣvañjala-*, Präs. v. *svája-*).

B. *hira-* „Band“, Samh. *hird-* „Ader“: v. *hṛ-* „nehmen“? (s. *Ai. Gr.*, i, 23).

hīdā-: RV. 8, 12, 19a *hīdā(b)* enthält kein **hīdā-* „Zupfer, Mahner“ (BR.) zu v. *hīd-* „zürnen, zupfen“, sondern ist Abl. von *hīd-* „Zorn“ (Oldenberg z. St.).

hurá-: RV. 4, 3, 13a *huráḥ* nach Grassmann (*Wörterb.*, s.v.) „Rächer“ von Wurzel v. *hṛ-* „beugen, stören“; doch eher nach BR. und Oldenberg z. St. Adverb „auf krummem Weg“ (vgl. *Ai. Gr.*, i, 23).

-*hva-* „rufend“ Pat. zu V. 1 u. 2 zu P. 3, 2, 3, gehört zur Wurzelform B. *hvā-*, nicht zu v. *hū-*.

*-*zda-*: v. *nīdā-* „Ruheplatz, Lager“ aus idg. **ni-zd-o-* (*Ai. Gr.*, i, 76), vgl. lat. *nīdus*, ahd. *nest* usw.: v. *sad-* „sich setzen“.

[Nachtrag: Über die alten Herleitungen wie v. *kṣīrá-*, n. „Milch“ aus v. *kṣar-* „fliessen“ u. dgl. (so noch Charpentier, *Monde oriental* 18, 1924, 35, und Renou, *Gramm. sanscr.* 214) s. *Ai. Gr.*, i, 25, 27 und oben *jīra-*.]

Wer das vorstehende Material durchgeht, sieht sofort, dass ein einheitlicher Bildungstypus nicht vorliegt und dass sich diese Wörter weder an Häufigkeit noch an Regelmässigkeit mit den Verbalnomina auf *a* mit Guṇa der Wurzel (z. B. *-kará-*, *-vartá-*, *-véda-*) messen können. Doch heben sich drei Gruppen heraus:

1) Am deutlichsten ist die Beziehung zu *Präsensbildungen mit Tiefstufenvokal und Suffixbetonung*, d.h. zu Präsentiern der 6. Klasse. So v. *-iṣá-*, *-ubjá-*, *-tṛpá-*, *-miṣá-*, *-mṛkṣá-*, *-rujá-*, *-liṣa-*, *-sphurá-*; Samh. *-khidá-*, *-girá-*, *-tudá-*, *-mṛdā-*, *-mṛśá-*; B.-S. *īśá-*, *-ukṣa-*,

-*ujjha-*, -*uñchá-*, -*juṣa-*, -*tirá-*, -*puṭá-*, -*bṛha-*, -*viśa-*; ep. *guha-*, -*nuda-*, -*bhuja-*, -*ruha-*, -*vida-*, -*sphuṭa-*, -*sprśa-*; kl. *kṣipa-*, -*dviśa-*, -*muca-*, -*mṛja-*, -*ruda-*, -*likha-*, -*liha-*. Solche Beziehungen von Nomina agentis auf *a* zu thematischen Präsensstämmen sind längst bekannt: die Nomina agentis stehen in ihrer Bedeutung den Partizipien sehr nahe, ausserdem fielen im Ai. wegen des Zusammenfalls von idg. *e* und *o* die Nomina agentis vom Typus -*vartá-*, -*codá-*, usw., mit den zugehörigen Präsensstämmen der 1. Klasse völlig zusammen. Vgl. Ai. Gr., ii, 1, 178 ff. Seltener sind Beziehungen zur 2. Klasse: -*dugha-*, -*duha-*, -*bruva-* (-*bhra-* ?), -*mṛja-*, -*liha-*. Sie erinnern an die Nomina agentis auf *a* aus (athematischen) Intensivpräsentia: v. *vevijá-*, „auffahrend“ zu v. *vé-vij-āna-*, v. *ku-namnamá-*, „sich ungern beugend“ zu v. *nám-nam-īti*, usw.

2) Auffallend sind auf den ersten Blick die Beziehungen zu Präsensstämmen der ersten Klasse mit prosodisch langer Wurzelsilbe, d.h. mit *i*, *u*, *r* vor mehrfacher Konsonanz oder mit *ī*, *ū* (*ṛ*) vor einfachem Konsonant (oder vor Konsonantengruppe). Das Staunen weicht aber, wenn man beachtet, dass diese Wurzeln entweder überhaupt keinen oder fast keinen Guna kennen, auch in sonstigen Guna erfordernden Verbalformen und Ableitungen. Die von solchen Wurzeln abgeleiteten steigerungslosen Nomina auf *a* sind also den gunierten gleichwertig. Daher sind auch in dieser Gruppe die Nomina actionis und die Simplicia verhältnismässig viel häufiger als in Gruppe 1) und 3), da ja die gunierten Bildungen ebensoviel Nomina actionis wie Nomina agentis bilden (z. B. v. *savá-*, „Antrieb“, aber *ap-savá-*, „Wasser spendend“) und die Nomina actionis viel häufiger Simplicia sind als die Nomina agentis. Nach dem Vorbild der Gruppe 1) sind die meisten endbetont trotz der Barytonese des Präsensstamms. Die Beispiele dieser Gruppe sind: v. -*īñkhá-*, -*kṛidá-jīvá-*, -*turvá-*; Samh. -*ūhá-* (1), -*luñcá-*; B.-S. *īśá-*, -*uñchá-*, -*kūrda-*, -*dīpa-*, -*pāya-*, -*mīla-*; ep. *īnga-*, -*īra-*, -*ūha-* (2), -*kūja-*, -*pīda-*, -*vṛīda-*; kl. -*īkṣa-*, -*īha-*, -*guñja-*, -*gūha-*, -*jṛmbha-*, -*tula-* (Kausativ ep. kl. *tulaya-* neben *tolaya-*!), -*sphūrja-*. Auch in der 6. Präsensklasse kommen Wurzeln von diesem Bau vor, daher v. -*ubjá-*, Samh. *mṛḍa-* (das *r* dieser Wurzel wird im RV. lang gemessen!); B.-S. -*ukṣa-*, -*ujjha-*, -*uñcha-*; ep. *guha-*, ebenso bisweilen vor einem präsensbildenden -*aya-*, daher v. *kútsa-*, AV. *gulphá-*, ep. -*pūra-*. Endlich darf man auch v. -*sajā-* und Samh. *svajā-* hierher rechnen, weil das *a* im zugehörigen Präsensstamm betont ist, obwohl es auf idg. *ṛ* zurückgeht.

3) Klar sind auch die Beziehungen zu den athematischen Wurzelnomina; in manchen Fällen ist der *a*-Stamm geradezu als

Erweiterung des athematischen zu betrachten. Hierher gehören: v. *-iśá-*, *-ghná-*, *-trpá-*, *-dúgha-* (*-dughá-*), *-bhva-*, *-miśá-*, *-mṛdhá-*, *-yujá-*, *-yudha-*, *-vṛdhá-*, *-sphurá-*; Samh. *-juśa-*, *-tudá-*, *-dṛśa-*, *-búdha-*, *-muca-*, *-mudá-*, *-rucá-*, *-śáda-*; B. *īśá-*, *-ukṣa-*, *-syáda-*; ep. *-nuda-*, *-bhida-*, *-ruha-*, *-vida-*, *-sprśa-*; kl. *-dviśa-*, *-muca-*, *-ruda-*, *-liha-*, *-vidha-*. Die Erweiterung mit *a* tritt bekanntlich besonders gern am Hinterteil eines Kompositums auf (vgl. *Ai. Gr.*, ii, 1, 222), aber auch am einfachen Wort (vgl. ebenda iii, 319 ff.). Das Schwanken des Akzents erklärt sich daraus, dass diese Bildungen entweder die Tonstelle des athematischen Stamms beibehalten oder — was weit häufiger ist — sich an die Fälle von 1) anschließen: eine ganze Reihe dieser Bildungen musste ja auch unter 1) erwähnt werden, weil eben manche Wurzeln ebensowohl ein tiefstufiges athematisches Wurzelnomem wie ein Präsens der 6. Klasse bilden.

Bemerkenswert sind als Störenfriede die potentialen Zusammensetzungen mit *su-* und *duḥ-*. Diese Bildungen haben normalerweise Guṇa, gehen aber gelegentlich trotz der Bedeutungsverschiedenheit in den Typus *tudá-* über. Diese neuen Bildungen tauchen erst im Epos auf (sind aber da besonders beliebt), und mehrere einzelne Bildungen sind offenkundig jünger als die Guṇabildungen aus derselben Wurzel: ep. (*su-*)*dur-vida-*, aber *su-véda-* „leicht zu erlangen“ schon v., *dur-véda-* „schwer zu finden“ schon ŚB.; *-dṛśa-* und *-darśa-* s. in der alphabetischen Liste; *duḥ-sprśa-* nur Hariv., aber sonst ep. kl. *duḥ-sparsa-*. Die übrigen Beispiele s. unter *-ūha-*, *-duha-*, *-pūra-*, *-budha-*, *-bhida-*, *-ruha-*, *-vida-*, *-viśa-*.

Aus dem Bestand der drei Listen ist es verständlich, dass Pāṇini 3, 1, 135 als allgemeine Regel die Bildung mit Suffix (*k*)*a*, d.h. *a* ohne Steigerung der Wurzel, aus Wurzeln mit kurzem oder langem antekonsonantischem *i*, *u*, *r* lehrt. Aus dem Präsensstamm leitet er nur die Bildungen mit Akkusativform des Vorderglieds ab (Suffix (*kh*)*a*(*ś*)): 3, 2, 31 *kūlam-ud-ruja-*, 32 *vaham-liha-*, *abhrām-liha-*, 35 *vidhum-tudá*, *arum-tudá*; hier war eben der Hinweis auf partizipähnliche Funktion des Hinterglieds durch die Kasusform des Vorderglieds gegeben.

Bemerkenswert ist, dass P. das Suffix (*k*)*a* auch für die Bildungen aus Wurzeln auf *ā* ansetzt (3, 1, 135. 136; 3, 2, 3. 4. 6. 7. 77). In der Tat enthält v. *-dā-* „gebend“ die schwächste Stufe *-d-* der Wurzel *dā-* vor betontem Suffix *ā* wie *-tudá-* die von *tud-*, *tod-*; auch verhält sich *-d-a-* als Erweiterung zu *-dā-*, *-d-* „gebend“ ebenso wie *-yuj-ā-* zu *-yuj-*.

Beziehung eines Suffixes auf einen Präsensstamm ist ebenso

sekundär wie die Erweiterung eines athematischen Stammes; es ist daher kein Wunder, dass von den Beispielen unter 1) und 3) ausser *-ghná-* und *jīvā-* keines eine ausserindische Entsprechung hat. Und zwar gilt bei *-ghna-* die (aw.) Parallele nur dem Abstraktum mit nominalem Vorderglied, also einem Typus, in dem die Erweiterung mit dem Themavokal aus der Grundsprache stammt: es handelt sich streng genommen nicht um Komposita mit *-ghna-*, sondern um Bildung eines substantivischen (abstrakten) Neutrums aus dem zusammengesetzten Nomen *agentis* auf *-han-* (vgl. H. Osthoff, Sprachwiss. Abh. herausg. von L. v. Patrubány, ii, 119 f.; Brugmann IF. 17, 358 f. und Grundriss,² ii, 1, 156 ff.). Und *jīvā-* — *jīvati* setzt ein idg. Wortpaar fort, dessen lautliche Gestaltung und gegenseitiges Verhältnis im Idg. ganz einzigartig dastehen. Zu einem idg. Typus gehören auch die Bildungen mit völligem Schwund des Vokals (idg. *e/o*) zwischen Konsonanten: (*-kra-*), (*-gma-*), (*-grá-*), (*-tká-*), (*-dra-*), (*-dhra-*), (*-bda-*), (*-bhra-*), (*-ṃśa-*), (**-zda-*, vgl. oben unter *-zda-* und ferner griech. *νεο-γνός* „neugeboren“, *δί-φρος* „Wagenkorb“ („mit zwei Trägern, d.h. Seitenlehnen“), lat. *pro-brum* „Vorwurf“. Die Wörter, die sonst ausserindische Verwandte haben, sind ohne Beziehungen zu Präsensstämmen: **grdhá-*, *priyá-*, *yugá-*, *śivá-*, sind auch nicht Nomina *agentis* und nicht (wie fast alle in der Liste 1) aufgeführten Wörter) auf Hintergliedstellung beschränkt, sondern einfache Wörter. Ein athematisches Wurzelnomen hat nur *priyá-* neben sich; aber v. *-prī-* ist aktivisch, *priyá-* passivisch, es sind also zwei von einander unabhängige Bildungen. Die höchst sonderbare Bildung idg. **iugóm* erklärt H. Jacobsohn (DLZ., 1912, 2786) ganz plausibel aus einem kollektiven Plural **iugá* „Joch und Zubehör“, der zu einem Maskulinum **iégō-* (= v. *yóga-*) „Anschirrung, Geschirrstück“ gehörte (*yugá-* als Mask. nur bei Lexikographen, griech. *ζυγός* heisst „Wagebalken, Joch“). Ausserindische Bildungen von der Art wie *-tuda-* sind selten: abg. *po-čitŭ* „Aufzählung“ u. dgl. s. F. de Saussure, *Mém.* 228 Anm. = *Recueil des publ. scient.*, 214 f. Anm. 1, Brugmann, *Grundr.*,² ii, 1, 155, Stolz-Leumann, *Lat.-Gr.*,⁵ 202. Lat. *-dicus* (*causi-* usw.) und *-ficus* (*mūni-* usw.) sind jünger als *-dex* (*jū-* usw.) und *-fex* (*arti-* usw.), s. Ernout-Meillet, *Dict. étym.* 256, 307 f.

Der Bedeutung nach sind diejenigen, die Beziehungen zum Präsensstamm oder zu den athematischen Wurzelnomina haben, in der Regel Nomina *agentis*, was nach dem oben Gesagten verständlich ist; warum die zu Präsens der ersten Klasse gehörigen eine Ausnahme machen, ist oben S. 498 gesagt.

The Prakrit underlying Buddhistic Hybrid Sanskrit

By FRANKLIN EDGERTON

A SANSKRITIST who reads for the first time a Buddhistic Sanskrit text such as the Saddharmapundarika is struck at once by peculiarities of vocabulary and style which differentiate it from normal Sanskrit. If he limits himself to the prose parts, ignoring the verses, he will rarely encounter forms or expressions which are definitely ungrammatical, or at least more ungrammatical than, say, the Sanskrit of the epics, which also violates the strict rules of Pāṇini. Yet every paragraph will contain words and turns of expression which, while formally unobjectionable (if, perhaps, non-Pāṇinean), would never be used by any non-Buddhist writer. If our Sanskritist is also familiar with Pali, he will soon notice that many of these words and turns of expression are identical, *mutatis mutandis*, with Pali words and turns of expression. For example, in *SP.*, 76, 10 (I refer to page and line of the Kern-Nanjio edition of the Saddharmapundarika), and often, *ātmabhāva* occurs in the sense of "body". The word is a quite normal and innocent-appearing Sanskrit formation, and occurs, e.g., in the Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad 1, 2, meaning "existence (or reality) of the self (soul)"; in the meaning "body", however, it occurs only in Buddhistic Sanskrit, but there quite commonly. Now it cannot be accidental that its phonetic equivalent in Pali, *attabhāva*, has precisely this meaning. Again, all readers of Pali are very familiar with the common expression *yena . . . tena . . .*, "where (someone or something was), there (someone else went)." In themselves, *yena* and *tena* are perfectly normal Sanskrit (as well as Pali) forms; but this use of them, I believe, is not known except in Pali and Buddhistic Sanskrit, though frequent there. These are characteristic examples which could be multiplied many times, as all students of the field are well aware.

Such students also know, of course, that this is by no means the whole story. In the *verses* of such works as the Saddharmapundarika or the Lalitavistara (and in the prose of, e.g., the Mahāvastu, which in this respect is unusual; much more rarely in the prose of most other works, at least as presented in our editions), there also occur many *forms* which are unknown to Sanskrit grammar, of any period,

and would be felt as barbarous and impossible in any genuine or "normal" (non-Buddhist) Sanskrit work. They are, in brief, middle-Indic; in a broad sense, Prakritic. This fact, together with those mentioned above, led some scholars of a generation or more ago (such as Childers) to the not unnatural supposition that these Buddhistic Sanskrit works were translations, or re-workings, of Pali originals.

More careful study of Pali itself, and of other relevant materials, has shown that this hypothesis does not fit the facts. The striking linguistic resemblances between Pali and Buddhistic Sanskrit do not indicate any direct relation between the two dialects, or between the literary works composed in them. But the relation, though indirect, is nevertheless certain. Both contained originally texts which were based on canonical texts composed in an earlier dialect, Prakritic in character, in which there must have existed at one time a considerable body of (perhaps only oral) Buddhist literature. Neither the Pali nor the Sanskrit Buddhist canon is "original", nor is either based on the other; both contain, or once contained, essentially (in their older parts) translations or recasts of compositions in that older Prakrit. As time went on, both languages were then used in original compositions (most of our actually extant Buddhistic Sanskrit texts are, in fact, original, rather than translations or re-workings); but in such a way that the traditional link with what we may call the proto-canonical Prakrit was not wholly broken. At least in vocabulary, and (particularly on the Sanskrit side) for a long time also in morphology and even phonology, Buddhist writers, both northern and southern, used idioms which were clearly under the influence of a linguistic tradition stemming from that protocanonical Prakrit.

The fact that Pali is itself a middle-Indic dialect, and so resembles the protocanonical Prakrit in phonology and morphology much more closely than Sanskrit, makes it harder to trace such influences in it. Yet, as Professor Sylvain Lévi has shown,¹ Pali is not free from them;

¹ See his brilliant and important article of 1912, *JA.*, Ser. 10, vol. 20, pp. 495-512. I hope that Professor Lévi would accept my formulation of the matter as above, which I think differs little in principle from his, though he uses the term "pre-canonical" rather than "protocanonical", meaning, I take it, antecedent to the historically known Buddhist canons. Since I think (and I presume the great French savant would agree) that a "canon" in some sense doubtless existed in that language, I prefer "protocanonical", with Professor de la Vallée-Poussin (*Indo-européens et Indo-iraniens*, p. 202). The most important bibliographical references on the subject will be found in these two places and in J. Mansion, *Esquisse d'une histoire de la langue sanscrite* (1931), pp. 105-9, where will also be found interesting speculations as to the manner of development of the curious "Buddhistic Sanskrit" dialect.

for instance, it now and then presents forms with loss of intervocalic mutes, or sonantizing of intervocalic surds, contrary to the laws of the Pali language. Lévi has also shown that similar traces of this protocanonical Prakrit can be detected in occasional words and phrases occurring in the Asokan and other early inscriptions.

It is, however, in Buddhistic Sanskrit that we find the clearest and most extensive evidence. Quite naturally! For when Buddhist monks began to adapt the language they used to the "respectable" language of the Brahmins, any imperfections in the adaptation would necessarily show up much more glaringly, than when they simply turned it into another Prakrit (such as Pali, in essence, was); because the linguistic gap between the two media was far wider. A relatively early stage in this adaptation is represented by the verses of, say, the *Saddharmapundarika*. Here every line shows evidence of Prakrit influence; and that too not only in vocabulary, but also in phonology, and especially in morphology. As time went on, the tendency was to approximate more and more the forms of standard Sanskrit, until finally almost the only remaining trace of Prakrit consists in the peculiar Buddhist vocabulary. (It should be emphasized, however, that this vocabulary is itself evidence of appurtenance to a separate linguistic tradition, quite distinct from "standard" Sanskrit. For it is not merely a question of technical terms relating to religion, but very largely of terms of every-day life. They can be explained only as marks of a *distinct language*.) There seem to be reasons for assuming, in general, that the more Prakritic a text looks, the earlier it is. To be sure this cannot be taken as a hard and fast rule. What is certain is, that nearly all Buddhistic works in Sanskrit (at any rate, until a late period) belong to a continuous and broadly unitary linguistic tradition; their language is a thing separate from the tradition of Brahmanical Sanskrit, and goes back ultimately to a (semi-) Sanskritized form of the protocanonical Prakrit. The number of Buddhist writers who stood outside this tradition, that is who wrote in what is virtually standard Brahmanical Sanskrit, seems to have been very small. We may guess that it was limited to converts who had received orthodox Brahmanical training in their youth, before adherence to Buddhism. *Aśvaghoṣa* is an example of this exceptional type. His Sanskrit can probably not be distinguished from that of Brahmanical writers in phonology or morphology, and only to a slight extent, if at all, does he make use of the peculiar Buddhist vocabulary. Now it is "taken as certain that he was of Brahman family, and had enjoyed

a thorough Brahmanical education before he went over to Buddhism" (Winternitz, *Hist. Ind. Lit.*, vol. ii, 1933, p. 257).

It seems to me no exaggeration to speak of this hybrid Sanskrit of the Buddhists as a *language*, in its own right. Not a vernacular, of course; a literary language; an artificial language, if you like. I grant, also, that it appears in various markedly different phases, distinguished chiefly by great differences in degree of Sanskritization (approach to normal Sanskrit in phonology and morphology). But these phases are aspects of a unitary tradition, connected with each other by direct lines. To trace these lines in detail would be to construct a relative chronology of the Buddhist Sanskrit literature. It must be admitted that this is at present impossible. Perhaps it will never be possible. Nevertheless the underlying unity of linguistic tradition seems undeniable.

It is signalized, first, by the peculiar and persistent vocabulary referred to above. Boehtlingk included some of it in his great Sanskrit dictionary (how many words, or special meanings of words, are there recorded only from Buddhist works!); but perhaps the larger part is not included in any Sanskrit dictionary. And, in strict linguistic logic, it should not be there; that is, unless we stretch the meaning of "Sanskrit". The fact that Pali contains so large a proportion of these words seems to prove that most of them must belong to the special vocabulary of the protocanonical Buddhist Prakrit. (It may be noted in passing that they are, in general, not "common Prakrit"; relatively few, I believe, will be found in Prakrit guise in Sheth's *Prakrit Dictionary*, for instance.) They characterize all periods of Buddhist (hybrid) Sanskrit. We need a special dictionary of this language.

It is signalized, secondly, by peculiarities of syntax and style. I recall the *yena . . . tena* construction (above); or the use of third person singular verbs with subjects of any person or number, which goes beyond the limits recorded by Pischel (*Gram. d. Pkt. Spr.*, §§ 515-17) for any Prakrit, even for Ardhamāgadhī, which goes farther than the other Prakrits.¹ Some of these (such as *yena . . . tena*) are likewise

¹ This use of *āsi* or *āsi* (Skt. *āsīt* or *āsis*) is common Prakrit. In the *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka* we find not only *āsīt* or equivalent (as well as *asti*) so used, but also, e.g., *abhūt* with subject *aham* or *team* (*SP.*, 22, 11 and 64, 11 both prose); and in fact any third person singular verb may be so used (e.g., *aham . . . akarod*, 258, 7). In such a late text as the *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra* I note (8, 6) *atra tāḥ paṇḍaḥ sarvā ekaikaśmin hi dr̥ṣyate* (3 sg. with pl. subjects). In Pali, *atthī* (Skt. *asti*) is used with plural subject (Geiger, *Pali*, § 141), but that seems to be as far as Pali goes in this direction.

found in Pali; even when this confirmation is lacking, it may reasonably be assumed that most of them were inherited from the proto-canonical Prakrit.¹

I find a third indication of the linguistic independence of the hybrid Sanskrit of the Buddhists in its metrical principles. This subject requires more extended treatment than I can give to it here; I am dealing with it more fully in a paper which I expect to publish shortly in a volume of studies in honour of Professor Kuppaswami Sastri of Madras. The metre of such a text as the *Saddharmapundarika* is constructed on principles which in some important respects are quite different from any found in Vedic or Sanskrit metres, of any period. I may add that these principles have never been understood, or at least correctly formulated in print; and that they were badly misunderstood by Kern and Nanjio in their edition, with results which seriously vitiate the form of the text as printed there. In part, at least, the same principles reappear in the metres of other Buddhist Sanskrit texts, such as the *Lalitavistara*. To mention only one important feature: the substitution of two short syllables for a long is permitted *ad libitum* (with certain definite restrictions in the case of some metres). This reminds us of the well-known *āryā* group of metres; but in Sanskrit the principle is practically limited to that group, which stands quite apart from other metrical types; and even there it is not applied in the same way. Very scant traces of a similar tendency were detected by Hopkins (*Great Epic*, 301) in the epic *triṣṭubh*; but they may perhaps be interpreted differently, and in any case they never amounted to such a clearly defined metrical licence. Here again I believe that the hybrid Sanskrit of the Buddhists must be assumed to have inherited a feature of the proto-canonical Prakrit; for no other origin is easily conceivable. Moreover the *āryā* type, revealing somewhat similar principles in the one matter just mentioned, is commonly regarded as of Prakrit origin.

The fourth, and most striking, distinctive feature of this hybrid

¹ Similarly, *etad abhāt* (or *abhavat*, or the like) = Pali *etad ahoṣi*, "this thought occurred to . . ." (with genitive). An interesting construction, for which I do not know a parallel in Pali, but which is rather frequent in hybrid Sanskrit, is *mā* (*haiva*) with the optative in the sense of "isn't there danger that . . . ?" *SP.*, 76, 5 (prose) *taṁ kiṁ manyase śāriputra : mā haiva tasya puruṣasya mṛṣāvādah syād . . .* "so what think you, Śāriputra? isn't there danger that lying would pertain to that man (i.e. that he would be guilty of lying)?" A useful "Outline Syntax of Buddhist Sanskrit" has been published by Sukumar Sen in the *Journal of the Department of Letters*, University of Calcutta, vol. 17 (1928). It is, however, far from complete; e.g., it fails to record the *mā* + optative construction just mentioned.

Sanskrit is, of course, the large number of forms which violate Sanskrit grammar, as to phonology or morphology or both. It is from these, if at all, that we must hope to discover the grammatical structure and original location of the protocanonical Prakrit whence they were taken over.

For this purpose we need first of all a comprehensive grammatical study of Buddhist hybrid Sanskrit. This is needed, incidentally, for other purposes, too; for the philological interpretation of the texts, and even for the correct editing of them. Most of the existing editions and translations are quite defective, because they were made without adequate knowledge of the grammar of the language, not to speak of its metrical principles and other features. In fact, almost nothing systematic has been done in this field. The only monograph I know, aside from Sen's (above, p. 505, n. 1), is Weller's dissertation, *Über die Prosa des Lalita Vistara* (1915), which limits itself to the grammatically less important part (the prose) of a single text. Otherwise we have only the stray observations of individual editors and translators, which are not only scattered and unsystematic, but often positively misleading.

The importance and interest of the subject seem to justify, then, the undertaking of a Grammar and a Dictionary of the hybrid Sanskrit of the Buddhists; and this is the task which I have ventured to set myself, perhaps audaciously, but I hope without minimizing its great extent and its substantial difficulties. It will require minute textual study of at least the older and more important literary works and the relevant inscriptions, and should involve frequent reference to such Tibetan and Chinese versions as are available. Having been engaged on it much less than a year, I can speak as yet only on the basis of very tentative and incomplete results; in fact, chiefly on the evidence of the Saddharmapundarika, backed by only casual reading in other texts.

Unfortunately, as has been intimated, we cannot use the printed text of SP. uncritically (and this is only too commonly the case with editions of Buddhist Sanskrit texts). In part the editors may fairly be blamed for this; quite often they quote the correct reading in their critical notes, but introduce a false reading in the text, misled by erroneous ideas regarding the language or the metrical structure.¹

¹ The "romanized and revised" edition of SP. by Wogihara and Tsuchida, Tokyo, 1934 ff., of which I have seen the first two parts, corrects some of these errors, but leaves the majority untouched. It by no means supersedes the Kern-Nanjio

But in part it was not their fault. Professor Lüders has shown (in Hoernle, *Manuscript Remains*, etc., 161) that the Kashgar recension of SP. contains noticeably more Prakrit forms than the Nepalese version on which the printed text is chiefly based, though with some reference to the group of Kashgar MSS. called collectively "O" by the editors. (Lüders' observation was anticipated by Kern, Preface to ed., vi.) Particularly in the prose, the Kashgar fragments show such Prakritisms often enough to suggest that originally the prose of SP. may have been, like that of the Mahāvastu, no less Prakritic than the verses. It looks as if an attempt had been made to "correct" it in later times. The verses may have escaped much of this process because the metre made it more difficult. But they did not escape it entirely, as Lüders shows (cf. also just below). A complete edition of the Kashgar recension, if it were possible, would doubtless come closer to the original form. Yet even it surely suffered some of the same "correction", since sometimes its readings are less Prakritic than the Nepalese.

I wish further to emphasize the fact that in the verses of SP., initial consonant combinations, which in Prakrit would be simplified, were *always* pronounced as single consonants (cf. Kern, Preface to ed., xi, which understates the facts). For, not only do they fail to make long a preceding syllable ending in a short vowel; but even originally long final vowels, which in this text are regularly shortened *metri causa* (but only *metri causa*, never otherwise!), are shortened before such combinations, when a short syllable is required, e.g., SP., 90, 3 *vidūtvā trāṇam* (third syllable short; -*tvā* for -*tvā* occurs only *metri causa*; here it implies *t-* for initial *tr-*). This metrical shortening proves that the composer pronounced a short syllable, despite the writing of two initial consonants. Such pronunciation of conjunct consonants, as if single, is never indicated internally; that is, it occurs always, and only, where standard Prakrit phonology would require or at least permit it. (The beginning of the second element of a compound is usually treated as initial, though there is some fluctuation; this accords perfectly with Prakrit usage.) Conversely, also, metrical *lengthening* of a final short vowel occurs before such combinations; this necessarily implies the same Prakritic pronunciation,

edition. I cannot refrain from expressing regret, in passing, that the editors saw fit to compose their footnotes in Chino-Japanese, a needless hardship for western users of the book, and peculiarly inconsistent in a work which prints the Sanskrit text in roman transliteration.

since if two consonants were pronounced there would be no reason to lengthen the vowel. So, *SP.*, 27, 15, where all MSS. read *vineṣyati* or °te; the former is doubtless to be read, and has metrical lengthening for °ti before the word *prāṇa-*, which was, therefore, pronounced *pāṇa-*. Such lengthening is very common *metri causa*, but never occurs otherwise.¹ Again, in *SP.*, 162, 6, we find a *pāda*: *vayaṁ ca lokaś ca anuḡṛhātāḥ* (or °tāḥ). The eighth syllable must be long; according to the writing, the metre is faulty. Hence the Tokyo edition emends to *anū*°. But all MSS. read *anu*°, and this must be kept. The word was pronounced *anugg*°, as in Pali (*anuggahita-*) and Prakrit (*aṇuggahia-*, °hīa-). Likewise *pariḡṛhātāḥ*, *SP.*, 89, 8, all MSS.; Tokyo edition emends to *parī*°, because a long syllable is required, but we must understand *parigg*°. There are not a few other metrical indications that originally the language was at least pronounced (whether written or not) more Prakritically than it is written in any of our MSS.

It is reasonable to assume with Lüders that where the MSS. differ, those showing Prakritic forms are more primary than those with correct Sanskrit forms; and that the original *SP.* was "written in a language that had far more Prakritisms than either of the two versions" (Kashgar and Nepalese). I cannot, however, agree with Professor Lüders when he goes on to say that he is "inclined to believe that the original was written in a pure Prakrit dialect which was afterwards gradually put into Sanskrit." This hypothesis makes it difficult to explain the many correct Sanskrit forms, often quite foreign to all known Prakrits, which occur side by side with Prakrit or semi-Prakrit forms, in all manuscripts and frequently guaranteed by the metre. To mention only a single instance, no Prakrit dialect has any trace of the Sanskrit perfect, except the isolated *āhu* (and *āhamṣu*), and the like is true of Pali except in artificial *Kunstsprache* (see Pischel § 518, Geiger, § 171). But in *SP.* (including the verses) perfects, while not very common, are quite familiar, and are used no more incorrectly than other verb forms. I cannot doubt that they belong to the original language of our work, which was not a pure Prakrit but a hybrid dialect, based on a Prakrit, but partially

¹ Both editions emend to *vineṣyati*, misunderstanding the matter here treated. Very rarely do we find a final short vowel before an initial consonant group in a metrically long syllable. Such cases are not a whit commoner in the MSS. than before single initial consonants. In all of them some special explanation must be sought, or emendation resorted to.

Sanskritized from the start. The extent of this original Sanskritization is very hard to determine; certainly it did not go as far as our editions suggest.

What, now, was the Prakrit, underlying Buddhist hybrid Sanskrit? According to Sylvain Lévi (cf. p. 502, n. 1 above), p. 511, "one of the languages of the land of Magadha." Lüders (l. c., 162) is more definite; on the basis of vocatives plural in *-āho* from *a*-stems, which he says are found "only in Māgadhi", he thinks we may "assert that the original text of the Saddharmapundarika was written, if not in pure Māgadhi, in a mixed Sanskrit which was based on that dialect".

I cannot agree with so definite a statement as this. The voc. pl. ending *-āho* cannot be called exclusively a peculiarity of Māgadhi (see No. 5, below). Our language lacks any trace of some of the most striking characteristics of Māgadhi, such as the substitution of *l* for *r*, and of *ś* for *s*; the nom. in *e* of *a*-stems was also not characteristic of it (see No. 11, below). Lévi's more cautious formula, "one of the languages of Magadha," may be right, or at least not far wrong. There is some evidence which suggests an eastern origin, at any rate. But even this can hardly be proved on linguistic evidence at present. Certainly no identification with any known specific Prakrit is possible. On the contrary, there is evidence which forbids any such identification. It seems that the language underlying hybrid Sanskrit was different from any Prakrit known to the later grammarians, at least. It is, however, possible to find a considerable number of individual points of agreement with specific Prakrits. And it turns out that nearly all of them point to either (1) Ardhamāgadhi, or (2) Apabhraṃśa. I have found very few Prakritic features which do not occur in one or the other of these, and a number which belong to one or both of them almost or quite exclusively. It is worth emphasizing that the language was different from Pali in many important ways, while specific agreements with Pali are very few, minor, and dubious. The same is quite as true of Māgadhi, with which I do not know of a single exclusive agreement. Indeed, I have failed to find, so far, any unmistakable evidence of specific agreement with any known Prakrit except AMg. and Ap. Yet our language also differs from each of these on important points.

I shall now list briefly the linguistic features of this language which seem to me to suggest specific agreement with particular Prakrits, ignoring those which are common to all or most Prakrits. The following collection, then, contains all the evidence now known

to me which could be used in localizing the protocanonical Prakrit of the Buddhists. It must be remembered that it is chiefly gathered from a single work, the SP. (to which I refer by page and line of the Kern-Nanjio edition); it therefore makes no claim to completeness or finality. The prime reference-work for most Prakrits is, of course, Pischel's grammar; specific references to it are generally omitted as unnecessary. For Apabhraṃśa, however, it needs to be supplemented by the later works of Jacobi (*Bhavisatta Kaha*, abbreviated *Bhav.*, and *Sanatkumāracaritam*, abbreviated *San.*), and Alsdorf (*Kumārapālapratibodha*, abbreviated *Kum.*).

1. The nom. and acc. sg. masc. and nt. of *a*-stems ends very commonly in either *a* or *u*. (The regular Sanskrit forms are also common; this may, indeed, generally be taken for granted of all the forms I shall mention.) Of these, *a* is common in Ap. and occasional in verses in AMg. and Mg.; *u* is recorded by Pischel only for Ap. and Dhakkī¹ (a little-known dialect classed as midway between Mg. and Ap., and by some grammarians considered a form of Ap., though it agrees with Mg. in some important respects such as the change of *r* to *l*). Certainly *a* is a phonetic development from *as* (*aḥ*) or *am* (*aṁ*), with phonetic loss of final consonant. Similarly *u* in the nom. represents a shortening of *o*, the common Prakrit ending. Pischel regards *u* as phonetically derivable also from *am*, *aṁ*. It is true, at any rate, that *u* occurs also for other final *am* (as well as other *as*, *o*); likewise *a* for other final *as* and *am*. E.g. *ahu* = *aho* (interjection) 62, 4 and 16; *bhūya*, 96, 2, and *bhūyu*, 95, 1, = *bhūyas*; *ahu* and *hu* = *aham*, 62, 15 and 195, 5, and often (probably also *ha* = *aham*, 195, 4, and 88, 10); *mahya* = *mahyam*, 86, 8, etc. These forms are largely regulated by metrical requirements; they are the shorts to *o*, *am*. Yet *u* also occurs in a metrically indifferent position: *utpannu* 177, 9, initial in an *anuṣṭubh*. Were it not for such forms as *ahu* = *aham* (and Ap. *mahu*, *majjhu* = *mahyam*, etc., Pischel § 351), one might be tempted to question *u* from *am* as a phonetic change, and regard the acc. forms in *u* as transferred from the nom., and the nt. from the masc. For our language seems to have been similar to Ap. in this, that it tended to make no formal distinction between masc.

¹ The *u*-forms occur also, very often, in the language of the "Prakrit Dhammapada" of the Dutreuil de Rhins MS., edited first by Senart and later by Barua and Mitra. A systematic linguistic study of this dialect has yet to be made; it has evident affinities with our dialect, and must certainly be taken into careful consideration in future work on this subject. To identify it with our dialect would be premature, to say the least.

and nt. forms (see No. 6, below), nor between nom. and acc. forms. Namely :—

2. In general, most Prakrit nom. and acc. forms are used interchangeably, as in Ap. Since final nasals and anusvāra are often dropped, especially *metri causa*, and final visarga likewise (see the preceding paragraph), some of these ambiguous forms may be regarded as proper to either case (i.e. derived by phonetic process from both Sanskrit forms). However, there are cases where metre, at any rate, cannot be directly concerned. Thus at the end of a *pāda*, or in an otherwise metrically indifferent position : *ṣaṣṭi*, 303, 11, *agrabodhi* 310, 12, both nom. Or after a long vowel (as in Ap., Alsdorf, *Kum.*, 58), *tr̥ṣṭām dhāraṇī tarpet*, 126, 14 (for *dhāraṇīm*). AMg. and even Ś. (Pischel § 379) have noms. in *im*, *um*, regarded by Pischel as the phonetic equivalents of *ī*, *ū* ; in our text they are rare,¹ but cf. *loka-dhātum* nom. 31, 9, and *bodhim* nom., probably to be read with MSS. for ed. *bodhi* in 63, 8. For metrical reasons, the acc. sg. of even fem. *ā*-stems may be reduced not only to *am* (*pūjam īdṛṣim*, 15, 3, *imam eva cintām*, 61, 11 *et passim*), but even to *a* (*ima buddhabodhim*, 95, 8 ; *carya* = *caryām*, 120, 7, 149, 8, *et passim*), which also occurs as nom. of *ā*-stems. Since *nt*-stems, as in Pali and Prakrit generally, often add the thematic vowel *a* and are declined like *a*-stems, it follows that their nom. and acc. forms often coincide, ending in *a* or *u* like genuine *a*-stems. In the plural much the same state is found. Not only *ā* (without regard to the nature of the following sound), but also, and very commonly, *a* (as in Ap.) occurs as nom. pl. of *a*-stems ; the latter, to be sure, apparently only *metri causa*. Both occur also as acc. pl., especially *a* (*nirgata . . . dārakān*, 88, 1), but also *ā* (*buddhā ca bodhim ca prakāśayāmi*, 47, 12, for *buddhān*). Nay, even the regular Sanskrit nom. ending *āḥ* is used as acc. : *magnāḥ*, 54, 8, agreeing with *sattvān* ; *-pūrṇāḥ* acc., 9, 3. The same is found in later texts, e.g., *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra*, 6, 5, *apsaravargās ca (pratigr̥hṇa)*, where the puzzled editor suggests emendation. As to *i*- and *u*-stems, we find an astounding variety and confusion in the nom.-acc. pl. forms ; those actually found resemble AMg. more than any other Prakrit, and contrast strikingly with the simple state of things in Ap. which uses *i*, *u* for both. The regular Sanskrit nom. in *ayas*, *avas* may be used as acc. : (*buddhān*) *bahavo*, 207, 10, *rātrayo* acc. even at the end of a *triṣṭubh-jagatī pāda* where *rātrī(h)* would have done quite as well

¹ There are clear cases in the *Lalitavistara*, e.g. 49, 16 (*Lefmann*), *na cāsti tr̥ptim* (all MSS.).

metrically, 91, 3, and even in prose *dundubhayaś* as acc. 69, 11. Besides, we find *ī* (and metrically *i*), *inas*, *īs* (even as nom. masc. !), *yas* as acc. (fem.), and in the fem. *īyas*, *īyo* (before a surd, 86, 1), *īyā* (before *ca*, 237, 3) and *īyas* as nom. or acc. indifferently. As in Ap., we thus find the language far advanced on the road to a declension containing only two forms in each number, a nom.-acc. and an oblique case, though the forms differ from those actually found in Ap. (The oblique cases, especially of the fem., are much confused in Prakrit generally.) It is as if, in this respect, we were dealing with an immediate precursor of a modern vernacular. The same confusion occurs in pronominal forms : *yūyam* as acc., 198, 1.

3. Very common are neuter nom.-acc. pl. of *a*-stems in *ā* (sporadic in various dialects, but especially AMg.) and *a* (usually *metri causa* ? regular in Ap.) : *balā*, 62, 2 ; *dvātriṃśatīlakṣaṇa mahya bhraṣṭā* (v. 1. °*ta*) 62, 1. Though these have been interpreted as inheritances from Vedic, it is quite as likely that they are merely taken over from the masc., where they are very common (as we just saw) for Sanskrit *ās*, *ān* ; cf. No. 6, below.

4. Besides the general Prakrit ending *ū*, we find *u* in the nom.-acc. pl. of *u*-stems. This is not limited to syllables where the metre requires a short : *bahu me dharma bhāṣitāḥ*, 255, 7, in *anuṣṭubh* metre. This short *u* is not recorded by Pischel ; it seems to be characteristic of Ap. (Alsdorf, *Kum.*, 59).

5. Voc. pl. of *a*-stems in *āho*. Quoted by Lüders (l.c., see above) as exclusively Mg. But Ap. also has *aho*, *ahu*. The forms actually recorded by Jacobi and Alsdorf seem to show only short *a* in the penult, but this is probably a mere accident. They are not numerous in any case ; and it is an established principle of Ap. that stem-vowels in penultimate syllables may be either short or long (Jacobi, *Bhav.*, 28*, *San.*, 1, 9, 12 ; Alsdorf, *Kum.*, 55). Even the original *ā* of feminine stems is shortened frequently (usually, according to Jacobi, *Bhav.*, l.c.). The voc. pl. certainly contained *ā(ho)* originally, and it seems to me that our SP. form may much more plausibly be regarded as a link with Ap. than with Mg., since there is no other special agreement with Mg. The ending is not common, yet is sufficiently well authenticated ; e.g. in *kulaputrāho*, 253, 1, and 255, 11. All MSS. apparently have *amareṣvarāho* in *Lalitavistara* (Lefmann), 47, 5. It is not recorded in AMg.

6. The pronoun *so*, properly masc., is also used as nt. nom. and acc. : *so* (= *tad*) *eva vicintayantaḥ* "pondering this same thing" 62, 7.

So Ap., and (in the forms *se*, *śe*) AMg. and Mg. (Pischel § 423). Jacobi and Alsdorf do not quote Ap. *so*, *su* as nt., but *San.*, 501, 3, has *su bhavaṇu* acc. nt., and both Jacobi and Alsdorf recognize *chu*, *ihu* (= *eṣa*) as nt. This is probably to be regarded as part of the breakdown of the Sanskrit system of grammatical gender which characterizes Ap. and AMg. While some change of gender occurs in the other Prakrits and even in Sanskrit, it is these two dialects, and especially Ap., which carry it farthest; indeed to a point where, as Jacobi says (*Bhav.*, 31* f.), it is hardly possible to distinguish any longer between masc. and nt. in Ap.; and even the feminine is involved in the confusion. The verses of SP. approach this state. Very many nouns vary in gender, or at least show forms (in their own declension or that of modifiers) that were originally characteristic of different genders, and that, too, in close juxtaposition with one another. So in 87, 7 ff. the noun *yāna* is modified by both masc. and nt. adjectives and pronouns, in the same context. Masc. *catvāra(h)* and nt. *catvāri* both go with the fem. noun *parśāḥ*, 9, 1, 294, 11 (but *parśa catasra(h)*, fem., 25, 1); fem. *anuttarām* with the nt. noun *jñāna(m)* 10, 5 (perhaps influenced by thought of the fem. synonym *bodhi* ?); nt. *yāvanti* with the masc. form *sattvāḥ*, 9, 5, etc. The feeling for the distinctive generic force of the Sanskrit noun endings, and especially for the difference between masculine and neuter, was evidently very feeble.

7. Final *e*, *o* very commonly become *i*, *u* when the metre requires a short. (In such cases *e* is occasionally, but rarely, retained in the writing; I have noted only a few cases of *tē*, 85, 12 and 13; 131, 4; 152, 11; curiously *mi* seems to be regularly written for *me* in such cases.) This reminds us especially of Ap., but it occurs also in verses in AMg. and other dialects (Pischel § 85). Since *me* is not an Ap. form, and *mi* = *me* is very common in SP., we may possibly regard this as a link to AMg. rather than Ap. In the loc. sg. of *a*-stems, *i* for *e* is specially frequent (so also Ap.).

8. Ap. is peculiar among Prakrits in confusing the instr. and loc. pl. (Jacobi, *San.*, 11). We may see the influence of such a dialect in 85, 1, *vilokayanti gavākṣa* (v.l. °*kṣe*) *ullokanakehi* "they look out at window(s) and loop-holes". The parallel *gavākṣe* indicates that *ullokanakehi* is felt as loc.

9. In 67, 11 occurs the nom. sg. form *tuhaṃ* = *tvam*. Pischel records it only for Dhakkī; it is elsewhere attributed to Eastern Apabhraṃśa, which perhaps means about the same thing (Jacobi, *San.*, xxv; cf. Alsdorf, *Kum.*, 59). Another nom. *tuva* occurs, 93, 9; it

stands of course for *tuvaṃ*, with metrical loss of anusvāra. The form *tuvaṃ* is Vedic (by Sievers' Law, cf. Edgerton, *Language*, 10, 235 ff.) and occurs also in Pali (under conditions no longer regulated by Sievers' Law). It seems, according to Pischel, not to be recorded in Prakrit literature. Since, however, it is quoted by the Prakrit grammarians, no special significance should probably be attributed to this seeming agreement between our dialect and Pali.

10. The same holds good, I think, of the only other formal agreement with Pali which I have noted. Pali has oblique case forms of *ā*-stems in *ā*, besides *āya*, *ayā*. As Geiger (§ 81, 1) says, this is evidently a contraction of the other forms, or of the Prakritic *āa* (or *āe*). At least one such form occurs in SP.: *diśā*, loc., 191, 5. Since contraction of vowels after loss of an intervening consonant is fairly common in Prakrit generally, I am not inclined to attribute much significance to this agreement with Pali, though the form seems not to be recorded in Prakrit.¹

11. Very rare is the AMg. Mg. nom. sg. masc. *a*-stem ending *e*, for normal Prakrit *o* (note that even Dhakkī has *o*). Clearly *o* (whence *u*, Nos. 1 and 7 above) was the regular ending in the Prakrit underlying our dialect. I have not found *e* in any substantive.² Perhaps the only clear case of it is *uttare*, 313, 8, which can only be nom. sg. masc.: no v.l. is recorded. Less certain is *ke-cit*, 115, 2, where the Kashgar reading is *kimcit*; furthermore, it is not impossible that *kecit* is meant as a plural (the noun is *bhogu* according to the reading adopted in the edition, and it is doubtful whether *u* can pass as a nom. pl. ending of an *a*-stem; but there is a v.l. *bhāga*, which might easily be nom. pl.).

12. We have referred above to the extensive use of 3 sg. verb forms with 3 pl., and also 1 and 2 sg. subjects. This seems to be characteristic of AMg. (Pischel §§ 516–18), which goes much farther than any other known Prakrit (for a possible trace in Ap. see Alsdorf, *Kum.*, 65). AMg. also uses 3 pl. forms in the same way (l.c.). In SP., at least once, a 2 sg. form *abhūh* is used with 3 pl. subject (176, 12; well attested in both recensions; only one Nepalese MS. *abhūt*).

¹ I reserve for another occasion a fuller discussion of the oblique cases of fem. nouns, merely observing that the usual endings (when not regular Sanskrit) in SP. are, for all oblique cases, *āya*, *īya*, *ūya*. The first of these agrees precisely with Pali, but Prakrit (*āe*, *āa*) is not far removed. In other Buddhist works we find *āye* (*ābhāye*, instr., Lalitavistara, 122, 20, Lefmann), *īye* (*kṣāntīye*, ibid., 162, 3), etc.

² But note Lalitavistara (Lefmann), 74, 4, *bodhisattva brahmakalpasamñibhe* (nom. sg.; no v.l. recorded). This is the only case thus far noted in LV.

I have not noticed a 3 pl. with sg. subject, but in 108, 17 (prose) I believe we must read *abhūvan*, with most Nepalese MSS. for ed. *abhūma* (subject *vayam*; Kashgar MSS. *āsīt*). All sorts of 3 sg. forms are used indiscriminately with subjects of all persons and numbers; they include optatives, perfects, etc.

13. AMg. has verb forms in *e* which look like optatives but are used as past indicatives (Pischel § 466, end), and in general, as Pischel there shows, AMg. reveals a strange confusion between optative and aorist forms. Our text seems to have the same phenomenon. In 190, 7, *spr̥se* can only be past indic. in meaning (in describing a past Buddha's attainment of enlightenment, *spr̥se sa bodhim*); usually such a form is optative (= *spr̥set*) but that is quite impossible here. Conversely, forms in *ī* occur, which look like aorists (Skt. *-ī*), but seem to be interpretable only as optatives: e.g., 291, 12, *sarveṣu maitrībala so hi darśayī* "he shall show the power of kindness to all beings". Metre cannot be concerned here, since it occurs at the end of a *pāda*. (Similarly 295, 2, 4, 7, 8.) The explanation is obscure; probably it is connected with formal, phonetic confusion between *ī* for *e(t)* in the opt. and *ī* for *ī(t)* in the aor. In any case we have here another, and a rather striking, agreement with AMg.

14. Fairly common is the 2 sg. imperative ending *āhi*. It seems, according to Pischel (§ 468), to be specially characteristic of AMg. and (in the form *ahi*) Ap., though it occurs occasionally in other Prakrits. It is also known to Pali.

15. Quite frequent are presents of the type *kurva-ti*, from the root *kr̥*. They are found only in AMg. and (evidently under the influence of this canonical language of the Jains) in Jaina Māhārāṣṭrī and Jaina Śaurasenī; not in Ap. Since Pali also has *kubbati*, but evidently as a borrowed form, not native to the dialect (it is used chiefly in *gāthās*), we may conclude that it was peculiar to the protocanonical Prakrit and to AMg. (of course in the form *kuvva-i*).

16. Another striking agreement with AMg. appears in the gerunds in *-yāna* = AMg. *-yāṇa(m)*, peculiar to that dialect (Pischel § 592), e.g. *śruṇiyāna*, 61, 9, etc.; about a dozen instances have been found in SP.

17. On the other hand, gerund-forms in *ī* (and *ī*) point rather to Ap., where alone *ī* is recognized as a gerund-ending. Pischel § 594 explains it as for Prakritic *-iā* with loss of final *a* (query: rather directly from *-ya* by "saṃprasāraṇa"?). Jacobi does not recognize it as occurring in his Ap. texts, but there is at least one case in *San.*, *suṇi*, 445, 5 ("having heard that the sun, the friend of the world, had

gone to rest"); and three forms occur in *Kum.* (Alsdorf, 63). In SP. the ambiguity of the ending makes the interpretation often doubtful; for the same ending occurs in the opt. and aor. indic. (above, No. 13), and sometimes even a noun form is conceivable (nom.-acc. sg. or pl. of *i-* or *in-*stem). But there are cases where it seems to me that any other interpretation than as gerund is implausible: *abhyokiri*, 325, 4; *upasaṃkramī*, 11, 11; *kārāpayi*, 152, 5 (to be rendered "and after causing stūpas to be made for them when they have entered nirvāṇa, he will honour them", etc.); *upasaṃkramī*, 191, 1 (note that this clause stands between two precisely parallel clauses, in both of which the verb form is an unmistakable gerund, *viditva* and *abhyokiriyāṇa*); *na uttarī prārthayi nāpi cintayī*, 213, 10, "(for we were satisfied with mere nirvāṇa,) not asking for, nor even thinking of, anything further." Perhaps also *abhyokiri*, 228, 15 (which, however, might be considered 3 sg. opt. with Burnouf and Kern).

18. "Short vowels, internal as well as final, are very commonly lengthened for purely metrical reasons, especially in AMg. and Ap." (Pischel, § 73). And further: "In Ap. verses, long and short vowels interchange according to the needs of meter and rhyme" (ib. § 100). In our dialect it is no exaggeration to say that any vowel may be lengthened or shortened to fit the metre. It is mostly final vowels which are treated so cavalierly; they are lengthened and shortened without the slightest compunction, and so commonly that examples need not be quoted. But also internal vowels: *adhyeṣami*, 1 sg., for °āmi, 38, 2; *khudrāka* for *kṣudrakāḥ*, 127, 3; *anābhībḥūḥ* for *ana°*, 128, 4. I regard this as another link with AMg. and more especially with Ap.; no other Prakrit goes so far as these two. It should be added that the regular Prakrit "law of morae" applies here too. (The best statement I know is in Geiger, *Pali*, § 5f.: double, i.e. long, consonant, and also short nasalized vowel, may interchange with long vowel at any time, without regard to etymological origin.) Hence, instead of metrical lengthening of a final short vowel, it may be nasalized, or the initial consonant of the next word may be doubled. So *sādhun* (= *sādhū*) *ti ghoṣaṃ*, 55, 12 (in the very next line occurs the equivalent *sādhū*); *daśa-ddiśāsu*, 32, 14 and often, also *daśasu-ddiśāsu*, 55, 11, etc. For further details see my article soon to appear in the volume in honour of Professor Kuppuswami Sastri.

I think this evidence is sufficient to indicate that the protocanonical Prakrit, on which Buddhist hybrid Sanskrit was based, was a dialect closely related to both Ardhamāgadhī and Apabhraṃśa, but not identical with either.

Alphabets and Phonology in India and Burma

By J. R. FIRTH

FOR 300 years after Vasco da Gama touched Calicut generations of traders, merchants, missionaries, soldiers, and other emissaries from at least five different nations of Europe took their turn in India, pursuing their interests at a respectful distance, making no obtrusive efforts to scrape acquaintance with Sanskrit culture.¹ Such advances were socially difficult, and would not have been welcomed. Moreover, our early associations were with Dravidian India, and very few cultured Brahmins sought membership of Christian Churches.²

As late as 1771 Amaduzzi, the head of the *Typographia Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide*, writing of the *Alphabetum Brammhanicum seu Indostanum Universitatis Kasi*, remarks: "Cui etiam Historiae, Fabula, Scientiae, ceteraque *μυστήρια* commendantur ne ceteris de plebe, ac peregrinis quinetiam arcana huiusmodi patere possint. Quare Idioma hoc ab ipsis संस्कृत Samskrit appellatur" . . . "Eadem Lingua Samscritica, seu litterali Brammhanica pro sacris, et arcanis rebus singulae hae gentes religiose, constanterque utuntur."

The Capuchin missionaries,³ upon whose work the *Alphabetum* is chiefly based, report: "Brammhanes tamen, ut iam innuimus, maximo studio, tum zelo servandi Religionis arcana, tum metu punishmentis subeundae, non solum alienigenis, sed terrigenis etiam, qui de eorum tribubus non sunt geniti, abscondere solent huius Alphabeti institutiones." The knowledge of the "Bedpurana" is the secret of the few "ceteris autem perpetuis in tenebris delitescat". And so it was with the excellent Capuchin friar, Beligatti, as with so many generations of Europeans in India. Besides, had not the worthy

¹ The Italian students of Sanskrit, Sassetti (1581-8) and de Nobili (d. 1656) were the exceptions proving the rule.

² The Tamil teacher and interpreter employed by Ziegenbalg in 1706-7 was, we are told, expelled from Tranquebar and subsequently kept in irons in a Tanjore prison, accused "d'avoir trahi la Religion, et d'en avoir révélé les Mystères le plus secrets aux deux Missionnaires de Tranquebar!" La Croze, *Histoire du Christianisme des Indes*, tome ii, p. 391.

³ Especially Cassiano Beligatti di Macerata, also joint author of the *Alphabetum Tangutanum sive Tibetanum* (1773). Worked in the Tibet-Nepal Mission. In Lhasa 1741-2, then twelve years in Nepal and occasionally in Patna. Died in Macerata 1785.

Magister Balgobinda of Patna told him that he himself found difficulties with Sanskrit every day and there was no end to learning it? And so, like many both before and after him to this day, he says: "... At cum nobis concessum non fuerit talia penetrasse secreta, ut aliis ad ulteriora perscrutanda planam viam panderemus."

Alphabets with all their implicit phonetics, phonology, and grammar, have a background of at least 2,000 years of history in India, and to this day they remain the totems of the peoples, marks of brotherhood, and against the stranger graven shibboleths. Alphabets divide and rule. We English, following the opinion of Lord Macaulay, pressed our A B C and the rest of our literary arcana on our Indian fellow subjects. The interesting thing is, however, that the passwords of the English "governing voice" continue to serve in phonetic safety the close fellowship of the ruling caste.

Contact with the vernacular languages was different. Even in the earliest days, of course, Europeans on arrival in India had, as we say, "to learn the language," and superficial knowledge of certain vernacular languages necessarily started with the first systematic relations between Europe and India. More scholarly acquaintance was especially necessary for the great missions, and so we find that a study of the vernacular languages long antedates what we are pleased to call the discovery of Sanskrit, following Sir William Jones's epoch-making address in 1786.

In spite of the early neglect and ignorance of Sanskrit, in spite of Lord Macaulay's appalling judgment, European scholars and especially Englishmen have during the last 150 years served Indian scholarship well, and none better than Sir George Grierson. Just as Macaulay's minute, in establishing the use of English in India, inaugurated the biggest Imperial language and culture undertaking the world has ever seen, so this monumental linguistic survey of a vast sub-continent is the biggest thing of its kind in history. Both in devoted labour of direction and in the piety of its collaborators it holds perhaps the highest place in the long history of such work in India.

This is a fitting occasion to recall the work of the earliest students of Indian languages, Portuguese, Italians, Dutch, Danes, Germans, Frenchmen—especially of the missionaries, Catholic and Protestant, and also the pioneer publications of the Press of the Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide in Rome and the Tranquebar Mission.¹ In

¹ Most of these earlier works are mentioned in the *Linguistic Survey of India*. See vol. iv, pp. 302, 350; vol. v, p. 18; vol. ix, pp. 6, 7, etc.

1771 it was probably justly claimed that: "Ceterum nullus forte locus Brammhanicis, et aliis quinetiam exoticarum linguarum Codicibus magis abundat, quam Bibliotheca Collegii Urbani de Propaganda Fide . . ."

If we suspend for a moment all theological notions of linguistic unity, the noises of the human race are indeed a chattering Babel, a confusion of tongues. Such abounding diversity is at once a challenge to those minds which seek ordered simplicity in the world, and at the same time a collector's paradise. There will always be those who seek an underlying unity, and both theology and historical philology have immensely strengthened this way of regarding the languages of the world. But, in spite of the "philological revolution", the traditions of plain description and the enthusiasm of the field collector have continued unbroken, from Gesner's *Mithridates* in 1555 to the collections of the International Phonetic Association and the recent Internationale Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Phonologie. In 1592 Hieronymus Megiser of Stuttgart printed *Specimens of Forty Languages*, increased to fifty in the second edition of 1603. But it was not until the eighteenth century that the systematic collection of material was undertaken in earnest. Leibniz stimulated his many correspondents and interested Peter the Great. And it was, in fact, in a letter ¹ of Theophilus Siegfried Bayer, one of the founders of the Imperial Academy at St. Petersburg, that the first words intended for Hindustani were published in Europe. In another (1729) we learn of records of the Sanskrit alphabet.

The first really comprehensive compilation was the *Orientalisch- und Occidentalischer Sprachmeister*, by Johann Friedrich Fritz und Benjamin Schulze, published in Leipzig in 1748. It presented 200 translations of the Lord's Prayer and 100 alphabets, including the Bengali, and the Modi alphabet for Marathi, Gujarati, and Tamil, Telugu, and Canarese. It was the first collection of *Alphabeta* in which Indian vernacular words were printed in their own character in movable type. From the phonetic point of view it falls far short of the later *Alphabeta* of the Press of the Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide. No notice is taken, for instance, of cerebral or retroflex consonants. But it held the field till 1771, when the *Alphabetum Brammhanicum* was published, marking a new epoch in Indian studies.

The linguistic employment of the parable of the Prodigal Son and the fable of the North Wind and the Sun, follow directly in the tradition of the *Sprachmeister*.

¹ 1st June, 1726.

At this point perhaps we should notice the very early work of individual students of Indian languages, and mention the career of Maturin Veyssière La Croze.

The first real account of *Hindustani* was not published till 1743, though the work was done much earlier by J. J. Ketelaar, a Dutch envoy to Bahadur Shah, who was in Lahore in 1711 and moved to Delhi with the Emperor. Later he became Dutch director of trade at Surat.¹ There are also several early Dutch accounts of Tamil, but the first systematic grammar, published in 1716, was the work of Bartholomew Ziegenbalg, a German member of the Danish Mission at Tranquebar, "admiré des Indiens pour la connaissance et l'usage de leur Langue."²

La Croze gives an amusing account of how Ziegenbalg and Plutschau learnt "Damul". "Comme la langue Portugaise est depuis plus de deux siècles fort commune dans les Indes, ils jugèrent à propos de l'apprendre la première. . . ." With the aid of Portuguese they applied themselves to the study of Tamil, but found the books "écrits en cette Langue sur des feuilles de Palmier. C'était là tout le secours sur lequel ils pouvaient compter, y comprenant la vive voix des gens du pays, qui n'ont ni grammaire ni dictionnaire, ni aucun art qui facilite l'intelligence de leur Langue". They made little progress so they engaged a Tamil schoolmaster, who brought his school of small children with him and the two missionaries began "à écrire comme eux avec les doigts sur le sable les lettres Malabares, et à les joindre selon que le Maître d'Ecole les dictoit". Unfortunately the master knew no Portuguese, so they were left in the dark as to the meanings of most of the words they learned to write and pronounce. But eventually they found a Tamil who spoke Portuguese, Danish, Dutch, and German! "Cet homme leur fut d'un grand secours, aussi bien qu'un petit abrégé de la Langue Malabare qui leur tomba entre

¹ The *Alphabetum Brammanicum* mentions a "MSS. Lexicon, Linguae Indostanicæ in Bibliotheca Collegii Urbani de Propaganda Fide, quod Auctorem habet Franciscum M. Turonensem ex Capuccinorum Familia, qui ipsum in Suratensi Missione, quae eidem erat concredita, concinnavit, ac dein dono dedit Sacrae huic nostrae Congregationi a.d. III Nonas Quinctiles anni MDCCIV (1704)." This MSS. is said to contain 489 pages in pt. i and 423 in pt. ii, giving Latin words in alphabetical order in the first column, "altera Indostanicas Nagaricis apicibus exaratas." On the opposite page the Latin words are said to be written and explained in French in the first column and in the second, the "voces Indostanas" are, "quantum potis est," also written and explained in French.

² b. 1683, d. 1719. For further details of his life and work see La Croze, *Histoire du Christianisme des Indes*, a La Haye aux depens de la Compagnie, 3rd edition, 1758, vol. ii, pp. 384 ff.

les mains, et qui étoit de la composition d'un Missionnaire Portugais . . . Ils se formèrent en peu de temps à la prononciation qui est extrêmement difficile." I suspect that in other parts of India and Burma also the works of earlier missionaries, even manuscript notes "fell into the hands" of those who eventually wrote the first real grammars and dictionaries, and established traditions.

In 1716, after completing his grammar on the voyage to Europe, Ziegenbalg preached before the King of Denmark at the siege of Stralsund, and afterwards one of his Indian converts had the honour of being presented to His Majesty. He was received by the King and the Prince of Wales during his visit to England, where he had received the liberal support of the Archbishop of Canterbury and the S.P.G. since 1709.¹ The S.P.C.K. had given him a printing press, which had been set up in Tranquebar in 1711.

His phonetic observations follow the Tamil syllabary, and though sound enough in their way, are not especially interesting. The *D* in *Grammatica Damulica* is good German and not really bad Tamil. He noticed the palatal nasal which he transcribed *yn* and the pre-palatal affricate for which he used five roman letters, *ytsch*. He counted eighteen consonants, five long vowels and five short, and two diphthongs.² Like many others who followed, even after the publication of the *Alphabetum Malabaricum* in 1772, he wrongly described Tamil as the Malabar language.³ We even find Pope⁴ saying Malayalam "seems to be but a corrupt Tamil". The Jesuit Beschi arrived in India about 1700 and produced a new Tamil Grammar (1728-1739), which seems to have been used by most of his successors. He had the reputation of being a good Telugu and Sanskrit scholar as well. He died about 1746.

One of the most interesting personalities in the history of Oriental scholarship during the early years of the eighteenth century is Maturin Veyssière La Croze. He was born at Nantes in 1661 and was educated by Benedictines, taking a great interest in the writings of the early Fathers. In 1682 he went to Paris and soon became known on account of his independence of character and unorthodox views. In 1696 he had to leave France, and went to Berlin, following the

¹ Of this support La Croze, who was an admirer of England, remarks "Rien n'est plus édifiant que la charité de la Nation Angloise, qui se signala en cette occasion", loc. cit., 2nd ed., vol. ii, p. 416.

² Cf. my "Short Outline of Tamil Pronunciation" in *Arden's Grammar*, p. vi.

³ See *Alphabetum Grandonico-Malabaricum*, 1772, p. xxi.

⁴ *A Handbook of the Tamil Language*, 5th edition, 1895, p. 2.

example of many exiled French Protestants, who had been welcomed there by "The Great Elector" (1640-1688). In 1697 he became Librarian and Antiquary to Frederick, Elector of Brandenburg, afterwards in 1701 the first King of Prussia. In 1725 he was given the chair of philosophy in the French College in Berlin, and he died there in 1739. He wrote histories of Christianity in India, and in Ethiopia, and from Berlin carried on a voluminous correspondence with most of the linguists of his time, including Leibniz, Bayer and Ziegenbalg, mentioned above, and among many others with John Chamberlain and David Wilkins in England. After his death this correspondence was published in Leipzig in 1742 as *Thesauri Epistolici La Croziani*. This collection may be regarded as the focus and index of most of the Oriental linguistic work of the early eighteenth century. Though he was no friend of the Roman Church his letters are constantly quoted in the publications of the Press of the Sacra Congregatio in the last thirty years of the century from the *Alphabetum Brammhanicum* of 1771 to the revised edition of the *Alphabetum Barmanorum* of 1787.

In view of the discovery of the Tell el Duweir Vase in 1933 and the still more recent researches of Mr. Starkey at Lachish in Palestine, which have furnished the missing link in the evolution of the Semitic and other alphabets from Ancient Egyptian, it is interesting to quote the La Croze letters. In his letters to La Croze, Ziegenbalg expressed the opinion that all the alphabets used on the Malabar and Coromandel coasts, in Ceylon, and other parts of India were derived from the Sanskrit alphabet used by the Brahmans. La Croze himself in letters to Bayer and John Chamberlain suggested a common origin of the Phœnician, Syrian, Arabic, Persian, and Brahman alphabets, and also hazarded a guess that they all derived from Egyptian hieratics and hieroglyphics.¹

Giovanni Cristofano Amaduzzi, who presided over the Press of the Sacra Congregatio, in his preface to the *Alphabetum Brammhanicum* of 1771, was well acquainted with these views, and expressing some doubt continues: "Nisi etiam dicere velimus Indostanum Alphabetum profluxisse ab alio antiquiore Brammhanico

¹ See tom. i, letter xiii, p. 16; tom. iii, letter ix, pp. 22, 23; letter xlii, p. 85; and letter cccix, pp. 381 et seq. "J'ai entre les mains les Alphabets Tartares de Tangut, et des Manchous, ceux de Bengale, de Ceylan, de Malabar, de Siam, etc., en partie manuscrits, et en partie imprimés; et je n'ai point eu de peine à me convaincre, que tous ces alphabets n'ont eu autrefois qu'une seule et même origine." La Croze, loc. cit., tome ii, p. 246. See also p. 353.

non admodum absimili; siquidem, teste Cassiano¹ nostro, extant nunc in Indostanicis Regionibus *antiqui Codices apicibus quibusdam exarati, quos et ipsi peritiores Brammhanes se ignorare ingenue fatentur, dum interim apud ipsos traditio est, neque eorum maiores, a quibus eos acceperant, huiusmodi litterarum, et nexuum praesertim, qui frequentes sunt, potestatem calluisse.*"²

The various *Alphabeta* of the Press of the Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide are abiding testimony to the work of the Capuchin Friars and other regular clergy working in India and Burma. Some of them contain phonetic and phonological observations quite similar to more recent ones which have brought faint thrills of discovery to observers even in our own time.

The *Alphabetum Brammhanicum* of 1771 presents notes on three alphabets, and below are a few which are of general interest, showing that these early observations had some phonetic and even phonological value—largely because the alphabet, though interpreted to Europeans in Latin or Italian terms, was presented also from the Indian point of view.

There is, for example, a clear separation of the unaspirated from the aspirated consonants, which though transcribed as at present by means of digraphs, *ph*, *bh*, etc., are classed as simple and not two sounds. Aspiration would be at once apparent as the observer notes: "*Quod apud Latinos non in usu habetur.*" The mention of "*in interiore gutture*" is especially suggestive of some glottal correlation; thus: "*Alios vero obscure in interiori gutture formant, et voce tenui ac quasi dimidiata proferunt. Alios quadam vi, et aliqua aspiratione exhalant.*"

Two other prominent phonological characteristics are noted, the cerebral or retroflex consonants and the use of nasalization. "*Alios insuper medio palato, scilicet ad palatum ipsum linguam inflectentes emittunt. Alios tandem narium ministerio pronunciant.*"

The dental *t* and *d* are, of course, at once recognized:—

"*a nostro t non differt*"

"*d, est nostrum d Latinum.*"

Of the retroflex *ṭ*, "*Aliter quam per t, haec a nobis Latinis explicari nequit, nec describi potest; quamvis longe sit diversa, eiusque pronunciationem assequi necessarium sit. Profertur lingua paullulum*

¹ Cassiano Beligatti, mainly responsible for the *Alphabetum*.

² *Alph. Brammh.*, pp. xii, xiii.

inversa, et palatum leniter percutiente, quo blesse pronunciatur." "Leniter percutiente" of 1771 shows much more feeling than "the tip must be pressed firmly against the highest part of the roof to form the obstruction and kept in this position for the greater part stop" [*sic*] of 1915.¹

Remembering Beligatti's source of information and probable acquaintance with the dialects of Bihar as well as Nepali, the following note on retroflex *ḍ* is interesting. It is given as "*da vel ra*", with the remark: "duplicem huius litterae pronunciationem habes; nunc enim, ut *d* blesum, nunc ut *r* itidem blesum, sed palatum similiter leniter percutiendo pronunciatur. Initio quidem dictionis semper ut *d* blesum pronunciabis, sed in medio, et in fine certa non habetur regula, modo *da*, modo *ra* dices."

On the affricate च (*c*), transcribed *cia*, the note is discriminating. Unlike many less scrupulous writers of later centuries, he rejects the Italian *cia*. "Neque haec ulli ex nostris litteris rite potest assimilari." Of the voiced correlate of this, transcribed *gia*, the note runs: "Nostro *gi* et *z* simul aridet haec littera."

What is said of ब (*Ba*) is also interesting: "Latinum *b*, de quo adnotes velim quod sicut in nostra Europa apud varias nationes *b* in *u*, and *v* consonans in *b* immutatur, et unum pro alio usurpatur, ita apud Indos invenies dicentes *vap-h* pro *bap-h*, (*vapor*) et *vavo* pro *bavo*." It is pointed out, however, that "*bha* non convertitur in *v*".

Of *m* there is the curious note: "quod debet aperto ore pronunciari . . . et obtuso effertur ore."

He distinguishes long and short vowels of the three types *a*, *i*, and *u*, and on the basis of the alphabet, groups what he transcribes as *e*, *ei*, and *o*, *au*, as similar pairs.

Of "Bisarkà" he says: "nullum proprium habet sonum, sed tantum indicio est litteram, cui iunctum est Bisarkà, proferre debere fortiter, ac si traheretur e pectore, sono tamen minime in longum protrahito."

In 1772 the Press published its *Alphabetum Grandonico-Malabaricum sive Samscrudonicum*, largely the work of "Clemens Peanius Alexandrinus", a Discalced Carmelite of the Verapoly Mission in Cochin. His title was intended to distinguish the literary alphabet from what he calls Malean-Tamuza or

¹ Noël-Armfield (on retroflex consonants) in *General Phonetics*, pp. 98-100.

Malabarico-Tamulicam—but he was under no misapprehension as to the language represented, “*quae proprie Maleáima vocatur, . . . lingua nova et incognita.*” He protested against the confusion of Malayalam with Tamil by Ziegenbalg, La Croze, and others, though apparently without effect on Pope, who described it as a sort of corrupt Tamil in the fifth edition of his Tamil grammar, published in 1895. “*Quasi idem prorsus esset Idioma Malabaricum atque Tamulicum; quo sane nihil absurdius hac in re comminisci potest. Asserere enim Tamulicam Linguam Malabaricam esse, aut Malabaricam esse Tamulicam, idem prorsus esset, ac si Gallicam diceres, et Italicam Linguam invicem non differre. Licet autem utriusque Linguae, Malabaricae, et Tamulicae radices communes sint.*”

Peanius recognizes five long and five short vowels and two diphthongs. He presents various types of syllable such as those “*quibus copulatur ja, seu jota*”, which we may describe as “yotized”.

Then there are combinations with “*r*”, “*l*” *Latinorum*, *v*, and also the characteristic doubling of consonants. Of a common final “*l*” he writes: “*linguae inflexione pronunciatur.*” Of another, which we sometimes think of as an *r* sound, he says it is rather like “*z finali Latinorum; sed pronunciatur cum aliquo sibilo, clauso ferme ore, ac retrorsum attracta lingua; idem tamen sonat in medio, ac in fine dictionis.*” Not at all a bad description of one of the most difficult sounds of Tamil and Malayalam.

The homorganic nasal on-glides to the voiced stops are noticed, which we may represent by *ṛk*, *ṛp*, *ṛt*, etc., in the Indian way.

The author notices several characteristic features of the language, especially the contrast between the lax pronunciation of single *p*, *t*, *k*, as *b*, *d*, *g*,¹ in intervocalic position, and the energetically articulated voiceless stops usually termed “double” *pp*, *tt*, *kk*.

“*Ka in principio dictionis aequivalet nostro k; in medio autem pronunciatur ut ga.*”

“*kka est idem duplex maiori vi prolatum, . . . profertur cum aliquo conatu . . . maiori tamen vi, quod in litteris duplicibus semper est observandum.*”

A second prominent characteristic of Malayalam is the palatalization of consonants. Peanius appears to have noticed this in distinguishing the two *r* sounds (in addition of course, to the retracted

¹ My own observations of the pronunciation of a native of Trivandrum made some years ago seemed to indicate that the lax intervocalic consonants here referred to were only feebly voiced and often fricative.

r or *l* sound previously mentioned, which he described as a sort of *z*). The first is "ut *r*; dulciter tamen, et tenerrime profertur prope dentes, iisdem quasi compressis." This is a good enough description of what we now recognize as a palatalized *r*. The second *r* is "ut *r* Latinorum, asperum valde et durum". He also notes the interesting fact that "si vero haec littera duplicetur, efformatur duplex *tt*, quod effertur compressis quasi dentibus, lingua ipsos impellente." This pronunciation is also clearly what we now recognize as palatalized, and, moreover, it is obviously quite a different sort of *t* from the dental and retroflex *t*'s which he also describes. It is the palatalized alveolar *t*, giving three different places of articulation for *t* sounds in intervocalic position in Malayalam: dental, alveolar, and retroflex.

Of the retroflex *t* he says: "est autem Europeis admodum difficilis, ac pronuntiatur inversa omnino retrorsum lingua, adeo ut interiorem palati summitatem attingat"—doubled intervocalically "cum maiori tamen impetu".

The dental *t* and similar sounds were, of course, easily recognized as *Latin*. Bearing in mind Peanius' observations on *vis*, *conatus*, and *impetus*, and *aspiratio*, it is interesting to find he regards all the aspirated voiceless consonants as tense and transcribes them as double consonants aspirated. Aspirated dental *t* is romanized as *tth* "quasi duplex *tt* cum maiori impetu". Similarly aspirated *p* is "duplex *p* cum impetu et aspiratione."

The author's notes on the aspirated voiced stop *bh* and the dental *dh* show he was not merely a slave of the spelling and that he really had a pretty good idea of the sort of bodily actions that produced these strange sounds. Of *bh* he says: "ut duplex *b*; efformatur ex intimis,¹ atque cum vi et aspiratione profertur." Of *dh*: "profertur ex intimis cum conatu et aspiratione." So very few Europeans succeed in understanding the single stroke effort *ex intimis*, required for an Indian *bh*, that one feels this insight must have been based on personal knowledge *ex intimis*.

Of the dental *dh*, however, he says: "quasi duplex *dd*, cum aliquo leni impetu," and does not mention aspiration. But for *ddh* occurring medially he says: "idem cum maiori vi, et aspiratione."

He lists most of the nasals including an *n* "ut *n* Latinorum clare";

¹ "Ex intimis" is a very good guess at the motor background of the aspirated consonants, which are single stroke efforts, the release of the stop synchronizing with a "kick" of the diaphragm, etc. Cf. "ex pectore" above.

and another "ut *n*, cum aliquo tamen narium ministerio"; that was the best he could do about the retroflex *n*.

He describes the palatal nasal as being like the *gn* of Italian, but not identical with it; "efformatur prope dentes cum aliquo narium ministerio." This is also in accordance with modern observations.

Other consonants noted are:—

va, ut *u* consonans Latinorum, aliquando ut *b*.

Scia, "ut *c* gallico ore prolatum," and different from this,

Sza "inter *s* et *z* pronuntiatur, inflexa ad palatum lingua."

Sa, "ut *s* Latinorum formatur prope dentes, quasi sibilando."

Kcia, "retracta lingua et ad palatum inversa cum impetu, et aspiratione profertur."

ha ut Germanico ore prolatum.

la—single and double—"est quoddam genus *l*, quod inflexa omnino ad palatum lingua crassiori sono efformatur."

za "quasi *z* Latinorum, dentibus labiisque vix apertis pronuntiatur, retracta tantillum lingua." He clearly distinguishes *s*, *ʒ*, and *ʒ*—three sibilants.

After all this excellent phonetic description, he concludes: "genuinus enim ipsarum sonus non scriptis, sed voce est aquirendus."

In the transcriptions at the end he makes use of grave and acute signs as some sort of indication of accent. Any detailed phonological study of Malayalam would have to pay special attention to accent and intonation.

The *Alphabetum Barmanorum seu Regni Avenensis* was first published in 1776, but it was much improved in the revised edition published in 1787. It represents the joint labours of Carpani and Mantegazza of the Catholic Mission.¹

¹ My attention was first drawn to the *Alphabetum Barmanorum* by my friend and colleague, Mr. G. E. Harvey, Lecturer in the Indian Institute, Oxford, who also very kindly wrote the note on the Mission, quoted below. Carpani knew both Ava and Pegu, spending seven years in Rangoon. Bishop Percoto sent him to Rome with "accurate information" about the mission, Burma, and the language. There is a short note on the *Alphabetum* by E. Luce in the *Journal of the Burma Research Society*, August, 1914, p. 144.

"The Catholic mission was small but already old when the first Protestant missionary landed in 1813. Indeed, there had always been a couple of Goanese priests in Burma from the sixteenth century onwards, under the Portuguese hierarchy in India, but they confined themselves to the feringhi colony and were, in addition, only semi-literate. The first mission, that of the Missions Etrangères de Paris (now the dominant Catholic mission in Burma), lasted only four years, 1689-1693, and ended in martyrdom, but it was followed by an unbroken succession of Italian Barnabites,

The *Alphabetum Barmanorum* notices most of the outstanding features of the phonetics of Burmese in presenting the syllabaries of the Burmese writing lesson. To begin with it points out the special role of aspiration, glottalization, and nasalization. "Plures Barmana lingua habet aspirationes, nasales, gutturales, aliasque, quibus ea locutio nobis perdifficilis est."

Carpani not only notices the aspiration of plosives but also of the four nasals and of *l* and *w*. "Quatuor priores nasali afficit aspiratio: qua nempe aër in pronuncianda littera per nares exploditur." Of *hl* and *hw* he says: "quasi pronunciatur *fla*, *fua*." Moreover, he draws attention to the morphology in this connection "In hac denique lingua per solam saepe aspirationem significatio activa tribuitur verbo neutro aut passivo. Sic, *kià* (*ca*) *cadere*, vel *decidere*; *khia* (*cha*) *deponere* vel *deicere*; [*hlut*] *dimittere*; [*lut*] *liberum esse*."

In addition to noticing the antithesis of aspirated and unaspirated consonants, he fully appreciated similar qualities in the vowels or syllables. A certain sign, for example, "postspirandae syllabae adhibetur," which we now call breathy voice and correlate with length

1721-1832, and it is to these that we owe our first studies of the language. There can be little doubt that both Judson, the founder of the American Baptist Mission in 1813, who wrote the first great dictionary, and the American Baptists whose studies thereafter held the field, were indebted, if only indirectly, to early Catholic MSS. which no longer survive, the bulk perishing in the fire of 1840 which burned down the headquarters mission station at Chanthayua in Shwebo district. Within four years of their arrival in 1721 the Barnabite Fathers had compiled a small dictionary, and in the next few decades they wrote MS. grammars and bilingual devotional works, but the first printed work was the *Alphabetum*. Its author, Melchior Carpani, who arrived in 1767 and does not seem to have returned after leaving for Rome in 1774, was stabbed by one of the Goanese priests, who persistently resented the intrusion of the Barnabites, men of a high type, whose mere presence inevitably invited comparisons; his first edition, 1776, was doubtless based on the work of his colleagues, and the second, 1787, was revised by Mantegazza. Fr. Caejetan Mantegazza, arriving in 1772, died as bishop in 1794 at Amarapura, the then capital where his tombstone still exists; when sailing for Rome in 1784 he took with him two Burmese converts, one of whom, an ex-Buddhist monk and hence a scholar, assisted in the printing, at Rome, not only of the *Alphabetum* but also of a Burmese prayer book, catechism, and dialogues. Fr. Johannes Maria Percoto, who, mourned by the author of the *Alphabetum* as a better scholar than himself, arrived in 1761 and died as bishop in 1776 at Ava the then capital—the Burmese periodically changed their capitals—left translations of epistles and gospels, Genesis, Daniel, Tobias, St. Matthew, prayers, catechism, etc., and a Burmese-Latin-Portuguese dictionary, some of which seem to survive in the Library of the College of the Propaganda at Rome. See Bishop Bigandet, *Outline of the History of the Catholic Mission, 1720-1887*, Rangoon, Hanthawaddy Press, 1887; Hosten and Luce, *Bibliotheca Catholica Birmanica*, Rangoon, British Burma Press, 1916; G. E. Harvey, *History of Burma* (Longmans, 1925), pp. 214, 230, 253, 278, 345, 349".

and falling tone. Another is "signum producendae syllabae". While of the opposite kind are the signs which mark short checked syllables, e.g. "syllabam corripit." "Punctum suppositum syllabam brevissimi reddit soni, et quasi truncat." In describing vowels he notices an *i* which is long and an *i*, "breve ac quasi truncum," and also the opposite kind of syllable which he transcribes *kæh*, "cum e aperta et postspirata."¹

His account of the pronunciation of syllables written with final *p*, *t*, *k*, and the check mark is quite in accordance with modern observations, so that the final glottal stop in such short syllables was usual in the late eighteenth century, e.g. on a syllable which he transcribes *kæk* he remarks: "ita tamen, ut posterius *k* vix audiat: nempe vix enunciar coeptum supprimitur; quod quidem in qualibet muta finali observandum est."²

He describes nasalized vowels by comparing Burmese syllables with French words. Burmese syllables transcribed with final *n* as *kæñ*, and *kouñ* he likens to French *vin*, *pain*, *bon*, *baton*. But he realized they were really different from these, for he adds a remark which modern observation confirms: "*n* vix coepta supprimitur." On the syllable transcribed *kouñ* his remark is also in accordance with modern observations: "*ñ*, nasalis, diphthongus vix percipitur." He also noticed that such nasalizations when followed immediately by the initial consonant of the next syllable, usually formed a homorganic junction, heard as *m + b*, *n + d*, *ŋ + g*, etc.

Carpani noticed the behaviour of the stops in various contexts: "saepius vero *t*, *p*, aliasque fortes, duplicesve in *d*, *b*, et in alias simplices, seu tenues. Sed quasdam hac in re licuit regulas animadvertere, quas in alphabeto notavimus." And later he observes that after certain nasals and other syllables "consonantes immediate sequentes, quae valide, seu durae sunt ut *p*, *t*, *k*, pronunciantur *b*, *d*, *g*, paucae admodum exceptiones hac in re obtinent."

In phonological terms we should now say that the presence or absence of aspiration or "breathiness", is used far more, has more linguistic weight, than the presence or absence of voice, or the voice correlation. Whereas the correlation of aspiration differentiates most

¹ See my "Notes on the Transcription of Burmese", *Bulletin S.O.S.*, Vol. VII, Part I, 1933, also the remarks thereon of Professor Trubetzkoy in his recent *Anleitung zu phonologischen Beschreibungen*, 1935, p. 29.

² In Modern Korean the final voiceless stops *p*, *t*, *k*, are held, and quietly released. There is no plosion. But they do not seem to have given place to the glottal stop.

articulation types in pairs, and this in most of the typical contexts, there is one very common context in which the voice correlation does not function, and a second context in which it is doubtful.

The first is the context immediately after very short syllables ending with a sharp glottal check, where the only unaspirated plosives to occur in familiar speech are of the *p, t, k* type. Taking the bilabial class of stops, *p, py, pw*, and *ph, phy, phw* are all possible, giving six alternants of the bilabial stop class in this context—and no further differentiation by voice. Here we have what I have termed uncorrelated *p, t, k*.

Something very like the opposite would appear to be the case in the context immediately after long syllables with closing nasalization, where in most cases, but apparently not in all, the sounds heard are like *b, d, g*, and are not used in contradistinction from *p, t, k*. These I should term uncorrelated *b, d, g*.

It seems to me quite unnecessary and probably erroneous to postulate relations between the stops in these two utterly different contexts. The question of notation or what letters we shall use in Romanic orthography is another matter altogether.

Another feature of the *Alphabetum* which deserves notice is the classification of the different types of syllable to be met with in this so-called monosyllabic language. It seems to me more enlightening than a mere catalogue of so-called individual sounds, perhaps because it follows the Burmese traditional writing lesson, and also because it agrees in some measure with the modern contextual approach.

He gives six classes of syllable in the orthography, but naturally some of these classes correlate also with phonetic habit and morphological structure. There is, of course, the distinction between the short sharply checked syllables and the long breathy ones, which we have already noticed as two characteristic contexts in which immediately following consonants should also be studied. He also notices those which begin with aspirated consonants, as well as the breathy ones which fade out, "postspirandae." Then there are the diphthong-syllables. "Diphthongi autem, atque etiam triphthongi in tota lingua Barmana frequentes admodum sunt." He notices *ei* with "*e* praestricta", *ou* with "*o* medium", and also *ai* and *au*.

There is another characteristic contrast of syllables in Burmese between those which begin with a yotized consonant group and those beginning with a labio-velarized group: e.g. *py, phy, my, hmy, ly*,

hly, etc., against pw, phw, mw, hmw, lw, hlw, etc. These form classes five and four in the *Alphabetum*. Of the yotization of syllables, it says: "Hoc igitur signum brevissimi sonum i syllabæ intrudit, ut est in ghiaccio, pianta apud Italos." The "w" sound in the other class is given as the *u* of the Italians or the *ou* of the French.

The sixth class is really only due to orthographic superfluities, the Burmese letter "r", for instance, being pronounced "y".

Carpani's description of the vowels holds good to-day. "Barmani septem habent sonos, seu vocales Italarum: duas *e*; apertam nempe, et prastrictam: duo *o*; medium, et largum, seu apertum: atque *a*, *i*, *u*." Failing ordinary letters for the two extra vowels he employs *æ* and the Greek *ω* in his transcriptions of the open *e* and *o*.

The close *e* "ut in *née*, *portée* apud gallos.

The open *æ* "ut è in *après*, or *chaîne*, *grêle* apud Gallos".

For the open *o* he suggests "apertum ut in *voto* seu *vuoto* apud Italos".

For the two letters corresponding to *y* and *r* he gives the same pronunciation. His note on *r* being "quam multi in pronunciatione in precedentem mutant".

For the Burmese characters which may be transliterated *hy*, *hðy*, and *hr* he gives the Italian indication *scia* or French *chien*. This, too, accords with modern observation. In Romanic orthography this element could be written *hy*, as it was probably an aspirated yotized group originally, and is now pronounced *ʃ*, rather like a certain very fronted pronunciation of the *ich-laut*.

Carpani shows acquaintance with French, but not with Spanish or English. He found the velar nasal *ŋ* difficult to describe. He says of this letter: "quam per *ñg* utcumque expressimus, simplicis est soni, nullisque nostris litteris exprimi potest." And the best he can do for the sound *θ* is to suggest it is a lisped *s*. "absque sibilo; uti apud nos quoque in nonnullis auditur vitio linguæ vel educationis."

He heard a *g*, "iuxta Germanorum pronunciationem," and the affricates *c* and *j* he transcribes as *ts* and *tzh*. On the whole, it will be agreed this *Alphabetum* was an excellent piece of work for that time, and was not surpassed or equalled until our own day.

The following table of letters is appended as an example of a schematic Romanic alphabet for Burmese:—

EXAMPLE OF ONE ARTICULATION TYPE

Initial Alternance Only

Basic type of articulation	Bilabial Articulation involving lip closure			Alveolar	Velar
	Voiceless [p]	Aspiration	Voice Correlation	t	k
	p	ph	b	t, etc.	k
Yotization . . .	py	phy	by	<i>nil</i>	<i>nil</i>
Labio-velarization .	pw	phw	bw	tw, etc.	kw, etc.
Nasalization . . .	hm		m	hn, etc.	hy, etc.
Nasalization and Yotization	hmy		my	<i>nil</i>	ny or specialized palatal p
Nasalization and Labio-velarization	hmw		mw	hnw, etc.	ɣw
Total . . .	9		6	10	9
	Total of 15 "substitution counters" or terms having basic lip closure or bilabial articulation occurring in initial position.				Total of 34 for plosives and nasals in initial position.

SCHEMATIC ALPHABET FOR BURMESE IN WORLD ORTHOGRAPHY

Initial Alternance Only

	Bilabial Articulation	Alveolar Articulation	Pre-palatal Articulation	Palatal Art.	Velar Articulation	Glottal Art.
	p ph b	t th d	c ch j		k kh g	
Yotiza- tion	py phy by				(see c, ch, j)	
Labio- velariz- ation	pw phw bw	tw thw dw	cw chw jw		kw khw gw	
Nasals	hm m	hn n			hŋ ŋ	
Yotized nasals	hmy my	(see hny, ny)		Palatal hny ny		
Labio- velarized nasals	hmw mw	hnw nw			ŋw	
	w					
	Dentals	hl l				
	{ θ ð }	hly ly	- Laterals similarly treated.			
	{ θw ðw }	hlw lw				
		s sh z ʃ				
		shw zw				
	w			y		h
				yw		
				(hy = ʃ)		

VOWELS.

Low level tone, long, greatest frequency of occurrence.	i iŋ	e eiŋ	ɛ	a aŋ	ɔ	o ouŋ	u uŋ	aiŋ	auŋ
Falling tone, long, breathy	i' iŋ'	e' eiŋ'	ɛ'	a' aŋ'	ɔ'	o' ouŋ'	u' uŋ'	aiŋ'	auŋ'
Slightly falling, medium length, creaky voice, weak closure.	i' iŋ'	e' eiŋ'	ɛ'	a' aŋ'	ɔ'	o' ouŋ'	u' uŋ'	aiŋ'	auŋ'
Very short, "bright" voice, abrupt closure, slightly falling.	i [?] iŋ [?]	ei [?] eiŋ [?]	ɛ [?]	a [?]		ou [?]	u [?]	ai [?]	au [?]
Neutral				ə					

TEXT IN BROAD TRANSCRIPTION

I. BURMESE

θə 'diŋ za shə ya hniŋ' 'nyiŋ 'khoun 'jiŋ

lu tə yau[?] θi, θə 'diŋ za də zaun go, kaiŋ 'pyi hlyiŋ, θə 'diŋ za tai[?] θo' 'θwa yau[?] ywe', θə 'diŋ za shə ya 'ji 'a, ci' 'zaŋ, θiŋ do' θə 'diŋ za ha, 'kauŋ 'la; cou[?] ə myi go lu θe sə 'yiŋ 'dɛ ma, the' 'tha dɛ. ci' 'zaŋ sho 'pyi, θə 'diŋ za go pya' ywe', 'kaiŋ, da bɛ' nɛ' 'pyo jiŋ 'θe θə 'lɛ, hu', 'do θa' hniŋ' 'mɛ θi.

θə 'diŋ za shə ya 'ji ga', o, 'θi khaŋ do mu ba; di ha, sa 'louŋ si θə 'ma gə 'le 'mya, 'hma lo', phyi[?] pa leiŋ' mɛ. 'θi khaŋ do mu ba, hu', yo θe zwa 'tauŋ baŋ 'to 'fo 'pyo θi.

lu 'ji ga', tɛ 'kauŋ dɛ, θiŋ do' do', sa 'louŋ 'hma 'θwa youŋ. cou[?] hma bɛ pouŋ ə 'co you[?] mɛ sho da, mɛ 'pyo naiŋ 'bu, sho lyɛ[?], θə 'diŋ za shə ya 'ji ga' kha' ga' ya' ya' 'tauŋ baŋ ywe', ce ya' θo 'li, 'do θa' ga' mɛ pye θi' lɛ[?] kha na hniŋ' 'pyo θi.

θə 'diŋ za shə ya 'ji ga', ə 'co mɛ you[?] ya' auŋ, cuŋ do pyiŋ ba' mɛ. nɛ[?] phyau θə 'diŋ za hnaɪ[?], 'mwe 'phwa sə 'yiŋ ga', khiŋ 'bya ə myi go, the' lai[?] pa' mɛ pyau 'pyo le θi.¹

¹ Story from Armstrong and Pe Maung Tin's *Burmese Reader*, p. 41. Recorded on H.M.V. C1181.

TEXTS IN WORLD ORTHOGRAPHY

II. TAMIL

paal kuṭikkaata puunai unṭaa entru raajaa tennaali raamaniṭam keeṭṭaar. tennaali raaman unṭu entru paṭil connan. appaṭiyaanaal konṭuvaa entru uttaraviṭṭaar.

tennaali raaman tan viiṭṭuku pooy puunai ontrai piṭṭitu atan munnaal kotittukkonṭirukkum paalai vaiṭṭaan. paalai kuṭikka poona puunaiyin mukam ventu pooyittru. ippuṭi iranṭorutaram naṭanta pin, anta puunai eppootu paalai kaṇṭaalum (o)ṭṭam piṭṭittatu. kaṭaiciyaaka puunaiyai raajaaviṭam kaṇṭ pitṭaan. raajaa mikavum aaccariyappaṭṭaar.

III. TELUGU

voka roozuna tenaaliraamalingani koḍuku tondara tondaragaa raazugaari darjanaaniki vaccinaaḍu. kaṇḍḍanta niirugaa vaccinaaḍu. vaanini cuucina vaarandariki aajcaryamu puṭṭinadi. ataniki eemi aapada vaccinadi janulaku booda paḍaleedu. vaaḍu tinnagaa raazugaari vaddaku vacci mahaaprabuu!

maa kompa munigipooyindi. naa tandri canipooyinaaḍu; ani manavi ceesukunnaaḍu. aa sangati vini raazugaaru aajcaryapaḍinaaru. aayananu aajrayincukoni, tannu dukhamulandus antooṣapettu cundina raamalingaḍu gatincanandoku raazugaaru mikkili vyasana-paḍaaru. venṭanee aayana, tana paricaarulanu pilici, konta dravyamunu tenaali raamalingani komaarunikivvamani uttaraviccinaaru.

IV. MARATHI

eka baiyne ek mwngws paḷyle hote. tyā mwngwsala tytsa far ləḷa laglela hote. te tycya ghəri ekadya mwlaprəmaṇe vavrət əse. hyamwle tyā ghərat sapakyrḍaci əgdi bhiti nəse. eke dyvfi əse dzhale ki, ti bai aplea tanhya mwlaḷa badzevər nydzvun paṇi aṇavəyas nədivər geli; ytkyat ek moṭha sap ghərat ſyrun, tyā badzevər tsəḍhu lagla. mwngsaci drṣṭi tyadzvər dzatats, mwlaḷa ha tsavṇar əse pahun tyane tabḍtob sapavər wḍi ghatli, aṇi tyaci khaṇḍoḷi kərən takyli! mwlaḷi ai ghəri yete to daratəts mwngws tyca drṣṭis pəḍle; tyatse tonḍ rəktane bhərele hote. apla pərakrəṃ tyla dakhvynya kərytats dzəṇw kay te tycya tonḍakəḍe pəhat rahyle! pəṇ tyla əse vaṭle ki, mwngsane az aple mul marun khalle! tevḥā tyla dzo rag ala tyacya

dzhəpətyat tyne bhərlela haṇḍa mwəṣacya dokyavər ʃakyla. tya mule mwəṣatse ɖoke fuṭun te tatkaḷ mərəṇ pavle. pwɖhe ti bai badzevər dzaun pəhate, to sapatse twkɖe tycya drəʃis pəɖle, və mul hi khwʃal nidzlyatse tyla aɖhəʃun ale.

V. URDU

ek buṛhe admi ki mawṭka vəqt jəb qərīb aya to ek ləkṛiōka gəṭṭha bandkər əpne beṭō se kəha ky wse toṛē. hər eknē bari bari zor ləgaya lekyn gəṭṭha nə ʃuṭa. buṛhe təjrubəkar bapnē phyr gəṭṭheko kholdia awr ek ek kərke sari ləkṛiā tordī. phyr əpne beṭōse mwaxatyb hokar kayhne ləga “pyare beṭo! jəb maṽ ys jəhāse kuc kərjaū to twmhē cahie ke ys ləkṛiōke gəṭṭhe ki tərhe rəho. əgər twm bahəm pyaromwhəbbətse rəhoge to taqətvər se taqətvər admi bhi twmhē iza nə pəhṽca səkēge. lekyn əgər twm ek dusrə ke dwʃmən bəngəe awr əlayhyda əlayhyda hogəe, to kəmzor admi bhi twmhare ys nyfaq se faeda wʃhakər twmhē zərur nica dykhaēge.

VI. MODERN PERSIAN

yeki əz əʔyane məmlekəte iran, do ədəd ənjir ke taze dər bayəʃ rəsīde bud, bəraye padəʃahe xod beʔenvane tohfe fərestad ve dər ərizei ke befah neveʃt motezəkər ʃod do ədəd ənjir ke piʃəz mousem rəsīde bud, təqdime əʔlahəzrəte homayuni mikonəd. ʃah pəsəz xandəne morasele xeili xoʃvəqt gərdide. vəhokm kərd ke qasəde hamele ərize ənjirhara behozur avərde enʔame xodra begirəd. vəli moteʔəjjebane did fəyət yek ənjir dər zərfəst əz qasəd porsid an ənjire digər ku, qasəd ərz kərd an digərira xordəm. ʃah moteʔəyyerane goft cetour xordi, qasəd ərz kərd in tour, ve qoulra ba feʔl yeki nəmude ənjire doyyomira bedəhəne xod gozafte və xord.

After the presentation of a schematic alphabet for Burmese with an illustrative text, and experiments in world orthography for Tamil, Telugu, Marathi, Urdu, and Persian, attention must be drawn to certain fundamental questions raised by the employment of world orthography to symbolize the forms of languages which have hitherto made no systematic use of Romanic characters.

The first thing to be said is that the Roman alphabet has been found to work well from the days of greater Rome to the present time,

when Western civilization is become a world civilization. Hence the phrase world orthography. The Roman alphabet has proved practical in all kinds of printing, both by hand and machines. In education in its widest sense, in all manner of notation, popular and scientific, it serves us well. We have evolved a variety of founts of type and spacing for effective lay-out in all sorts of printed language. We have developed new letters in harmony with the alphabet, also accents and punctuative signs. No nation, no people, need hesitate to adopt it. Those who have will not go back.

On the general advantages of the Roman alphabet, Professor Otto Jespersen has written a useful article which serves as the introduction to a report published in 1934 by the League of Nations *Co-opération Intellectuelle*, entitled "L'adoption universelle des caractères latins".¹

Of the practical advantages, one or two forceful illustrations may be given. The technical results of Romanization in Turkey are: With Arabic characters a compositor could handle 4,500 in six hours. With Roman 7,000 in the same time. The cost of production has been reduced from 25 to 50 per cent according to the size of the work. The number of *touches* on the typewriter keyboard has been reduced from 90 to 37, and the employment of machines and typists enormously increased.²

Professor van Ronkel, of the University of Leyden, writes³: "L'écriture javanaise est belle, mais compliquée et peu économique: un text y occupe trois fois plus de place qu'en écriture latine. Les livres sont donc trois fois plus gros qu'il n'est nécessaire."

Furthermore, the Turks have proved the great advantages of the new alphabet in schools, and a rapid multiplication of books and libraries has followed the adoption of an alphabet at once simpler and better suited to represent the forms of the language, and also much cheaper in production costs.

In addition to practical advantages of this kind, the Roman alphabet has definite merits as the framework of a scientific linguistic notation. It lends itself to analysis and synthesis. It does not build syllabaries. It is analytic, using a comparatively small number of signs which can be arranged and employed to suit the phonology and morphology of almost any language. Moreover, the synthesis of the

¹ Afterwards referred to as A.U.C.L.

² See A.U.C.L., pp. 126-9, by Professor Caferoğlu, of Constantinople. And p. 136, by Professor Rossi, of Rome.

³ A.U.C.L., p. 92.

letters produces easily recognizable differentiated word-forms as wholes, the differential elements suitably symbolized by letters or signs having their places in the word and also in an ordered series of alternants established by analysis. Having analysed the language into a number of ordered series of letter-units, you put the "pieces" together again and find you have differentiated word-forms. When you put together your "pieces" and find the result corresponds with the facts you have a scientific or "organic" alphabet. It is not surprising, therefore, to find Professor Caferoğlu reporting that the adoption of Roman characters "a conduit également à une *simplification de la langue*", that it has had some influence "sur la grammaire turque", and that it has opened "de nouveaux horizons aux *recherches philologiques* concernant la langue turque."¹

The alphabetic revolution in Turkey is, in fact, the most significant movement in the recent history of the world alphabet. It was at the epoch-making Turcological Congress, held at Baku in 1926, that representatives of the Turkish republic, of the Turco-Tartar peoples of Russia and of Russian and other European Universities, proclaimed the necessity and the opportunity of abandoning the Arabic alphabet in favour of the Roman character. Within two years the alphabetic revolution affected about 25,000,000 Turco-Tartars in the U.S.S.R., which has been carrying out a great Romanization programme ever since among the Asiatic daughter republics.² Turkey herself followed, and what is called the N.A.T. ("nouvel alphabet turc") came into force partially on 1st January, 1929, and completely on 1st June, 1930.

In Russia it is true that earlier moves towards Romanization had been made by several local governments, in particular by Azerbaijan, but the Congress of 1926 marked the beginning of comprehensive "alphabetization" on a vast scale. In 1922 only two languages of the Russian Union had adopted a new alphabet, but the number given for 1933 is seventy!

The Russians attach great importance to the unification of the many Roman orthographies which had been independently devised in pre-Soviet days, and they report: "Actuellement l'unification se poursuit; elle se manifeste par la progression de la fusion phonétique et graphique des alphabets nationaux, la simplification de la forme des lettres et la réduction de leur nombre."

¹ See A.U.C.L., pp. 124-5. Italics Professor Caferoğlu's.

² See A.U.C.L., pp. 133-4, by Professor Rossi, the official Soviet report on p. 161, and a report on Romanization in the U.S.S.R. by Professor Braun, of Leipzig, pp. 142 seq.

That leads us to the elements of the whole technique of symbolizing the forms of a language by the use of Roman letters. It may be described as alphabetical economy. To make the most economical use of letters it is essential that the fullest advantage be taken of contextual conventions, thus reducing the number of signs required not only for the symbolization of the terms of an ordered series of possible alternants in any given context but for the particular orthography as a whole. To achieve this, thorough phonological and morphological analysis is necessary. "Si toutes ces questions ne sont pas suffisamment examinées et résolues d'une manière uniforme, l'orthographe reste maladroite, lourde, difficile à lire, et elle a peu d'attrait pour les indigènes, qui doivent d'abord s'habituer à la lecture. Sous ce point de vue les orthographes déjà existantes ne sont certainement pas toutes très satisfaisantes."¹

To a nucleus of thirty-three Roman letters the Soviet linguists have added fifty-eight new ones, making a total of ninety-one letters in a sort of unified alphabet which they think will serve all the languages of the Union. There is a great danger of swamping the characteristics of the alphabet if too many new letters are employed. This may quite well result if the letters are based on universal phonetic categories instead of on a phonological analysis of each language *ad hoc*. The Arabic and Indian alphabets are such that they have developed either initial, medial and final forms or special compound letters. Such specializations of form may even be justified by abstract general phonetic theory, but very little can be said for them from the point of view of alphabetical economy. An orthography can be too phonetic. The value of a Roman letter depends on its position and the context.

A certain number of new letters such as those devised by the International Phonetic Association are undoubtedly necessary. But, as Professor Troubetzkoy quite rightly points out, "Souvent ces caractères modifiés sont très nombreux de sorte que l'aspect général d'un texte écrit dans un tel alphabet est tout à fait 'exotique'. En raison de cette circonstance un des principaux arguments cité d'ordinaire en faveur de l'adoption des caractères latins pour toutes les langues du monde se trouve presque réduit à néant."² Most spelling is phonologically, not phonetically, representative.

A schematic system of spelling or regular alphabet which enables

¹ A.U.C.L., p. 34. Professor D. Westermann reporting on Africa.

² A.U.C.L., p. 48, reporting on the peoples of the Caucasus.

us to symbolize the forms of a language by means of combinations of letters and other signs without redundancy and yet without ambiguity must be based on linguistic analysis and involves the consideration of word formation and sentence structure as well as of pronunciation. From the Saussurean point of view, which has been applied and developed in English by Dr. Alan Gardiner,¹ orthography is representative of language, not speech.

That is a striking way of saying half the truth, and perhaps the half that has too often been obscured. But there is quite obviously a danger in following Baudouin de Courtenay, de Saussure and Durkheim to the extent of the abstract integration of "sounds" or "phonemes" or letters and signs in a mental scheme of ideas or in "the language as a whole". This kind of abstraction goes further than is at present either necessary or desirable for the handling of our facts. In the symbolization of the forms of a language by means of an ordered system of letters and signs, the first principle should be the recognition of characteristic recurrent contexts in which an ordered series of phonological substitutions may take place.

If we take an ordered series of English words or forms such as *bi:d, bid, bed, bæd, baid, bo:d, bu:d, bad, bæd beid, boud, baid, baud, boid, biəd, bæd*, we have sixteen vowel alternants in what may be considered the same context. Between *d* and *g*, however, only three are possible.

In final position the number of possible vowel alternances is two, sometimes three less than in medial position. In initial position in isolated words the nasal alternances are *m, n*, in intervocalic and final positions *m, n, ŋ*. But immediately before a final *k* only *ŋ* is possible, before final *p* only *m* is possible, though before final *t* and *d*, which have morphological function, all three are again possible, *m, n, ŋ*.

In the application of World Orthography to Indian languages the letters *m, n, p, ŋ, ɳ*, have been used to represent the unique homorganic nasals preceding certain stops, as well as for the series of nasals which may occur in initial position. But we refrain from any functional identification for example of a specific or unique *m* on-glide to a homorganic stop, and an *m* as a term in a three, four, or five term alternance in initial position.

The initial medial, intervocalic and final positions in Tamil agglutinations give contexts in each of which various series of

¹ In his *Theory of Speech and Language*, Oxford, 1932.

alternances may take place. These must be studied in close connection with the morphology, each series of terms in each context independently, at any rate in the first instance. Similar considerations apply to Malayalam. In that language the consonantal alternance in initial position includes, for example, two homorganic plosives differentiated by the voice correlation which we may symbolize by **k** and **g**. In intervocalic position, however, the consonantal alternance includes two homorganic sounds differentiated by the tensity-laxity correlation which appears to affect the whole manner of articulation, involving also length, and a parallel laryngeal correlation of some sort; both these are again differentiated from a third sound by the voice correlation. This gives us a three-term alternance which we may symbolize by means of **kk**, **k**, and **g**. It so happens that intervocalic **kk** sounds rather like initial **k**, and intervocalic **k** rather like **g**, except that it is feebly voiced and often fricative. It will be seen at once that from the logical and functional point of view it is impossible to identify the terms of the first series with the second series. It is practically convenient to use the same letters over again both from the point of view of pronunciation and alphabetic economy. We may write **to:kt** and **sips**, using **t** and **s** both initially and finally, and they may correspond to similar sounds, but the two **t**'s and the two **s**'s are phonologically and morphologically different. Or take the English word *stick*, which may be transcribed **stik** or **sdik**, according to the nature of the contextual conventions laid down. Discussions have taken place on the further and quite gratuitous question of whether "the sound" after the **s** is to be identified with **t**'s or **d**'s in other contexts.

In other words the value of any letter is determined by its place in the context and by its place in the alternance functioning in that type of context. This I have called its *minor* function, but grammatical and semantic function must also be considered. These I have termed *major* functions.¹

These ordered series of alternants vary from context to context, so that minor function is not a constant for the language as a whole. The number and nature of the terms of such series also vary from context to context, and it is useful to note the range from contexts of maximum alternance to those of minimum alternance.¹ It follows,

¹ See my "Use and Distribution of Certain English Sounds", *English Studies*, February, 1935. Also my "Technique of Semantics", in *Transactions of the Philological Society of Great Britain*, 1935.

therefore, that the differential function of the signs or letters varies from context to context. The same letter may be used to symbolize terms in several different ordered series of alternances. Its phonetic value categorized by perception or physiological phonetics may or may not be similar. A balance must be struck between the convenience of using the same letter for terms which are roughly similar phonetically and the great alphabetic economies rendered possible if the same letter can be used for a variety of purposes according to context.

The most uneconomical, I almost said extravagant, alphabets are those of an abstract schematic order, universal, purely logical and symmetrical but extra-linguistic. Such alphabets are sometimes necessary for dialect and comparative work and in the earlier stages of phonetic research. But they are quite unsuitable for descriptive grammar or as a basis of a practical orthography.

The great advantage of this alphabetic economy based on the fullest use of contextual conventions is what may be described as free letters. Such redundant letters not required in any particular context may be used in all manner of ways. For example, in the Burmese orthography here suggested it would be possible to eliminate the mark which distinguishes the long falling tone with breathy voice, now written for example 'la, and use a final letter *h*, thus *lah*, but this would have the inconvenience that many syllables would have to be separated either by spaces or joined by means of hyphens. Otherwise in compounds printed together there would be confusion with such terms as *hl*, *hm*, etc.

Other common redundancies arise in contexts where certain differentiations do not occur, such as the absence of voice correlation or of distinctions between *f* and *h*, *r* and *l*, *w* and *v*. Sometimes a redundant letter may be used with the purely lexical function of separating homophones. For example, in Cambodian, which employs an alphabet of Indian origin, the final aspirated consonant is really redundant from the phonological point of view. But it serves a useful purpose in separating, for instance, "*duk* conservator, de *dukh* malheur".¹ Something of the same sort would probably be necessary in a reformed spelling of English.

It is probably true that there are no qualities in any letter taken by itself which make it inherently superior to any other. What matters

¹ A.U.C.L., p. 43, by M. Martini, of Paris.

is again the clearness and distinctness of the differential features. *g* is probably better than *g*, if *q* is used in similar contexts.

Another important question affecting alphabetic economy and phonological theory is that of consonant groups and consonant junctions, which must be clearly distinguished in all phonological analysis.

Both digraphs and trigraphs are used in my Burmese orthography, but these compound letters are to be understood to represent not two or three substitution elements in the forms of the language, but single substitution counters or terms belonging to an alternance occurring in initial position. The bodily actions corresponding to these units are all, so to speak, single stroke efforts. Many of the theoretical difficulties of phonetics have been due to the mistaken notion that the events of a phonetic sequence correspond to the string of Roman letters used to symbolize the linguistic forms in the sequence.

Some people are of the opinion that one element should be represented by one letter, not a group of three. As things are I prefer the ordinary world alphabet as far as possible. But I am convinced that we must not allow the characteristics of the Roman alphabet to dictate the course of linguistic thought.

Consonant groups, such as *st*, *str*, *sp*, *spl*, *sk*, *skr*, in initial position in English, are best regarded as group substituents, and no attempt should be made to identify the function of the letter "t" (here part of a digraph or trigraph) with that of a similar letter used in another context. It is important however to distinguish such groups from consonant junctions, cf. . . . *missed riding*, . . . *Miss tried*, . . . *in my stride*.

The contextual study of such consonant groups and consonant junctions is likely to produce interesting results from several points of view, phonetic, morphological, syntactical, and also what I have termed phonæsthetic.¹ There are also obvious historical advantages in this way of regarding groups like *sp*, *st*, *sk*. I have presented a table of such initial consonant groups in English in the article referred to.

From the foregoing summary of a technique of contextualization it will be clear that no attempt is made to establish psychological or phonological relations between terms of different series. The contexts can be systematically analysed and various alternances constituted, but it does not follow that all these alternances or systems should be

¹ See my "Use and Distribution of certain English Sounds", *English Studies*, Feb., 1935.

forced into a single theoretical architectonic scheme.¹ What letters are practically convenient in orthography is a different question and involves additional criteria. In the contextual technique I advocate, the statistical method is the one to be followed, and this allows discontinuity and change of measure and value from context to context.

If the ultimate units of linguistic material be treated in this way context by context, there is no fun left in the notorious question "Are *ŋ* and *h* the same phoneme in English?"²

Further progress in phonology will depend on the constitution of alternances the terms of which have differential values in the characteristic and significant contexts of a given language. Up to the present no such exhaustive study has been completed, so that we are not really in a position to examine what relations, if any, there may be between phonetically similar terms of different alternances. We are, of course, accustomed to refer to the influence one "sound" is said to have on another, to inter-syllabic relations such as vowel harmony, inter-word relations such as assimilation, and at first sight it would seem that these facts are overlooked in a narrow contextual technique. They are approached in a different way, and will be more fully understood when exhaustively examined context by context.

The minor function of an alternant, that is of one term of an alternance, is determined by the constitution of the alternance as a series of terms having differential values in a certain type of context. Other facts are irrelevant. A term is to be considered first in relation to its context and secondly to the relevant linked alternance. What relations it may have to the language as a whole is difficult to guess. To treat a language as a sort of unity does not mean that every element is to be regarded as in equal relation to every other element. The phonological description of a language will reveal not just one

¹ In the *Alphabetum Barmanorum* it is obvious from the way various types of syllables are presented in the traditional Burmese way, that the number and nature of the terms or possible "substituents" varies from context to context, and that a set of letters is not being set up as a functioning system *in vacuo* apart from context. Nevertheless, Carpani finds it necessary to issue the following warning: "Observandum tamen est non omnia quidem haec signa cum qualibet littera, aut syllaba coniungi vel solere, vel etiam posse." That he should have gone out of his way to say this shows that he realized the common mistake of regarding a set of letters as a whole as free units or terms in a sort of mathematical relationship.

² See Twaddell, "On defining the Phoneme," *Language Monograph* No. XVI, pp. 10 ff. and 25 ff.

architectonic system, but a series of systems which taken together give a complete and unambiguous account of the facts.

In the translator's preface to Holger Pedersen's *Linguistic Science in the Nineteenth Century*, Professor Spargo calls the reader's attention to one important feature of the book—"the striking role assigned to the study of phonetics in increasing our knowledge of linguistics. It is shown clearly that every important advance during the last century and a quarter was made by a scholar who attacked the problem from the phonetic side." During the last twenty years phonetics has been applied in all sorts of practical ways. One of these has been the establishment of orthographies for hitherto unwritten languages, and of simple, readable unambiguous transcriptions of languages having either an unfamiliar script or one which does not correlate with the forms in actual use even from the native point of view. Considerations which help us to establish such a notation are technical and practical, and cannot fail to have a profound influence on the future of linguistics.

Further, and perhaps most important of all, those of us whose daily business it is to study the speech behaviour of our neighbours without either envy or scorn, and also that of strangers without breach of courtesy, realize as no one else can how narrowly conditioned our speech habits are by the daily round, the common task. Within the framework of social routine and the ritualistic give and take of conversation there are great ranges of possibility, but few are unexpected. If you disturb the air and other people's ears by using your speech apparatus in ways both unexpected and highly individual, you run grave social risks.

Such behaviour, to say the least, is felt to be unusual. It is generally tactless, though sometimes it is merely eccentric. Occasionally we condemn such behaviour by saying it is uncalled for, or more strongly by saying it is not done. We usually have a cue for what we say; the lines too, are there, and though there may be a choice our fellow-countrymen know them and know what to expect.

To stretch the metaphor, what we say is usually "called for". With the linguistic stranger things are different. If you are wise you will be prepared for anything, do what is practically convenient from moment to moment, and avoid strain or weariness, by reducing the necessity of vocal interchange to a minimum within the bounds of international courtesy.

For some years now I have stressed what a friend and former

student calls the *Handlungscharakter der Sprache*,¹ and also the very fine distinctions in speech behaviour, determined by typical recurrent social situations for which these locutions are specialized and of which they are organs or functions. It follows from this, of course, that a great deal is demanded of our notation and descriptive technique. Without it accurate morphology is impossible, and without scrupulously identified forms and well established texts Semantics is apt to be just gossip.

It is the first duty of a describer of language, as it is of a classical philologist, to establish his forms and his texts with a scrupulous exactitude. For what is the semantic value of a corrupt text?

The purpose of this digression into general linguistics is to show that not even the broadest explorations in sociological linguistics are likely to lead to solid results without the pedestrian technique of the A B C as the principal means of linguistic description.

And of all A B C's the Roman is the best. Perhaps Lenin was right when he said to the President of the Pan-Sovietic Committee for National Alphabets: "La latinisation, voilà la grande révolution de l'Orient."²

¹ See a review in *Neue Schweizer Rundschau*, July, 1935, pp. 176-8, by Fritz Güttinger. "Zu den nachhaltigsten Eindrücken, welche man von der programmatischen Schrift J. R. Firth's über den Sprechvorgang, wie auch von seiner Lehrtätigkeit am University College London davonträgt, gehört die Einsicht, dass die Spielregeln der Sprache und des Sprechens im Grunde etwas viel Roheres sind, als man zu glauben gewohnt ist. Was für Folgen dies für die allgemeine Sprachtheorie hat, braucht hier nicht ausgeführt zu werden. Daraus, dass das Zweckhafte, Handlungsmässige der Worte und Sätze zur Betrachtung abgesondert wird, ergibt sich letzten Endes die Notwendigkeit, die Formenwelt nach streng formalen Gesichtspunkten zu beschreiben..."

² A.U.C.L., p. 174.

Mittelpersisch *vēnōk* „Erbse (Linse ?)“

Von BERNHARD GEIGER

DAS Wort kommt im Frahang i Pahl., iv, 2, in der auf die Getreidearten Weizen, Gerste, Hirse folgenden Reihe der Hülsenfrüchte vor : **𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥**. Seine Lesung, Herkunft und Bedeutung sind aber bisher nicht festgestellt. Das Pahl.-Pazand Gloss. von Jamaspji Asa-Haug bietet *vīnāk* mit der unrichtigen Bedeutungsangabe „a seed, grain for agricultural purposes“. Sie beruht auf der irrigen Annahme Anquetils (vgl. auch Justi, Bund., p. 267 **𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥** 3), dass im Frahang das Wort **𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥** (alles falsche Schreibungen für **𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥** = aram. **בזרא** „Samenkorn“) noch als Erklärung zu dem vorhergehenden **𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥** gehört. Die traditionelle Aussprache von **𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥** ist *vīnag*, *vīnūg*, *vīnū*, *vīnī* (Junker, Frahang 115 sub **𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥**). Um dasselbe Wort handelt es sich natürlich in der Stelle Gr. Bund. 117, 2 f., wo in der Klasse der Getreidepflanzen nach **𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥** (Weizen), **𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥** (Gerste) und **𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥** (nicht Reis, sondern statt **𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥** Hirse : Frah. i Phl., iv, 1 ; Bund., ed. Justi 64, 17 **𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥**, vgl. WZKM, 26, 1912, 300) noch aufgezählt werden :

𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥

Darin entspricht **𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥**, dessen **𐭠** hier zum Wort gehören kann und nicht „und“ bedeuten muss, dem **𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥** des Frahang, wie **𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥** dem Worte **𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥** und **𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥** dem **𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥** daselbst. Das mp. *naxvat* bezeichnet ebenso wie np. *nuxūd* die Kicher-Erbse, und **𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥**, das erste Wort der Reihe, ist mit np. *gīrgir* identisch, das nach dem Burhān eine Feldfrucht, rund, von schwarzer Farbe und kleiner als *nuxūd* ist, nach anderen aber eine Art von Bohnen (*bākīlā*), arabisiert **𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥**, nach dem Farh. Šu'ūrī dagegen gleich arab. **𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥**, also eine Lathyrus-Art, ist. Die zwischen **𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥** und **𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥** stehenden Wörter **𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥** sind nicht Namen von Hülsenfrüchten, sondern

beweisen, dass Justi, West und Modi **𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀** mit Unrecht als „Lauch“ verstanden haben. Dazu kommt nun noch die Darstellung in Zādsp., 9, 2 and 4 (in Avesta, Pahl., and Anc. Pers. Studies in honour of P. B. Sanjana, lxxviii; SBE., v, 177 f.). Auf die Worte *pas yurtāk ul rust* „hernach wuchs das Getreide empor“ folgt **𐬔𐬀𐬭𐬀**

𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀, was wie eine Aufzählung der Getreidearten aussieht, dies aber schon deshalb nicht sein kann, weil **𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀** „Sesam“ nicht eine Getreideart ist. Überdies wird durch das dann folgende **𐬔𐬀𐬭𐬀** (= *kunjēt*) *mazg-ēihrak* (oder, ohne *ēyōn*, **𐬔𐬀𐬭𐬀** (= *kunjēt*) *mazg-ēihrak[ih] rād*), *χvat mas hast awzāyēnāk ī mazg* („denn der Sesam hat das Wesen des Markes; er ist selbst in hohem Masse ein Mehrer des Markes“) vorausgesetzt, dass es vorher, wie in den Fassungen des Bdh., geheißen hat „aus dem Mark ist der Sesam (entstanden)“:

𐬔𐬀𐬭𐬀 **𐬔𐬀𐬭𐬀**, und ich halte es für möglich, dass **𐬔𐬀𐬭𐬀** eine Verschreibung daraus darstellt. Auf keinen Fall darf **𐬔𐬀𐬭𐬀** mit West als **𐬔𐬀𐬭𐬀** gedeutet werden. Weit eher dürfte man eine Verschreibung aus **𐬔𐬀𐬭𐬀** *girgir*¹ annehmen, wenn nicht der von uns rekonstruierte

Zusammenhang der Stelle dagegen spräche. Aber auch **𐬔𐬀𐬭𐬀** sind nicht Glieder einer Reihe aufgezählter Getreidearten, obwohl **𐬔𐬀𐬭𐬀** an und für sich mit West als Verschreibung aus **𐬔𐬀𐬭𐬀** oder **𐬔𐬀𐬭𐬀** (Hirsearten) gedeutet werden könnte. Ich zweifle nicht daran, dass **𐬔𐬀𐬭𐬀** aus **𐬔𐬀𐬭𐬀** (*srūv*) **𐬔𐬀𐬭𐬀** [𐬔𐬀𐬭𐬀] „aus den Hörnern (entstand)

𐬔𐬀𐬭𐬀“ verschrieben ist und irgendwie an diese Stelle verschlagen wurde. Diese Annahme wird noch durch den Umstand erhärtet, dass dieses **𐬔𐬀𐬭𐬀** **𐬔𐬀𐬭𐬀**, das ganz ähnlich in den zwei Bdh.-Fassungen unmittelbar vor **𐬔𐬀𐬭𐬀** (*hač vēnīk vēnōk*) steht, in unserem Zādsp.-Text sonst nicht vorkommt. Der Text ist also in Unordnung geraten. Ursprünglich ist offenbar auch in ihm zuerst von der Entstehung des Sesams aus dem Mark, dann von der des

¹ Vgl. oben die Stelle Gr. Bdh. 117, 2. Merkwürdig ist, dass auch in der entsprechenden Stelle Gr. Bdh. 93, 11 (vgl. oben) dieses **𐬔𐬀𐬭𐬀** erscheint, und zwar in dem ganz unmöglichen **𐬔𐬀𐬭𐬀**.

𐭠𐭣𐭥 aus den Hörnern, dann — und zwar v o r Blut und Wein — von der Entstehung des 𐭠𐭣𐭥 aus der Nase die Rede gewesen. Von 𐭠𐭣𐭥 handelt nun der 4. Paragraph des Kapitels, den West zum Teil falsch transkribiert und übersetzt hat. Der Text lautet: 𐭠𐭣𐭥 . . .

𐭠𐭣𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥 (Ms. 𐭠𐭣𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥). Das hat West übersetzt: „ . . . from the nose is the pulse (*māš* or *māsah*) which is called *dōnak*, and was a variety of sesame (*šamagā*), [and it is] for other noses.“ Er hat also 𐭠𐭣𐭥, das er in der Textausgabe *māš* transkribiert hatte, dem np. *māš* gleichgesetzt, das aber nicht die allgemeine Bedeutung „pulse“ hat. Es wäre nur möglich, dass *māš* hier nicht „Bohne“, sondern — wie z.B. im Kurdischen — etwa „Linse“ bedeutet. Aber auch die Schreibung 𐭠𐭣𐭥, besonders das Schriftbild in dem Ms. K. 35 (vgl. Codices Avest. et Pahl. Bibl. Univ. Hafniensis, vol. iv, fol. 241 v., letzte Zeile), spricht gegen die Identität mit *māš*. Ich habe daran gedacht, dass 𐭠𐭣𐭥 aram. ܡܚܨܐ meinen könnte, das aus aram. ܡܚܨܐ „Kichererbse“ verschrieben wäre. Das ist möglich, aber unsicher. Nicht zweifelhaft aber ist, dass mit 𐭠𐭣𐭥, wie das aus der Nase des Urstieres entstandene

𐭠𐭣𐭥 genannt wird, die Hülsenfrucht 𐭠𐭣𐭥 gemeint ist. In den drei folgenden Worten ist denn auch noch ausdrücklich gesagt: 𐭠𐭣𐭥 (*vēnōk*) ist sein Name (𐭠𐭣𐭥 -*aš* = *nām-aš*). Die letzten drei Worte 𐭠𐭣𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥 bedeuten offenbar „[das 𐭠𐭣𐭥, das aus der Nase des Urstieres entstanden ist,] ist auch wieder für die Nase [heilsam]“, wie ja auch nachher von der aus der Lunge entstandenen Raute (*spand*) gesagt wird, dass sie für (*rāδ*) die Lungenkrankheit (heilsam) sei.

Wir geben nun die behandelten Textstellen in übersichtlicher Anordnung:

Frah. i Phl., 4, 2:	𐭠𐭣𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥	𐭠𐭣𐭥
Gr. Bdh., 117, 2:	𐭠𐭣𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥	𐭠𐭣𐭥
ind. Bdh., 64, 17:	𐭠𐭣𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥	𐭠𐭣𐭥
Gr. Bdh., 93, 11:	𐭠𐭣𐭥 (<i>hač vēnīk</i>)	𐭠𐭣𐭥 (<i>hač srūv</i>)
ind. Bdh., 28, 9:	𐭠𐭣𐭥 (<i>hač vēnīk</i>)	𐭠𐭣𐭥 (<i>hač srūv</i>)
Zādsp., 9, 2. 4:	𐭠𐭣𐭥 . . . 𐭠𐭣𐭥 (<i>hač vēnīk</i>)	𐭠𐭣𐭥 (<i>hač srūv</i>)

Aus dieser Übersicht ergibt sich, dass **לשן**, **לשן** usw. ebenso wie **לשן**, **לשן** usw. nur verschiedene Schreibungen einer ursprünglichen Form sind, und dass beide gleich *naḫvat* („Kichererbse“) Namen von Hülsenfrüchten sind. Und zwar ist es am wahrscheinlichsten, dass **לשן** und seine Nebenformen mit np. **منجو** *mījū* (wohl nur Verschreibung daraus), angeblich auch *mīžū*, identisch sind, das, und zwar auch im Hindī, die Linse bezeichnen soll. Es wäre immerhin möglich, dass die Form **לשן** zu np. *mušang*, *mušan* gehört, die nach dem Burhān und dem Farh. i Šu'ūrī Namen einer kleinen Erbsenart sein sollen. Und **לשן** könnte man zu dem ebendort als Name einer linsenähnlichen Frucht angeführten np. **مشو** *mušū* stellen. Doch ist die Wahrscheinlichkeit, dass es sich nur um Verschreibungen handelt, grösser. Für **לשן** *mīčūk* und **לשן** *mīčūg* selbst kommt natürlich keine andere Erklärung als die durch np. *mīfū* (so schon Pahl.-Paz. Gloss. und Justi, Bdh., 243 sub „**میچون**“) in Betracht. Die anderen, von Junker, Frah. 115 versuchten Deutungen sind ganz unmöglich.

Für **לשן** und seine Nebenformen wird die Richtigkeit der Lesung *vēnōk* erwiesen durch das bezeichnender Weise nur im Nāyini vorkommende *vīnōk* „Linse“ (O. Mann-K. Hadank, Kurd. pers. Forsch., III, i, 158; bei A. Querry in Mém. de la soc. de lingu., 9 (1896), 116: **وینوک**, *vinouk*, *vinik* „lentille“). Dadurch werden auch die traditionellen Lesungen *vīnag*, *vīnūg*, *vīnū*, *vīnī* wenigstens zu einem Teile bestätigt. Es ist jedoch gar nicht sicher, dass „Linse“ die ursprüngliche Bedeutung des Wortes gewesen ist. Ja, die Annahme, dass hier eine Bedeutungsverschiebung stattgefunden hat, wie sie bei Pflanzennamen öfter konstatiert werden kann,¹ wird sogar durch die folgende Erwägung wahrscheinlich gemacht. Es ist kaum noch feststellbar, ob die in den oben erwähnten Textstellen vorliegende Verbindung von *vēnōk* mit *vēnik* „Nase“ auf der Kenntnis einer sachlichen Beziehung der Hülsenfrucht zur Nase oder auf einer willkürlichen Zusammenstellung zweier ähnlicher Wörter beruht. Auf jeden Fall lässt sich jedoch die Existenz eines sachlichen Zusammenhanges erweisen. Der hebräische

¹ Auch bei V. Hehn, Kulturpfl. u. Haustiere * 221 wird darauf hingewiesen, dass die einzelnen Gattungen der Hülsenfrüchte sprachlich selbst in jüngeren Epochen nicht scharf unterschieden werden, und dass sich manchmal sogar in einem Wort die drei Bedeutungen Erbse, Bohne, Linse vereinigen.

Name der Kichererbse **אֶפֶן** „die kleine Nase“ stammt daher, dass das schmalere Ende ihres Samens die Form einer Nase oder eines Schnabels hat, wie man aus der Abbildung bei I. Löw, *Flora d. Juden*, ii, 438, ersieht. Auch der syrische Name der Platterbse (*Lathyrus*) **חֲרֻמְנָא** bedeutet „kleine Nase“ (von **חֲרֻמָּא**). Er ist von der Kichererbse, die im 'Irāk sogar noch **חֲרֻמְנָא** geheissen hat, auf die Platterbse übertragen worden (Löw, l.c., 427 und 438 f.). Wenn der bei dem syrischen Lexikographen Bar 'Alī überlieferte zweite, im 'Irāk gebrauchte Name der Kichererbse mit Löw, l.c., 438 **קֶרְנָא** zu lesen ist und „gehört“ (nach der Spitze des Samens) bedeutet, könnte diese Bezeichnung der obenerwähnten Vorstellung zugrunde liegen, dass aus dem Horn des Urstieres die Hülsenfrucht *mīčūk* hervorgegangen ist, die ursprünglich vielleicht auch nur die Kichererbse gewesen ist. Man wird demnach annehmen dürfen, dass das Phl.-Wort *vēnōk* (mit *-ōk* als Diminutivsuffix) Übersetzung eines aramäischen Namens der Kichererbse, wie **חֲרֻמְנָא**, ist. Es ist allerdings auch denkbar, dass eine unabhängige Bildung nach der Art von hebr. **אֶפֶן** und syr. **חֲרֻמְנָא** vorliegt. Löw, l.c., 427, hat darauf hingewiesen, dass die Kichererbse magyarisch *bagolyborsó* „Eulenerbse“ heisst nach den am Ende wie ein Eulenschnabel umgebogenen Schoten. Mit Unrecht hat also Horn im Grundr. d. iran. Phil., I/2, 49 dem Nāyini-Wort die Bedeutung „Linse des Auges (*-bīn* ‚sehend‘)“ beigelegt.¹

¹ Während des Druckes hat H. W. Bailey mich darauf aufmerksam gemacht, dass er schon in *London Philol. Soc. Transact.*, 1935, 64, das von mir behandelte Wort *vēnūk* gelesen und zu dem Nāyini Wort gestellt hat.

Singhalesische Etymologien

By WILHELM GEIGER

DASS das Singhalesische unter die „Modern Indo-Aryan Vernaculars“ einzureihen ist, wird heute wohl von niemand mehr ernstlich bestritten. Im *Linguistic Survey of India*, i, 1, p. 145, ist diese Tatsache auch von dem Grossmeister der indischen Sprachenkunde, Sir George A. Grierson, anerkannt worden, obwohl in dem Werke selbst das Singhalesische keine Berücksichtigung finden konnte. Möge es mir gestattet sein, einige ganz bescheidene Nachträge zu meiner vor nunmehr 38 Jahren erschienenen Etymologie des Singhalesischen, die den Ausgangspunkt und die Grundlage für meine Studien über diese Sprache bildete, dem allverehrten Jubilar zur Feier seines 85. Geburtstages in aufrichtiger Dankbarkeit zuzueignen.

1) Das Suff. *-li*, *-lu* (nom. sg. *-lla* < **-liya*, **-luva*) = altem *-lla-ka* ist im Singh. noch einigermaßen lebendig. Ich verweise auf *kihili*, °*lla* „Achselgrube“ neben *kāsa* (Sk. *kakṣa*), *piḍali*, °*ḍella* „Rasenstück“ neben *piḍa* (Sk. *piṇḍa*), *vārāli*, °*lla* „leichter Regen“ (Sk. *vāri*). Vielleicht gelangen wir von hier aus zu einer Deutung des Wortes *dūvili*, °*lla* „Staub“. Es ist anzuschliessen an P., Sk. *dhūpa* und bedeutet zunächst „kleiner Rauch“. Semasiologisch darf auf *mihidum* „Nebel“, wtl. „Erdrauch“ (Sk. *mahī* + *dhūma*) verwiesen werden. Auch auf *dhūma* selbst könnte zurückgegangen werden, da *v* zuweilen an Stelle von *m* tritt, wie in *navamu* neben *namanu* „sich beugen“ (Sk. *namati*).

2) Wie *v* für ursprüngliches *m*, so kann auch umgekehrt *m* für *v* eintreten. So in *nama* „neun“ neben *nava*. Dies gilt auch für *amunānavā* „einfädeln“ (Clough ungenau *amunanavā*), das = P. *āvunāti*, °*ṇōti*, Sk. *āvṛṇāti* ist mit gleicher Bedeutung. Ein ger. *avunā* wird von Clough und Carter angeführt.

3) Es lässt sich, wie ich glaube, wahrscheinlich machen, dass in der Proto-Singhalesischen Periode (4. bis 8. Jh.) die frühere Accentuation des Sanskrit und des Mittelindischen sich änderte. Es kam die Tendenz auf, den Ton auf den Wortanfang zurück zu ziehen und zwar zunächst auf die erste Silbe nur dann, wenn sie schwer war: — ◡ ×. Auf die Wichtigkeit der Unterscheidung von leichten und schweren Silben für das Verständnis des singh. Vocalismus zuerst hingewiesen zu haben ist Helmer Smith's Verdienst. War die erste Silbe leicht,

die zweite schwer, so trug letztere den Accent: $\sim \text{—} \times$. Waren die beiden ersten Silben leicht, so scheint der Accent geteilt worden zu sein, und zwar so, dass die stärkere Betonung auf der zweiten Silbe lag: $\sim \sim \times$. Nun beobachten wir häufig, dass im zweiten und dritten Fall der Vocal *a* der ersten Silbe zu *i*, *u* verwandelt wird: *piyes* „Gegend“ < P. *padēsa*, *siyan* „Dach“ < *chadana*, *siyalu* „all“ < *sakala*; *duvan* „Hüfte“ < *jaghana*; *nuvara* „Stadt“ < *nagara*. Stellen wir nun dagegen Formen wie *sayuru* „Ocean“ < *sāgara*, *mayil* „Oheim“ < *mātula*, *pavuru* „Mauer“ < *pākāra*, so ergibt sich, dass *i*, *u* in der ersten Silbe der Wörter *piyes* bis *nuvara* Schwächung des *a*-Vocals sein muss, für die kaum ein anderer Grund gefunden werden kann, als die stärkere Betonung der folgenden Silbe. Wir haben also *padēsa*, *chādāna*, *nāgāra* usw. vorauszusetzen, aber *sāgara*, *mātula*, *pākāra*. Ein kurzer anlautender Vocal konnte elidiert werden vor der betonten zweiten Silbe. Der Fall liegt vor in *lāv* „Wildnis“ (nom. sg. *lāv-a*) durch **ālāv* aus P. *atavī*. Die Praepositionen *anu-*, *upa-* erscheinen als *nu-*, *va-* (durch **ānū-*, **ūvā-*). So in *vahan* „Sandale“ = P. *upāhanā* (zuerst wohl bei Ed. Müller). Ich füge dazu *nuvā* „Saum am priesterlichen Gewand“ (nom. sg. *nuvā-va*) = P. *anuvāta*, das wohl mit Stede von Wz. *vā* „weben“ abgeleitet werden muss.

Der letzte Schritt zur grundsätzlichen Betonung der ersten Wortsilbe, wie sie für die moderne Sprache giltig ist, mag in der späteren Proto-Singhalesischen Zeit vollzogen worden sein.

4) Zum Schluss noch einige Einzel-etymologien: 1) *añdinavā*, *hañḍ°* „(ein Kleid) anziehen“ zu Wz. *dā* „binden“ + *saṃ*; *añdana* (°*na-ya*) „Unterkleid (eines Priesters)“ = P. *sandāna*. — 2) *allas-a* „Geschenk, Bestechung“ < **at-lasa*, P. *hattha* + *lañca*. — 3) *kakul-a* „Fuss, Bein“ = P. *kaṅkala*, Sk. *kaṅkāla* „Gerippe“ (cf. Turner, *Nepali Lang.*, s.v. *kaṅgāl*) mit einem ähnlichen Bedeutungsübergang wie bei dem deutschen Wort *bein*. — 4) *kuḷāra* „Balkon“, *Dhammapadattḥakathā-Gāṭa-pada*, ed. Sir D. B. Jayatilaka 34⁹, 215¹¹ = P., Sk. *kūṭāgāra*, aber Singh. *koṭāra* = P. *koṭṭhāgāra* (Turner, s.v. *koṭho*). — 5) *koḷanavā* „pressen, glätten, platt machen“, *DhpAGp.*, 25²⁴ = P. (*ā-*, *paccā-*)*koṭēti*; aber *koṭānavā* „zerhauen“ = P. *koṭṭeti*. — 6) *pilā-va* „Milz“ = Pk. *pilihā*, Sk. *pīḥan* (Turner, s.v. *phīyo*; das Singh. steht hier dem Oṛiyā, Hindōstānī, Panjābī näher als dem Marāṭhī). — 7) *muhu*, *mū* „reif“ = P. *mudu*, Sk. *mṛḍu*. — 8) *mohot-a* „Augenblick, Moment“ = Pk., P. *muhutta*, Sk. *muhūrta*, ein Beispiel für die Neigung zu offener Aussprache des Vocals *u*. —

9) Das Wort *vahan* führt uns auf das honorific *vahansē*. Hier ist *sē* = P., Sk. *chāyā* in dem Sinne von „Abbild“ zu fassen; *vahansē* ist also Abbild der Sandale, d.i. Fusspur. Man sagt in respektvoller Rede *svāmīn-vahansē* statt kurzweg „Herr, Herrscher“. Bekanntlich spricht man im Sanskrit ganz ebenso von den *pādāḥ* einer hervorragenden Person, man verehrt beispielsweise *guroḥ pādān*. Da nun aber hier *pāda* nie im Dual gebraucht wird, so bedeutet das Wort wohl nicht „Füsse“, sondern auch „Fusspuren“. Beide Ausdrucksweisen sind vereinigt in einer Inschrift Vijayabāhu's ii, 1186-7, wenn wir *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, ii, p. 183¹⁰ den Text (nach Magd. Ggr.) so zu trennen haben: *Siṃhabāhu-rajapā-vahansē*. Das wäre Pāli *S.-rājapāda-upāhanā-chāyā*. Die ursprüngliche Bedeutung von *vahansē* hat man übrigens nicht mehr gefühlt. Man kann es auch von verehrungswürdigen Gegenständen gebrauchen, wie z.B. *dhātūnvahansē*, etwa „heilige Reliquie“. Von *vahansē* kommen wir endlich zu einer Erklärung des pron. der 3. p. *unnānsē* das von Respektspersonen gebraucht wird. Es steht für **unnahansē* < **unvahansē*. Hier ist *un* (wie oben *svāmīn*, *dhātūn*) C. obl. pl. (maiestaticus) und es bedeutet *unnānsē* etwa „Seiner Ehrwürden“. — 10) *sumbuḍu-va* „Rolle, Polster, Hülle, Membrane“ = P. *cumbāṭa*. — 11) *kapuṭu-vā* und 12) *kavuḍu-vā* „Krähe“ mögen den Beschluss bilden. Ich führe die beiden Wörter zurück auf M.Ind. **kappuṭṭha*, bzw. **kavvuḍḍha* < *kad* + *p°*, bzw. *v°*, Sk. **kat-puṣṭa*, bzw. **kad-vṛddha* „schlecht (mangelhaft, elend) ernährt, bzw. grossgezogen.“

The change of *a* to *e* in the Indo-Aryan Loan Words of Malayālam

By K. GODA VARMA

[Abbreviations of languages in this article are the same as those employed in Professor Turner's *Nepali Dictionary*. Forms without any abbreviation are Malayālam words.]

THE pronunciation of *a* coming after certain initial consonants as *e*, is the most important of the vowel changes met with in the Indo-Aryan loanwords of Malayālam, and also perhaps the most interesting from a phonological point of view.

The first to note and record the change was Gundert. He observed that *a* occurring after the voiced sounds *g*, *j*, *ḡ*, *d*, *y*, and *r* is heard as *e* in the pronunciation of the Malayālis¹ (*A Grammar of the Malayālam Language*, 2nd ed., p. 8). Gundert's observation is obviously imperfect inasmuch as the change is regularly manifested after *b* and *l* also, over and above the sounds specified by him. Professor Rājarājavarma remarks: "*a* is the heaviest of all vowels in Malayālam and as such it has undergone corruption in various words. The corrupt pronunciation of *a* in Malayālam is very much like *e*." Ex. Sk. *gandha-gandham*, Sk. *jana-jeṇam*, Sk. *ḍambha-²ḍembhū*, Sk. *dayā deya*, Sk. *bandhu-bendhu*, Sk. *ravi-fevi*, Sk. *lajjā lejja*. The words quoted above show that in Sanskrit loans *a* following unaspirated voiced stops (*mṛdus*) which remain voiced in Malayālam, the sonant *y*, and the liquids *r* and *l* is pronounced *e* though written *a*" (*Kēṭālapāṇinīyam*, 4th ed., pp. 86-7).

Neither Gundert nor Rājarājavarma has explained the change. What I propose to do in this article is to discuss in full the scope of the change under consideration, and also to attempt an explanation of the tendency so peculiarly marked in the pronunciation of the Malayālis.

It will be seen from the examples cited by Professor Rājarājavarma that the sounds after which *a* manifests a tendency to be pronounced as *e* are all voiced consonants occurring initially, which latter are totally absent in native Malayālam words. The change in question

¹ Malayālam speakers who are also natives of Kēraḷa.

² *ḍambha* is Prākṛit, the corresponding Sanskrit word being *dambha*.

is seen not only in Sanskrit loans, but also in other Indo-Aryan words that have found their way into the Malayālam vocabulary. The following examples from Middle Indian and New Indian will illustrate the point. Middle Indian : Pk. *jamala-jevīli* "double cloth, cloth in general" ; Pk. *ḍambha-ḍembhū* "pride" ; Pk. *ratthia-rettīyār* "one belonging to a class of Telugu Śūdras" ; Pa.Pk. *lakkha-lekkū* "aim" ; Pk. *laddī letti* "dung of animals". New Indian : H. *jati-jeti* "musical rhythm" ; H. *ḍabbā ḍeppa* "a tin vessel for holding oil" ; H. *baṛāi beḍāyi* "self praise, magnifying" ; H. *lattū lettū* "a child's top" ; M. *dambḍi dempiṭi* "a copper coin of small value" ; M. *dasrā desra* "a festival held in honour of Durgā" ; M. *lakhōṭā* "closed letter", *lekkōṭṭū* "envelope" ; H.M. *ḍabbā ḍeppi* "a small box" ; H.M. *baṅglā beṅkaḷāvū* "a bungalow" ; H.M. *lāgōṭi leṅkōṭti* ; H. *laḍḍū*, M. *laḍḍu leḍḍu* "a globular sweetmeat".

Indo-Aryan *a* preceded by palatal stops (both voiced and voiceless) is also found represented by *e* in a fairly large number of loanwords. The change which is evidently due to the position of the tongue required for the production of palatals colouring the vowel following, is often met with in the colloquial dialects in native Malayālam words showing *a* in the literary dialect. Ex. *cakiṇi, cekiṇi* "layers of fibre enclosing the flesh of jack fruit" ; *cakiri, cekiri* "coco-nut fibre" ; *caviṭṭu, cevīṭṭu* "kick" ; *caḷi, ceḷi* "mud" ; *caṛivū, ceṛivū* "slope".

The following forms with *e* in literary Malayālam, a few of them showing alternatives with *a* and *e*, may be regarded as loans from the popular dialect. Sk. *candra* "gold", *centram* "golden neck ornament" ; Sk. *campaka-, cempakam* "michelia champaca" ; Sk. *caru- caṭuvam, ceṭuvam* "cooking pot" ; Sk. *jhaṭiti jhetiti* "soon" ; Sk. *jhampaḍa- cempaṭa* "a mode of beating time" ; Pa. Pk. *camma-cemmān* "a worker in leather" ; Pa. Pk. *cakka- cakkū, cekkū* "oil press".

With the above may be compared Sanskrit loanwords in Kanarese showing a similar change. Ka. *caṇḍi, ceṇḍi* "a passionate, violent female" ; Ka. *canda, cenda* "lovely, charming" ; Ka. *candira, cendira* "moon" ; Ka. *carce, cerce* "smearing the body with sandal".

It remains to suggest an explanation for the phonetic development detailed above. Malayālam *a* is not the equivalent of Hindi or Marathi *a*. In pronunciation it takes its place between numbers four and five of the cardinal vowels, more inclined towards number four than five, and evinces a tendency towards greater closeness under favourable circumstances. In the case of voiced consonants an occasion for the

natural tendency to manifest itself is provided by the lack of muscular intensity characterizing their pronunciation. *a* preceded by palatals also has changed to *e* in colloquial Malayālam in a fairly large number of words (cf. the previous paragraphs). It may be observed that the influence of the position of the tongue required for the production of the palatal consonants is, like the lack of muscular intensity noted above, a favourable factor conditioning the change. The above change is not observable when *a* follows a voiceless stop or voiced aspirate (palatals excluded), the reason being the resistance offered by the greater muscular tension involved in their pronunciation, ex. Sk. *kakṣā* *kacca* "hem of the garment tucked into the waistband, cloth in general"; Sk. *cakra*-*cakram* "wheel, a coin valued 1-28 of a rupee"; Sk. *takṣan*-*taccan* "sawer of wood"; Sk. *pakṣa*-*pakṣam* "partiality"; Sk. *khadga*-*khalgam* "sword"; Sk. *chanda*- "appearance, look, shape", *cantam* "beauty"; Sk. *phalaka*-*palaka* "plank"; Sk. *ghaṇṭā* *ghaṇṭa* "bell"; Sk. *dhana*-*dhaṇam* "wealth, riches"; Sk. *bhaṅgī*- "way of dressing, fashion, toilet", *bhaṅgi* "beauty". An interesting parallel of a phonetic change affecting only voiced consonants is provided by the cerebralization of dentals in Sindhi. The surd stops and aspirates which are pronounced with greater energy have remained dentals in Sindhi, while *d* alone has been cerebralized. (R. L. Turner, *JRAS.*, 1924, p. 583.)

Voiceless stops of certain loanwords in Malayālam, going back to voiced stops followed by *a* in Indo-Aryan, are pronounced with *e* in colloquial Malayālam. Ex. Sk. *gati*- "movement, procedure", *keti* "means, way"; Sk. *garuḍa*-*keṇḍan* "Viṣṇu's bird"; Sk. *garbha*-*kerpam* "pregnancy"; Sk. *garva*-*keruvū* "pride"; Sk. *daṇḍa*-, OMal. *teṇṭam* "fine, punishment, trouble"; Pa.Pk. *gaṇṭhi*-*keṇṭi* "inflammation of the scrotum".

In Tamil *e* is not only pronounced after voiceless stops representing Sanskrit voiced stops, but also written. Ex. Sk. *gaja*- Tam. *kecam*; Sk. *gandha*- Tam. *kentam* "odour"; Sk. *gambhīra*- Tam. *kempīram* "depth, profundity"; Sk. *darśana*- Tam. *tericanam*; Sk. *bandhu*- Tam. *pentu* "relation, friend"; Sk. *bala*- Tam. *pelam* "strength"; Sk. *bandha*- Tam. *pentam* "tie, bondage".

The foregoing examples would suggest that Malayālam and Tamil had a period when Sanskrit initial voiced stops were pronounced voiced in the loanwords. The appearance of *a* in colloquial Malayālam where we would naturally expect *e* as in *kañcāvū* "hemp" (Sk. *gañjā*), *taṇṭū* "stick, pole" (Sk. *daṇḍa*-), *pampāṭam* "spinning top" (Sk.

bambhara "bee"), *tavi* "ladle" (Pk. *davvī*) may be regarded as the result of the attempt on the part of the learned to maintain, as far as possible, the pronunciation of Sanskrit words as written, influencing the colloquial speech. In this connection may be contrasted the retention of *e* after *k* by Malayālam, both in the colloquial and the literary dialects, in native Dravidian words where Kanarese shows *ga-* < Primitive Dravidian *ga-*. (For the general loss of voice in the initial voiced stops of Tamil and Malayālam see *Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian*, p. 48, "Sanskrit and Dravidian," by Jules Bloch.) Ex. *kettū* in *aṇakkettū* "dam", Kan. *gattu*; *kettū* "bundle", Kan. *gatte*; *kettu* in *kettu-tāṭi* "beard about the chin", Kan. *gaḍḍa*; *keṇṭan* "large", Kan. *gaṇḍu*; *keta* "trembling palpitation", Kan. *gada*; *keṇakku* "to roar, sound harsh", Kan. *gane*.

In the above instances, unlike the case of Sanskrit loans, there is nothing to tell the Malayālam speaker that the *e* represents earlier *a*, and in the absence of any force influencing *e* towards being pronounced *a*, *e* has remained unchanged both in literary and colloquial Malayālam.

In the pronunciation of *y*, *r*, and *l* both the factors conditioning the change, namely the lack of muscular tension and the palatal position of the tongue,¹ are present. Hence *a* following these sounds also shows a regular change to *e*. With this may be contrasted *a* remaining unchanged after *v*, which latter is the only voiced sound occurring initially in native Malayālam words. Ex. Sk. *vaṭa-vaṭam* "rope"; Sk. *varṇa-varṇam* "colour"; Sk. *vallī-vallī* "creeper"; Sk. *varāḍī-varāḍī* "a musical tone"; Sk. *vana-vaṇam* "forest"; Sk. *vayas-vayassū* "age". The labial position of *v* may also have been responsible to a certain extent for resisting the change.

In conclusion, then, we see that the change of *a* to *e* in the Indo-Aryan borrowings of Malayālam is conditioned by the lack of muscular intensity of the consonant preceding *a* or the palatal position of the consonant with which *a* is associated.

¹ In Malayālam *r* and *l* are pronounced with the tongue placed in a palatal position. It may be noted that there are two kinds of *r* in Malayālam, one palatal (*ṛ*) and the other alveolar (*r*), and that the alveolar *r* occurs only very rarely in the Indo-Aryan borrowings.

Observations on Middle Indian Morphology

By LOUIS H. GRAY

INVESTIGATION of Middle Indian morphology from the strictly linguistic point of view can fairly be said to have been made thus far only by Jules Bloch, notably in his *L'Indo-aryen du Vêda aux temps modernes* (Paris, 1934). However valuable as descriptive grammars and as collections of material the *Grammatik der Prakrit-Sprachen* of Richard Pischel (Strasbourg, 1900) and the *Pâli Literatur und Sprache* of Wilhelm Geiger (Strasbourg, 1916) undoubtedly are, both works are far from linguistic in purpose. In Bloch's masterly survey of the history of Indian linguistic development from Vedic through Sanskrit and Middle Indian to Modern Indian, on the other hand, embracing phonology, morphology, and sentence-structure, it was scarcely possible, in view of the mass of material, for him to discuss every detail. It is my purpose, then, as a comparative linguist, to consider in the following pages certain phenomena in Middle Indian which seem to merit further study, omitting on principle all that appears already to have been satisfactorily explained, such as the pronouns (cf. Bloch, pp. 145-7). Speaking in very general terms, Middle Indian would seem to present a mixture of forms common to Vedic and Sanskrit, a number of survivals to be paralleled only in Vedic or Iranian, and a considerable amount of contamination of formations whose functions were, at least approximately, identical.

I. NOUNS

The *nominative singular* of *-a*-stems ends in *-ô* in the majority of Prâkrits and in Pâli, but in *-e* in Mâgadhî and Ardhamâgadhî, and in *-u* in Apabhramśa (Sanskrit *putrâs*: Mg, AMg *putte*: A *puttu*). The two latter are reflected in Old Sinhalese (*pute*) and perhaps in Old Bengali (*kumbhîre* "crocodile": Skt. *kumbhîras*), and in Old Râjasthâni and Sindhî (*pâu* = Skt. *pâdas* "foot", *deh* = *desâs* "country") respectively (Bloch, pp. 167, 168); while *-e* is at least superficially found in such Gâthâ Avesta forms as *vačō* = Skt. *vâcas* "speech" (C. Bartholomae, in *Grundriss der iranischen Philologie*, i, Strasbourg, 1901, pp. 154, 179). The Middle Indian *-e* is explained

by R. O. Franke (*Pāli und Sanskrit*, Strasbourg, 1902, pp. 104, 116, 128) as for *-ā-i*, a view which scarcely deserves even mention. The question arises, rather, whether a purely phonological explanation may not be in order. The Skt. *-ō* for *-as*, *-ah* has long seemed to me to be, not a true [o:], but a mere *façon d'écrire* for a very different phoneme. In Skt., *-as* < **-os* (e.g. *āśvas* < **ēkyos*) is preserved before voiceless occlusives (*āśvas pātati* "the horse falls"), but is written *-ō* before voiced occlusives (*āśvō dhāvati* "the horse runs"). Now *āśvō dhāvati* is obviously for **āśvaz dhāvati*; but [z] not being a Skt. phoneme, it vanishes with compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel. In other words, **az* > **ā* > [o:], so that the real pronunciation of *āśvō dhāvati* was probably something like [aṣṣvō: d'ā:vati]. Beside this, however, there would seem to have been the more regular development of **az* to [a:], i.e. [aṣṣva: d'ā:vati] beside [aṣṣvō: d'ā:vati]. Between these two there would appear to have been intermediate stages in which the relevant vowels were obscured, and one may accordingly suggest that the type of *putte* is a "dulling" of [puttā:] < **[putrā:]*, and *puttu* of [puttō:] < [putrō:].

Developments analogous to those here suggested may be seen in Anglo-Saxon *stān* [sta:n] > Middle English *stane*, *ston* [sto:n] > English *stone* [sto:n] > [stoun], but Scots *stane* [ste:n] (in Northern English the "rounding" of [a:] did not take place), north-east Norfolk and east Suffolk [stAn] (cf. J. Wright, *English Dialect Grammar*, Oxford, 1905, pp. 88-92).

In the *ablative singular*, Māhārāṣṭrī, Jaina Māhārāṣṭrī, and AMg *puttāo* (M, etc., also *puttāu*), Śaurasenī, Jaina Śaurasenī, Mg *puttādo* (JŚ also *puttādu*), Paisācī *puttāto*, *puttātu* appear to be contaminations of *putrāt* and *putrātas*, unless, as my pupil, Mr. William B. S. Smith, suggests, they are for the ablative *putrāt* plus the genitive-ablative *-as* < Indo-European **-es*, **-os* of consonantal stems (cf. the A genitive singular *puttāhō*, *puttassu* contaminated from *putrāśya* and **putrās-as*, Pischel, p. 251). The view of Pischel (p. 63) that *a* is arbitrarily lengthened before *-tas* seems quite without foundation.

M *puttāhi*, *puttāhīntō*, and A *puttāhē*, *puttāhu* are more complex. The form *puttāhi* seems to presuppose **puttābhi*, perhaps a contamination of **putrāt* (Skt. *putrāt*) with an instrumental singular **putrībhi* (cf. Greek *θεό-φι*, Armenian *mardo-v*), this being aided by the confusion between the ablative and the instrumental in the plural in AMg and JM, where both cases are *puttehim* (sometimes

strengthened in the AMg ablative by the ablative *-tas*, *puttehinto*). The form *puttāhi* would seem to be identical in type with Skt. (ŚB) *uttarāhi* "from the north", *dakṣiṇāhi* "from the south" (Pāṇini, v, iii, 37: *āhi ca dūre*).

Elsewhere also, as is well known, the instrumental plural has usurped the functions of the ablative, as in Greek, Latin, Old Irish, and Gothic (λύκοις, *lupīs*, *feraib*, *wulfam*; cf. also the dative-ablative plural *-m-* in Slavic beside the instrumental singular *-m-*, e.g. Old Church Slavic *vlūkomŭ*: *vlūkomī*, and Greek *θεόφ(ι)ν* as instrumental, ablative, and locative alike, both singular and plural). The formative *-bhi-* likewise appears in the dative singular of certain pronouns (e.g. Skt. *túbhyam*, GAv *ma'byā*, Latin *sibi*, Oscan *sifei*), in the instrumental of all numbers (sing.: Greek *θεόφ(ι)*, Arm. *mardov*; plur.: Ved. *devébhis*, Old Irish *feraib*; dual: Skt. *devébhyām*, GAv *zastōibyā*, Old Irish *feraib*), and in the dative-ablative plural (Skt. *devébhyas*, GAv *dāθaē'byō*, Latin *deābus*, Oscan *luisarifs*, Gaulish *vamavouikaβo*). The base-meaning seems to have been "with", but—at least in the historic period—the formative was common to several cases and to all three numbers (cf. Gray, in *Language*, viii [1932], 191, 192–3, 194, 195, 197).

The A ablative type of *puttahē* is apparently derived from **putrāsyaś*, i.e. it has the termination of the feminine genitive-ablative pronoun, a like confusion of genders recurring in the AMg, JM dative *puttāe* < **putrāyai* (Pischel, p. 249). The form *puttahu*, on the other hand, seems to point to an original **putrābhas*, i.e. to a formative *-bh-* (as in *deābus*, *luisarifs*, *vamavouikaβo*), as contrasted with *-bhi-* (as in *devébhyas*, *dāθaē'byō*), plus the genitive-ablative termination *-as*. Derivation from **putrās-* plus *-as* seems much less likely, and Pischel's interpretation (p. 257) of the A ablative plural *puttahū* as equivalent to the Skt. ablative dual *putrābhyām* appears highly improbable.

The nominative plural masculine and neuter, represented by AMg *puttāo* (masculine), M, AMg, JM, Ś, Mg *phalāim*, *phalāi*, *phalāi* (A, M also *phalaī*) (neuter) likewise call for consideration. Pischel's view (p. 254) that *puttāo* represents Skt. *putrās* plus the nominative plural termination *-as* of consonantal stems is obviously incorrect, nor can the Prākṛit form be compared with the Vedic type *putrāsas*, Av. *aspānhō*, Old Persian *bagāha* (the latter probably borrowed from *Medic*; see Meillet-Benveniste, *Grammaire du vieux-perse*², Paris, 1931, pp. 10–11, 175) since *h* < *s* does not disappear in Prākṛit (Pischel, pp. 183, 184). The type of *puttāo*, like those of AMg, JM, Ś *aggō*,

AMg, JM *vāū* (contrast Skt. *agnāyas*, *vāyāvas*), would seem to be formed directly from the attested Prākṛit nominatives plural *puttā*, *aggī*, *vāū* plus the plural termination *-as* of consonantal stems. Similarly the feminine types of M, AMg, JM, Ś, Mg *mālāo*, *devīo*, *vahūo* are from **mālāas*, **devīas*, **vadhūas* (contrast Pāli *mālāyas*, but *devīyo*, *vadhūyo*, as opposed to Skt. *mālās*, *devyās* [Vedic *devīs*], *vadhvās*), with the long vowel carried throughout, plus the consonantal termination *-as* (cf. Bloch, *Formation de la langue marathe*, Paris, 1920, p. 186).

The neuter types of *phalāim*, *dahūim*, *mahūim*, continued in the Marāṭhī *-em* (Bloch, pp. 81, 185; cf. R. L. Turner, *JRAS* 1915, p. 27; 1927, p. 230) and represented in Sanskrit by *phālāni*, *dādāhīni*, *mādhūni*, have their long vowel from the types represented by Vedic *phālā*, *dādāhī*, *mādhū* (cf. Young Avesta *xšaθra*, *zaraθuštri*, *po^uru*—quantity of final vowel ambiguous). The final *-im*, *-ī*, *-i* can come only from **-in(i)*, borrowed from the *-in*-stems. Here one would expect **-īn(i)*, i.e. **phalāim*, etc. (cf. Skt. *balīni*); but the *-i* is clearly due to analogy with the *-ī* of the Prākṛit nominative and accusative plural masculine of the type of *aggiṇo*, seen also in the instrumental singular *aggiṇā* and in the genitive singular *aggiṇo* (cf. Skt. instrumental singular *agnīnā*, Pāli *aggiṇā*, genitive *aggiṇo*, ablative *aggiṇā*; cf. also the short vowel in Av. *vohunām*, Old Persian *dahyunām*). Against this hypothesis one may fairly argue that final *-i* is preserved in the Mg ablative singular *puttāhi* (cf. A *puttāhē*), in the M, etc., locative singular *puttammi* (cf. A *puttahi*) and instrumental plural *puttehi(m)*, *puttehī*, and in the A locative plural *puttahi*; and that the only loss of a final vowel recorded for Prākṛit noun-inflexion is in the type of the A instrumental singular *puttem*, *puttē* (cf. also Pischel, pp. 111–12). A solution may possibly be sought in the fact that in stems in *-n-* (and *-nt-*), from which *-āni*—and, consequently, *-īni*, *-ūni*—is borrowed (Debrunner–Wackernagel, *Altindische Grammatik*, iii, Göttingen, 1930, 105, 160–2, 276–7), Av shows forms in *-an* < **-ān* beside those in *-āni* < **-ānō* (e.g. GAv *dāmām* : *afšmānī*), and this ending is borrowed in Av *-a*-stems (e.g. GAv *īnaram*, YAv *amšyaan* : GAv *akā*, YAv *xšaθra*, Old Persian *hamaranā* [Bartholomae, pp. 225, 233; cf. also K. Brugmann, *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der indogermanischen Sprachen*², Strasbourg, 1897–1916, II, ii, 232]). In Prākṛit *phalāni*, *phalāim*, etc., I see, accordingly, a survival of the Indo-Iranian doublets **-ni* and **-n*.

II. VERBS AND VERBALS

In the *present indicative active* only the A types of the first singular *vattaũ*, the first plural *vattahũ*, the second plural *vattahu*, and the third plural *vattahĩ* are not self-evident. The type of *vattaũ*, whose termination survives in Old Hindi, Braj, Old Gujarātī, and Chhatīsgarhī *-aũ* (Bloch, *Indo-aryen*, pp. 248-9; cf. R. Hoernle, *Comparative Grammar of the Gaudian Languages*, London, 1880, p. 335), is well explained by Pischel (p. 322) as for **vartakam*; but his view that this is to be compared with Skt. *yāmaki* = *yāmi* (KB xxvii, 1) and the forms *pacataki*, *chindhaki* = *pācati*, *chindha*, etc., quoted by Skt. grammarians, seems improbable (cf. L. Renou, *Grammaire sanscrite*, Paris, 1930, p. 247). In **vartakam* I incline to see, rather, the element *-kam* which appears in the nominative singular of the first personal pronoun M *ahaam*, JM *ahaiyam*, Asoka *hakaam*, Mg *hag(g)e*, A, Pañjābī, Braj *haũ*, etc. = Skt. *ahakām* < **eḡhm-kóm* (cf. Pischel, p. 293; Bloch, pp. 145, 191, and *Mémoires de la Société de Linguistique de Paris*, xxiii [1929], 115). This element *-kam* is of doubtful origin, but is possibly the formative which recurs in the Indo-Iranian "genitive plural" (Skt. *asmāka(m)*, *yuṣmāka(m)*, Av *ahmākəm*, *yuṣmākəm*). In any event, it would seem that the pronominal ending *-aũ* has here influenced the verb (cf. also the Pāli first singular optative *vatteyyāham* < **vatteyyam aham*, Asokan *vatte* 'ham, and Pāli first plural optative *vatteyyāmhē* < **vatteyyā amhe* [Geiger, p. 75; Bloch, locc. cit.]).

Whether the second singular *vattahi* is to be compared with Skt. *vartasi* (Pischel, pp. 183, 322) or—as seems rather more likely—with an imperative **vartadhi* (Bloch, *Indo-aryen*, p. 247), it, in conjunction with the second plural *vattahu*, plainly accounts for the otherwise inexplicable *h* in the first and third plural *vattahũ*, *vattahĩ*. The form *vattahu* itself presupposes **vartathas*, with *-as* instead of *-a* (cf. Skt. *vartatha*) on the analogy of a first plural **vartahas* (cf. Skt. *vartāmas*; that we here have a dual—cf. Skt. *vartathas*—seems rather less likely).

In the first person plural one would expect **vattāhu* (cf. Skt. *vartāmas*, general Prākṛit *vattāmo*), but, besides the shortening of *ā* by analogy with the rest of the present, **-u* has become *-ũ*, apparently under the influence of the singular *vattaũ*. In the third plural *vattahĩ*, represented in Modern Indian by Old Gujarātī *nācāĩ* "they dance", Awadhī and Braj *calaĩ* "they go", and Chhatīsgarhī *ghuchaĩ* "they can move" (Bloch, pp. 248-9; Turner, *JRAS* 1927,

p. 238 regards the nasalization as representing the older termination-*nti*), the nasalization, perhaps drawn from the first plural, is added to the singular *vattai*, so that the relation may be summarized in the scheme:—

First sing. *vattāu*: first plur. *vattahū* = third sing. *vattai*:
third plur. *vattahī* (cf., on the whole question, Bloch, pp. 247–9).

In the *middle*, a single Pāli form merits consideration here. The first plural of the type of *vattamhe* (with the semantic distinction in Pāli between *vatt-* “exist”, etc., and *vatt-* “be right” we are not concerned in this connection), cited only by grammarians, is clearly for **vartasme*, and can scarcely arise from syncope of **vattāmahe* = Skt. *vartāmahe*, despite Geiger, p. 107, and V. Henry, *Précis de grammaire pâlie*, Paris, 1904, p. 80. Just as in the first plural active of the type of *avattamha* (see below, p. 570), we evidently have a formation analogous to—perhaps actually combined with—the copula **amhe* (cf. the active *amhā* = Skt. *smās*) with *-e* mechanically substituted for *-ā* as a “primary” middle sign on the analogy of *vattasi*: *vattase*; *vattati*: *vattate*; *vattanti*: *vattante*, the proceeding being aided by the *-e* of the second plural, where it is fully justified (cf. Pāli *vattavhe* [attested only by grammarians]: Skt. *vartadhve*, and see Bloch, p. 232). The type of *vattāmase* beside *vattamhe*, which recurs in the imperative and optative types *vattāmase*, *vattemase*, shows merely another mechanical substitution of the “primary” middle characteristic *-e* for the active *-i* (cf. the Vedic first plural active *vartāmasi*); and the type *vattamhase* appears to be simply a contamination of the two types *vattamhe* and *vattāmase* (Geiger, p. 107). The aorist middle type of *avattamhase* is probably of identical origin (see below, p. 573).

The *optative* has been discussed by Pischel (pp. 325–9, and KZ xxxv [1899], 142–3), H. Jacobi (ibid., p. 577), Geiger (pp. 110–11), and especially Bloch (pp. 233–4, and “Quelques désinences d’optatif en moyen-indien épigraphique et littéraire”, in MSLP xxiii, 107–120). It falls into two types, represented by Prākṛit *vatte* = Skt. *vartet* (Type A) and *vattejjā* < **varteyat*, **varteyāt(i)* (Type B) respectively. The first of these calls for little comment except for the types of the Asokan third plural *vattevū* < **vartevur* beside *vatteyū* (contrast Skt. *varteyur*), where I can account for *v* instead of *y* only on the very unsatisfactory assumption of an arbitrarily sporadic interchange of the two phonemes (cf., for other instances, Pischel, p. 177), and Asokan *vattāvu*, a contamination of the optative represented by Skt. *varteyur*

with a subjunctive **vartāyur*, again with *v* for *y*; the general Prākṛit third plural type *vatte* < **varten*; the Pāli first singular *vatte* < **vartem*; and the first plural *vattemu* < **vartemu*, where one apparently has a contamination of the optative (cf. Skt. *vartema*) with the imperative (cf. Skt. *vartatu*) (Bloch, *MSLP* xxiii, 118; that *-u* is a Prākṛitism for *-as* [cf. AMg *accemu*, etc., and see Pischel, p. 235; Geiger, p. 81] is less likely).

Type B is more complex. It would appear to be a contamination of an analogical extension of the type of Skt. *varteyam* with the subjunctive (Pischel's view, that the contamination is of the thematic and the athematic optatives, seems less likely). Rather intricate in detail, the type will perhaps most clearly be presented by the following comparative table:—

	Prākṛit.	Pāli.	Skt. optative.	Skt. subjunctive.
Singular 1 .	<i>vattejjā</i> <i>vattejjāmi</i>	<i>vatteyyāmi</i> <i>vatteyyam</i>	<i>*varteyāmi</i> <i>varteyam</i>	Ved. <i>vartā</i>
	(cf. As. <i>avatte 'ham</i>)	<i>vatteyyāham</i>	<i>*varteyam ahām</i>	
„ 2 .	<i>vattejjāsi</i> <i>vattejjasi</i>	<i>vatteyyāsi</i> <i>vatteyya</i>	<i>*varteyāsi</i> <i>*varteyas(i)</i>	<i>vartās(i)</i>
„ 3 .	<i>vattejjā</i> <i>vattejja</i>	<i>vatteyyāti</i> <i>vatteyya</i>	<i>*varteyāt(i)</i> <i>*varteyat</i>	<i>vartāt(i)</i>
Plural 1 .	<i>vattejjāma</i>	<i>vatteyyāma</i>	<i>*varteyāma</i>	<i>vartāma</i>
„ 2 .	<i>vattejjāha</i> <i>vattejjaha</i>	<i>vatteyyātha</i>	<i>*varteyātha</i> <i>*varteyatha</i>	<i>vartātha</i>
„ 3 .	<i>vattejjā</i> <i>vattejja</i>		<i>*varteyān</i> <i>*varteyan</i>	<i>vartān</i>
		<i>vatteyyu(n)</i>	<i>varteyur</i>	

It is possible, furthermore, that the “injunctive” of the type of Skt. *(ā)vartam*, *(ā)vartas*, *(ā)vartat*, *(ā)vartāma* (but not *[ā]vartata*), *(ā)vartan*, may also have played some part in the formation. The Prākṛit first singular *vattejjā* seems to be a contamination of the Vedic subjunctive *vartā* with the optative *varteyam*, as *vattejjāmi* (Pāli *vatteyyāmi*) is of *varteyam* with the present indicative *vartāmi*; and the type of *vattejja* is probably by analogy with the third singular *vattejja* (otherwise Pischel, pp. 326); for Pāli *vatteyyāham*, etc., see above, p. 567; for *-a* < *-as* in the Pāli second singular see Geiger, pp. 73, 128, 129.

In the imperative active the *-u* characteristic of the third persons (*vattāu*, Ś, Mg, Dhakkī *vattadu* : *vattantu* = Skt. *vartatu* : *vartantu*) has analogically influenced the first singular (recorded only by grammarians) *vattāmu*, the second singular *vattasu*, *vattesu*, and the

A second plural *vattahu*, *vattēhu*, this explanation (cf. Pischel, p. 331) being much more plausible than the older view (repeated by Bloch, *Indo-aryen*, p. 249), which makes the termination a transfer from the middle voice (Skt. *vartasva*, Pāli *vattassu*), in which event one would expect a Prākṛit **vattassa* or **vattāssa* (cf. Pischel, p. 218).

The first singular *vattāmu* < **vartām-u* corresponds to the formation of Skt. *vartāmi*, while *vattamu* < **vartam-u*, outwardly similar to the Pāli first singular indicative *vattam* beside *vattāmi*, seems to be, in reality, an old "injunctive" (cf. Skt. *āvartam*), just as the A second singular *vattu* appears to be for **vartas* (cf. Skt. *āvartas*). The A second plural *vattahu* may either be the indicative used as an imperative (as is true also of the second plural *vattaha* and of the third plural *vattahi*) or may have arisen from **vartathu*, with *-th-* instead of *-t-* through analogy with the indicative (cf. Ś, Mg *vattadha*, *vattēdha*, general Prākṛit *vattaha*, Pāli *vattatha* contrasted with Skt. *vartata*), exactly as the second singular imperative *vattasu* < **vartas-u* corresponds mechanically to the second singular indicative *vattasi* = Skt. *vartasi*; i.e. we have here a contamination of the imperative and the "injunctive". The A second singular *vattahi* would seem to be for **vartadhi*, with *-hi* < *-dhi* carried over from the "athematic" conjugation; and the AMg *vattāhi* strongly suggests a survival of the subjunctive seen in Vedic *vartās(i)* (cf. the Skt. "imperatives" first singular *vartāni*, first plural *vartāma*, which are really subjunctives). In the imperative forms with *-e-* beside those in *-a-*—*vattesu*, *vattēhi*, *vattēmha*, *vattēdha*, *vattēhu*—one clearly has contaminations of the imperative with the optative (cf. Skt. *vartes*, etc.). The Pāli second singular imperative *vattassu* can scarcely have arisen directly from **vartasva* (cf. Skt. *vartasva*), despite Geiger (p. 109), for this should give **vattassa*. It evidently represents a contamination of *vartasva* and *vartatu*.

The first plural type *vattēmha* (M, Ś, Mg, Dhakkī, and frequently JM) is well explained by Pischel (pp. 332-3) as based on the "injunctive" of the *-s-*aorist seen in Vedic *geṣma* (i.e. *ge-s-ma*), *jéṣma*, and *deṣma*, while the type *vattamha* would, correspondingly, be for **vartā-s-ma*, the first plural of the Pāli aorist *avattamha* beside *avattāmo* (cf. Skt. *āvartāma*) possibly pointing to an identical origin (for another explanation see below, p. 572). The Pāli second plural middle *vattavho* is clearly for **vartadh(u)vas* (Bloch, p. 232), a form which seems best explicable as a contamination of the second plural **vartadhva* (cf. the unique Vedic *yājadhva*, RV VIII, ii, 37, and Greek *φέπεσθε* [see Brugmann, II, iii, 651, and Gray in *Language*, vi (1930), 239]) with

a second singular active "injunctive" corresponding to Skt. (á)vartas. The third plural *vattahī*, like the second plural *vattaha*, is merely the indicative used as an imperative.

In the future the normal ending of the first singular is *-m* rather than *-mi* (Prākṛit *vattissam*, Pāli *vattissam*, as contrasted with Skt. *vartisyāmi* (Gāthā Pāli even has the type *vattam* in the present). Here we seem to have a trace of the "injunctive" (cf. Pāli aorist *agamisaṃ* and the Skt. conditional *āvartisyam*, Pāli *avattissam*, and see Bloch, *MSLP*, xxiii, 119), a similar phenomenon recurring in the (rare) M verse-form of the first plural *vattissāma* beside the normal *vattissāmo* and in the regular Pāli type *vattissāma* (contrast Skt. *vartisyāmas*), possibly in the Prākṛit first plural *vattihissā*, and probably in the second plural *vattihitthā*.

For the first plural, Prākṛit grammarians record the types *vattihissā*, *vattēhissā* beside *vattissāmo*, *vattissāmu*, *vattissāma*, *vattihāmo*, *vattihāmu*, *vattihāma*, *vattihimo*, *vattihimu*, *vattihima*. The termination *-ssā* is obscure, but phonologically it may come from *-tsā*, *-tsā*, *-hsā*, *-ḥsā*, *-hsā*, *-śyā*, *-śrā*, *ślā*, *-śvā*, *śyā*, *-śvā*, *-syā*, *-svā* (Pischel, pp. 217-18, 224-5, 225-6). Of these, only *-svā* (*-śvā*) appears to be even remotely possible here, so that *vattihissā* would seem to be for **vartisyīśvā*. The form seems to be, in reality, dual, not plural, in origin, and appears to be a contamination of the true future seen in Skt. *vartisyāvas*, *vartisyāmas*, Prākṛit *vattissāmo*, etc., with the *-s*-aorist (cf. Skt. *ā-śraut-s-va* and the M, etc., first plural imperative *vattēhma* ~ Vedic *geṣma* cited above), with the long vowel which appears in the Lithuanian reflexive type *dīrbavo-s*. With the grade in *ē* instead of *ō*, we may perhaps also cite Old Church Slav *veze-rě* in this connection. This form is usually explained as influenced by the second personal pronoun dual *rě* (see, e.g., Meillet-Vaillant, *Le Slave commun*², Paris, 1934, p. 325), but it is at least possible that the analogy worked in the reverse direction, especially as only Slavic shows a long vowel in this pronominal form (cf. Brugmann, II, ii, 412, 426-7). The *-h-* in *vattihissa*, etc., would seem to represent "a special treatment of *-ss-* > *-s-* in a terminational element", seen also in the Mg genitive singular *puttāha*, A *puttaha*, *puttahō* < **puttāsa* < *puttassa* < *putrāsya*, **putrāsas* (Turner, *JRAS* 1927, pp. 232-5; *BSOS* V [1930], 50; VI [1932], 531).

The second plural of the Prākṛit type *vattihitthā* (known only from grammarians, with the exception of AMg *dāhittha* as contrasted with Skt. *dāsyātha*) is interpreted (e.g. Pischel, p. 363) as based on an "injunctive" of the *-is*-aorist (Prākṛit *vattihitthā* < **vartisyīṣṭa*).

We should, however, expect *-tth-*, not *-tth-*, < *-ist-*, just as we should in the Pāli second plural aorist active *avattittha*, second singular aorist middle *avattittho*, and third singular *avattittha*, Prākṛit *avattitthā*, Asokan *vaḍḍhihā*. The presence in Pāli of the types of *avattattha* beside *avattittha*, with *-tth-* < *-st-*, suggests that in the forms with *-itth-* either we have a contamination of the *-iṣ-* aorist with the "thematic" aorist (i.e. the type of Skt. *ābodhiṣṭa* contaminated with that of *āśicata*; cf. K. F. Johansson, in *KZ* xxxii [1893], 450-3, though he considered the contamination to be with the *-s-* aorist rather than with the "thematic"); or that, as suggested by Mr. Smith (cf. also Henry, p. 89; Bloch, p. 232), the termination has been influenced by the second plural of the copula (M *ttha*, Pāli *attha*, Skt. *sthā*), which, like *ās-*, *sthā-*, *vart-*, and *bhav-*, had already been used in Sanskrit with the present participle to express continuous action just like English *I am standing*, Late Latin *stat spargendo* "he is scattering", Spanish *estoy comiendo*, Italian *sto mangiando* "I am eating" (cf. J. S. Speijer, *Sanskrit Syntax*, Leyden, 1886, pp. 294-5). It is quite possible that both factors were operative simultaneously. If this explanation may be accepted for the type *vattihittha*, *vattihitthā* would seem to have been similarly influenced by the vanished aorist of *sthā-*, **atthā*, corresponding to Pāli *atthā* = Skt. *āsthāt*, the third singular being generalized just as in the case of Prākṛit *āsī* = Skt. *āsit* (cf. Pischel, p. 359). Beside *vaḍḍhihā* Asoka has the normal form *nikhamiṭhā*. For the cerebral in Pāli *aṭṭhā* (cf. M, JM *ṭhāi*) see Geiger, p. 71.

When we turn to the aorist, only Pāli forms need renewed consideration here. The first plural active of the type of *avattamha* < **āvartasma* may derive its ending from the copula *amha* (cf. M *mho*, *mha*, Skt. *smās*; see Bloch, p. 232), though it is more probably connected with the type of such Vedic aorists as *geṣma*, *jēsma*, and *deṣma* (see above, p. 570). The rare type of *avattimha* is the precise equivalent of Skt. *āvartisma*, and the second plural *avattittha* is for **āvartasta*. For the second plural *avattattha* beside *avattittha* < **āvartasta* and *āvartiṣṭa* respectively, and for *-tth-* instead of *-tth-*, we have already advanced two hypotheses in discussing the future (p. 572); and in the type of *avattattha* we have simply a borrowing of the present ending (*vattattha*; cf. Bloch, p. 232).

In the third plural types of Pāli *avattiṃsu* (Prākṛit *avattiṃsu*), *-iṃsu* is explained as equivalent to Skt. *āvartiṣur* (Pischel, p. 360; cf. Henry, p. 89), but it seems, rather, to be a contamination of

**avattun* and **avattisun* (cf. Skt. *āvṛtan* : *āvartīsur*), i.e. of the -*a*-aorist and the -*iṣ*-aorist. Asoka has the forms *alocayisu*, *nikhamisu*, *ichisu* ; cf. Skt. *ābhaviṣur*, etc.

The Pāli second singular middle type *vattittha* cannot be compared directly with that of Skt. *āvartīṣṭhās* despite Geiger, p. 130, but seems to be from **āvartīṣṭhās* through confusion of the middle termination -*thas* with the active -*as* (cf. Bloch, p. 231, and for the dental instead of the cerebral, above, p. 572), together with a contamination of the -*a*-aorist and the -*iṣ*-aorist (cf. Skt. *āvartas* : *āvartīṣṭhās*). The third singular of the type of *avattatha* (Asokan Prākṛit *nikhamiṭhā*, *vaḍhiṭhā*), with -*th*- where one would expect -*t*- (cf. Skt. *āvartata*), is very puzzling (cf. Bloch, p. 232). The only suggestion that I can offer is that we have here a contamination of the "thematic" with the -*iṣ*-aorist, i.e. *avattathā* < *āvartata* ~ **avattattha* < **avattasta* ~ **avattittha* < *āvartīṣṭa*. The quantity of the final vowel—short in Pāli *avattatha*, but long in Asokan *vaḍhiṭhā*—may be due to analogy with similar phenomena already observed in the future. The same -*th*- reappears in the Pāli third singular optative and conditional middle (*vattetha*, *avattissatha*), and may conceivably be due to the fact that these, like the aorist itself, are characterized by "secondary" endings.

The termination of the first person plural of the type of *avattamhase* can scarcely be derived directly from *-*mase*, as stated by Geiger (pp. 107, 109). It must stand for **āvartasmase*, which seems best explained as a mere borrowing from the present type of *vattamhe* (see above, p. 568).

The A infinitive of the type of *vattāṇa* is obviously the nominative singular of an action-noun corresponding exactly to Skt. *vārtanam* (for the use of the bare stem instead of the form in -*m* cf. Pischel, p. 248), and it survives in Modern Indian (Bloch, p. 283). It can, however, scarcely be equated with Kanesian ("Hittite") infinitives of the type of *hark-ana* "go to ruin", since these are probably datives beside the regular type of *idalawani* "to injure" (E. H. Sturtevant, *Comparative Grammar of the Hittite Language*, Philadelphia, 1933, pp. 151, 267). Beside *vattāṇa* we also find *vattāṇahī* (probably a locative singular, less plausibly a locative or instrumental plural ; cf. Pischel, p. 392) and *vattāṇahā*, which looks like a genitive plural (Pischel, loc. cit.). Since, however, no infinitive in the plural is known in Indo-European, it may be suggested that *vattāṇahā* is for **vārtanatham*, i.e. a noun of action in -*no*- plus the Indo-Iranian formative -*tha*- < -*tho*-, also used to make *nomina actionis* (e.g. Skt. *gāthā*-, Av *gāθa*- ;

Skt. *bhṛthá-*; cf. W. D. Whitney, *Sanskrit Grammar*², Boston, U.S.A., 1896, p. 436; B. Lindner, *Altindische Nominalbildung*, Jena, 1878, pp. 84-5; Bartholomae, pp. 107, 110). At the same time, *-tha-* is not used either in Sanskrit or in Avesta to form secondary noun-derivatives, so that the suggestion is open to grave objection. Another A infinitive of the type of *devam* "to give" would seem to be the locative (cf. Vedic *mūrdhān* beside *mūrdhāni*, and see Brugmann, II, ii, 177-8) of the formation in *-yen-* which appears in inflected form in infinitives of the type of Vedic *dāvāne*, Cyprian *δοῖναι*, Greek *δοῦναι*, GAv *vīdvanōi*, and which finds an exact counterpart in Av *rōiθwēn* and the Kanesian "supine" type of *peskewan* "giving" (Bartholomae, pp. 145, 146; Sturtevant, p. 153).

The Pāli infinitival types *vattitāye* and *vattetūye*, like the AMg *vaṭṭae*, *vaṭṭitae*, are obviously datives (cf. Bloch, p. 252; cf. also the survival of the dative in Pāli in an infinitival use, e.g. *dassanāya* "to see", Geiger, pp. 78, 151). On the other hand, *vaṭṭae*, etc., are scarcely to be equated, despite Pischel, p. 392, with Skt. *vārttave*, even if intervocalic *v* occasionally vanishes in Prākṛit (Pischel, p. 137), but must be exactly equivalent to Skt. *vārtaye*. Similarly, the Pāli type of *vattitāye* would seem to be a contamination of **vārtitāya* and **vārtitaye* (datives of **vārtita-* and **vārtiti-* respectively), just as *vattetūye* is of *vārtayitum* and **vārtayātaye* (i.e. the causative infinitive and the dative of **vārtayati-*; cf. Bloch, p. 132).

Of the *gerunds* (or *absolutives*), the types of JŚ *vattidūṇa*, Pallava Grant *vattitūṇam*, JM *vattitūṇa(m)*, Gāthā Pāli (rare) *vattitūṇa*, represent a contamination of a gerund in **-tvāna* (cf. Vedic *-tvānam*, cited only by grammarians) with the infinitive in *-tum*, with *-tū < -tu* by analogy with **-tvāna* and probably also with gerunds of the type of AMg *vaṭṭiyāṇam*, Pāli *vattiyāṇa* (cf. the Vedic alternation here of *-ya* and *-yā*, e.g. *abhikrāmya*: *saṃgṛbhyā*; A. A. Macdonell, *Vedic Grammar*, Strasbourg, 1910, p. 413; see also Pischel, p. 400; Geiger, p. 156; Bloch, p. 284); i.e. **-tūṇa(m)*: **-tū < -tu = -yāṇa(m)*: *-yā = -tvānam*: *-tvā*. The formation in *-tvānam* actually appears in the AMg *vattittāṇam*, and beside it are *vatticcāna(m)* and *vatticcā*, with *-cc- < -ty-*. To assume a mere substitution of *y* for *v* in the two latter, with Pischel (p. 397; cf. p. 177), seems very improbable. These two types are, rather, to be compared directly with the Vedic gerund in *-tyā* (e.g. *étyā*, *abhiṣṭyā*; cf. Macdonell, p. 414), and they would seem to be from **vattiyāṇa(m) < *vṛtityā*, a late formation from

**vṛt-tyā* (cf. Skt. *vṛtyā*) plus a formative *-(ā)na(m)*, and from the simple **vṛtityā* respectively. The type of AMg *vattiyānam*, Pāli *vattiyāna*, appears to come, similarly, from **vartiyānam* < **vṛtityā*, an extension of a form precisely identical with Skt. *vṛtyā* (see Geiger, pp. 155-6) plus the same formative *-(ā)na(m)*.

Much more problematical is the A type *vattī*, but it is at least clear that Pischel's explanation (p. 401)—that it has arisen from the type of *vattia* through loss of a final *-a*—is quite improbable. The question is rendered still more difficult since Modern Indian shows that the form must have been *vattī* (Bloch, p. 285). The only suggestion I can now make is that we here have a survival of a locative infinitive in *-i*, of the same type as the Vedic infinitive *neṣāni* (only eight instances recorded; see Macdonell, p. 412) and GAV *fraxšnī* (Bartholomae, p. 146). A like confusion between the infinitive and the gerund is seen in the type of AMg *kāum* = Skt. *kārtum* as a gerund (cf. Pischel, pp. 390-1, 392-3, 398). It may also be significant, as regards the final *-ī*, that one finds in Vedic (though very rarely) *kartāri* beside *kartāri*, and *vēdī* beside *vēdi* (Whitney, pp. 120, 134, 138; Macdonell, pp. 245, 271, 284). For other locative infinitives cf. Av. *-tačahi*, Greek *ἐχέω*, Doric *ἐχην* < **ἐχέσεν*, Homeric *ἴδμεν*, Latin *agere* < **agesi*, Av. *roiθwən* (Brugmann, II, iii, 899).

Finally, the Pāli *future passive participle* of the type of *vattitāya-*, *vattitayya-*, to be compared with Asokan *pūjetaya-*, is clearly a contamination of the types of Skt. *vartitavyā-* (in Vedic only *janitavyā-* and *himsitavyā-*) and Vedic *vṛtāyia-* (e.g. *viddyia-*; cf. Macdonell, pp. 406-7).

The results obtained in the foregoing pages may be tabulated as follows:—

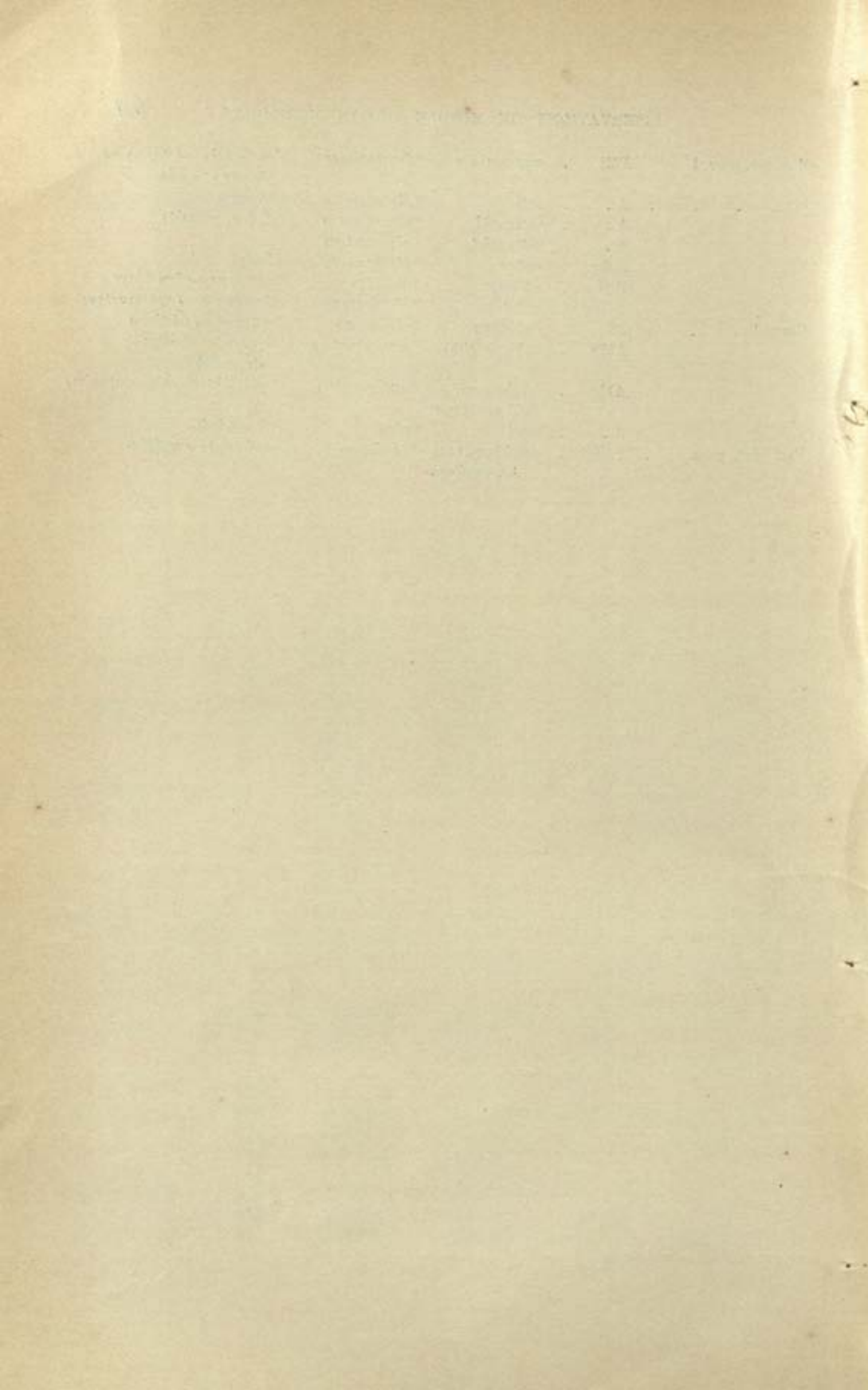
I. NOUNS

Sg. nom. m.	.	.	Mg, AMg	<i>putte</i> , A <i>puttu</i>	* <i>putrá:</i> , * <i>putrós:</i>	
Sg. gen. m.	.	.	A .	<i>puttahē</i> , <i>puttaseu</i>	* <i>putrás(y)as</i>	<i>putrásya</i> ~ * <i>putrás</i> + <i>-as</i>
Sg. abl. m.	.	.	M, etc.	<i>puttāo</i>	* <i>putrdtas</i>	<i>putrdt</i> ~ <i>putrátas</i> (or <i>putrdt</i> + <i>-as</i> ?)
			M	<i>puttāhi(mto)</i>	* <i>putrdbhi(mtas)</i>	<i>putrdt</i> ~ * <i>putrábhi(m)(tas)</i>
			A .	<i>puttahē</i> , <i>puttahu</i>	* <i>putrásyās</i> , * <i>putrábhas</i>	
Pl. nom. m.	.	.	AMg	<i>puttāo</i>	* <i>putrdas</i>	* <i>putrd</i> + <i>-as</i> of cons. stems.
" f.	.	.	M, etc.	<i>deviō</i> , <i>vahūo</i>	* <i>devīas</i> , * <i>vadhūas</i>	* <i>devī</i> , * <i>vadhū</i> + <i>-as</i> of cons. stems.
" n.	.	.	M, etc.	<i>phalāi(m)</i> , A <i>phalai</i>	* <i>phālāin(i)</i>	<i>phālā</i> + <i>-in(i)</i> of <i>-in-</i> stems.

II. VERBS AND VERBALS

Act. pres. ind. sing. 1	A.	vaffaū	*vārtakam	vārtāmi ~ ahakām
" " " 2	A.	vaffahi	*vārtadhi (?), vārtasi (?)	
" " plur. 1	A.	vaffahū	*vārtatham	vārtatha ~ A sing. vaffaū
" " " 2	A.	vaffahu	*vārtathas	vārtatha ~ vārtāmas
" " " 3	A.	vaffahi	*vārtathim	vārtatha ~ A sing. vaffai
Mid. " " 1	Pāli	vattamhe	*vārtasme	vārtāmahe ~ *asme ~ *asmas < smās
	Pāli	vattāmase	*vārtāmase	vārtāmasi ~ vārtāmahe
	Pāli	vattamhase	*vārtasmase	Pāli vattamhe ~ vattāmase
		vatte	*vārtēm	
Act. pres. opt. sing. 1	Pāli			
(for Type B see pp. 568-9)				
Act. pres. opt. plur. 1	Pāli	vattēmu	*vārtēmu	vārtēma ~ vārtatu
" " " 3	Pkt.	vaffe	*vārtēn	
	As.	vaffāvu	*vārtāvur	vārtēyur ~ vārtān
	As.	vaffevū	*vārtesur	
Act. impv. sing. 1	Pkt.	[vaffāmu]	*vārtāmu	vārtāmi ~ vārtatu
	Pkt.	[vaffamu]	*vārtamu	(ā)vartam ~ vārtatu
" " " 2	Pkt.	vaffasu	*vārtasu	(ā)vartas ~ vārtatu
	Pkt.	vaffesu	*vārtēsu	vārtēs ~ vārtatu
	A.	vafsu	*vārtas	(ā)vartas
	A.	vaffahi	*vārtadhi	vārtā ~ type of śṛṇu(d)hi
	Pkt.	vaffehi	*vārtedhi	*vārtē (!) ~ type of śṛṇu(d)hi
	AMg.	vaffāhi	*vārtādhi	vārtās(i) ~ type of śṛṇu(d)hi
	Pāli	vattassu	*vārtassu	vārtasva ~ vārtatu
Act. impv. plur. 1	M, etc.	vaffamha	*vārtāsma	vārtāma ~ type of Ved. jéṣma
	M, etc.	vaffēmha	*vārtēsma	vārtēma ~ type of Ved. jéṣma
	A.	vaffahu	*vārtathu	vārtatha ~ vārtatu
	A.	vaffechu	*vārtethu	*vārteltha ~ vārteta ~ vārtatu
Mid. impv. plur. 2	Pāli	vattavho	*vārtadhvas	vārtadhva ~ (ā)vartas
Act. fut. sing. 1	Pkt.	vaffissam, Pāli vattissam	*vartisyam	vartisyāmi ~ (ā)vartam or (ā)vartisyam
" plur. 1	Pkt.	vaffissāma, Pāli vattissāma	*vartisyāma	vartisyāmas ~ (ā)vartisṃma
	Pkt.	vaffihissā	*vartisyiṣvā	vartisyāvas ~ (ā)vartisva (cf. Lith. dīrbavo-s, OCSL. veze- vē)
" " 2	Pkt.	vaffihittha	*vartisyiṣṭa	vartisyātha ~ *(ā)vartisṭa ~ (d)vartata or vartisyātha ~ sthā
	Pkt.	vaffihitthā	*vartisyiṣṭā	vartisyātha ~ (ā)sthāt
Act. aor. plur. 1	Pāli	avattamha	*āvartāsma	āvartāma ~ type of Ved. jéṣma or āvartāma ~ *smā : smās
	Pāli	avattimha	*āvartisṃma	āvartisṃma
" " 2	Pāli	avattattha	*āvartasta	āvartata ~ āvartisṭa
	Pāli	avattittha	*āvartisṭa	āvartisṭa ~ āvartata
" " 3	Pāli	avattimṣu	*āvartum ~ *āvartisum	āvartan ~ āvartisur
Mid. aor. sing. 2	Pāli	avattittho	*āvartisṭhas	āvartisṭhās ~ āvartas
" " 3	Pāli	avattattha	*āvartatha	āvartata ~ āvartisṭa
	As.	avattitthā	*āvartittha	āvartisṭa ~ āvartata ~ (ā)sthāt

Mid. aor. plur. 1	Pāli	. <i>avattamhase</i>	* <i>dvartasmase</i>	<i>āvartāmahe</i> ~ * <i>āsmē</i> ~ * <i>āsmas</i> < <i>emās</i>
Infin.	A.	. <i>vaffaṇa</i>	* <i>vārtanam</i>	<i>vārtanam</i>
	A.	. <i>vaffaṇahī</i>	* <i>vārtanasmin</i>	(cf. loc. <i>puttahī</i>)
	A.	. <i>vaffaṇahā</i>	* <i>vārtanatham</i>	
	AMg	. <i>vaffae</i>	* <i>vārtaye</i>	<i>vārtaye</i>
	Pāli	. <i>vattitāye</i>	* <i>vārtitāye</i>	* <i>vārtitāya</i> ~ * <i>vārtitaye</i>
Gerund	Pāli	. <i>vattetūye</i>	* <i>vārtayātūye</i>	<i>vārtayitum</i> ~ * <i>vārtayātaye</i>
	JŚ	. <i>vaffidūṇa</i>	* <i>vārtitūna</i>	* <i>vrttvāna</i> ~ <i>vārtitum</i>
	AMg	. <i>vafficcāna(m)</i>	* <i>vartitūyāna(m)</i>	* <i>vrtitūyā</i> < * <i>vrttūyā</i> + -(ā)na(m)
	AMg	. <i>vaffiyānam,</i> Pāli <i>vattiyāna</i>	* <i>vartiyāna(m)</i>	* <i>vrtiyā</i> < <i>vrtiyā</i> + -(ā)na(m)
	A.	. <i>vaffi</i>	* <i>vārti</i>	(cf. <i>neṣāṇi</i>)
Part. fut. pass.	Pāli	. <i>vattitāya</i> -, etc., As. <i>vaffiṭeya</i> -	* <i>vārtitāya</i> -	<i>vartitavyā</i> ~ <i>vrtidyia</i> -



Sakische Etymologien

By OLAF HANSEN

1. SAK. GGĀTHAA

SAK. *ggāthaa* „Laie“ und seine Ableitungen lassen sich als buddhistischer Terminus kaum von skt. *gr̥hasthā* trennen. Offensichtlich deutet das sakische Wort auf ein mittelind. **gāṭṭha* oder **gahatṭha* (vgl. pāli *gahatṭha*), aus dem es entlehnt ist. Derselbe Laut *ṭh* für skt. *sth* findet sich auch im sak. Lehnwort *vathāyaa* < mittelind. *uvatṭhāyaa*, skt. *upasthā-*. Die Herleitung von sak. *ggāthaa* aus dem Mittelindischen scheint mir gegenüber der von Konow in seinen Saka Studies p. 136 gegebenen besonders aus dem Grunde den Vorzug zu verdienen, als auch eine andere iranische Sprache das Wort derselben Quelle entnommen hat: soghd. *k'rtk* Dhyāna-Text 6 und *k'rt'k* Dhūta-Text 206, dessen präzise Bedeutung ich mit Herrn S. Matsunami im Jahre 1932 aus dem chinesischen Paralleltext erschliessen konnte. Wie Benveniste unabhängig davon nachgewiesen hat (*JAs.* 1933 (2), p. 214), steht *k'rtk*, *k'rt'k* im Gegensatz zu soghd. *ky'ky* ¹ *nyzk* „pravrajita“ und zu *dynδ'r* „religieux“. In beiden angeführten soghdischen Schreibungen ist *rt* offenbar ein Versuch, mittelind. *ṭh* wiederzugeben. Es liegt hier demnach eine ähnliche Schreibung vor wie in soghd. *pwyny'nyh* „punya“ (Rosenberg, Bull. de l'Acad. des Sciences, 1927, p. 1391 f.), wo ind. *ṇ* durch soghd. *rn* wiedergegeben wird. Daneben steht jedoch gewöhnlich *pwyny'ny*. Ähnlich wie im Soghdischen sind vereinzelt Schreibungen Albērūnīs bei der Wiedergabe indischer Worte zu beurteilen (vgl. Sachau, Indo-arabische Studien zur Aussprache und Geschichte des Indischen in der 1. Hälfte des XI. Jh., Abhandlungen der Kgl. Preuss. Akad. Wiss., 1888, p. 18). Albērūnī schreibt in arabischen Zeichen *rn* resp. *nr* für ind. *ṇ* ² in بَرنَج = *baṇij*, پَرنِ = *Pāṇini* (zu diesem Wort vgl. Sachau l.c.), und *rt* für *ṭh* resp. *ṭṭh* in كَرت = *kunāṭha* (Sachau, p. 17) und جَرت = skt. *jyāiṣṭha* (*ṭṭha* < skt. *ṣṭha*).³ Von dieser Art Schreibungen ist ganz zu trennen soghdisch *γwrnw* VJ. 783, das

¹ Betreffe *ky'ky* sei auf das allerdings noch nicht ganz sicher gedeutete soghd. *βēnpōy* (*γr'mlδ'rt*) der Kara-Balgasun Inschrift Zeile 14 (vgl. Mém. Soc. Finno-Ougrienne 44. 3, p. 18 u. 32) aufmerksam gemacht.

² Daneben gibt es jedoch Fälle, wo Albērūnī für ind. *ṇ* einfach *n* oder auch *r* schreibt (vgl. Sachau l.c. 18).

³ جَرت ist bei Sachau versehentlich unter die Beispiele gestellt, wo *ṭh* mit *t* wiedergegeben wird, wofür Sachau mehrere Beispiele anführt.

Gauthiot richtig mit „ensanglantée“ übersetzt hat: *rty ZKh prw 'stkwh 'nšpr'ynt 'skwn KΓH 'Pny k'w 'nšpr'ynt rty ZKh z'yh s't γwrnw β'y* d.h. „und sie wanderten auf Knochen, sodass dort, wo sie wanderten, die Erde ganz blutig wurde“. *γwrnw* ist Adverb auf *-w* (**-u < *-am*) vom Adjektiv **γwrn-* d.i. **χuruwin(a)* oder *χurān(a)* mit der auch bei *r* belegten Umstellung des *w*: vgl. soghd. *dwt-* = mp. *drūt*. Somit lässt sich soghd. *γwrnw* zu aw. *χrvant-* „grauenhafte“, eigentlich „blutig“ (*χrūra* „blutig, grausam“) stellen. Zur Ableitung sei auf lit. *krūvinas*, abg. *krǫvǫnǫ-* „blutig“ verwiesen. In dem zweiten Teil der Soghdischen Texte von FWKMüller (hg. von W. Lentz) ist *χwrny* im Ausdruck *χwrny pšynč'* „(o) Blutvergiesser!“ belegt, das mit dem oben aus dem VJ. belegten *γwrn-* identisch ist; offenbar ist *χwrn-* auch hier als Adjektiv aufzufassen.

2. SAK. BĪR

Sak. *bīr-* „werfen, streuen“ lässt sich mit lit. *beriu*, *beṛti* streuen, lett. *beṛu*, *bērt* schütten, streuen, *bārstīt* wiederholt streuen, *bārstlī* allerlei Abfälle, die man den Hühnern als Futter hinstreut, *bārstal'a* jmd., der alles ausstreut, *bārstes* ausgestreutes Getreide, *bīrstu*, *biru*, *bīrt* sich verstreuen, ausfallen, abfallen (s. Mühlenbach-Endzelin, Lettisch-deutsches Wörterbuch s.vv.), vereinigen. Die baltischen Worte verbinden Būga, Aistiskai Studijai 1908, 184, Mikkola, Urslav. Grammatik 43, Brückner in: Gesch. der idg. Sprachwiss. ii, 3, 83, und Trautmann, Balto-slav. Wörterbuch 31 mit idg. **bher-* „tragen“, ohne eine nähere Begründung für den Bedeutungswandel zu geben. Einen Versuch, diesen Unterschied in der Bedeutung zu überbrücken, unternehmen Mühlenbach-Endzelin, l.c. p. 292, der jedoch nicht sehr überzeugt. Walde-Pokorny verhalten sich dieser Verbindung gegenüber ablehnend (s. Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der idg. Sprachen ii, 165). Der Vokal des sak. *bīr* erklärt sich durch Umlaut: *< *barya-*. Demnach stimmt sak. *bīr* ganz zu lit. *beriu*, lett. *beṛu* (*-ie/-io* Praes.; vgl. auch Endzelin Lett. Gr. § 625). Dieser Umstand, dass zwei Sprachgruppen übereinstimmend ein *-ie/-io* Praesens aufweisen, das nirgends von **bher-* tragen bezeugt ist (vgl. jetzt die Ausführungen über **bher-* bei Ernout-Meillet, Dict. Et. langue lat., pp. 334 f.), spricht neben der Schwierigkeit, die Bedeutungen zu verknüpfen, für den Ansatz zweier getrennter Wurzeln. Über weitere Anknüpfungen dieser Wurzel **bher-* in anderen idg. Sprachen s. Meillet, A propos de la groupe litouanienne de *beriu*, Streitberg Festgabe, Leipzig, 1924, 258 ff.

3. SAK. HARMA

Im sak. Bhadrakalpikāsūtra (hg. von Konow, Avhandlingar utgitt av det Norske Videnskaps-Akademi, ii, hist.-filos. kl. 1929, No. 1, p. 11) steht: (33) . . . *u harmā betī ttaraṃdara vāṃnīha ni byehe*, was Konow l.c., p. 13 „and no poison finds entrance into the body“ übersetzt. Im Glossar zu dem zitierten Text bemerkt er (l.c. p. 17): *harmā* unidentified perhaps „any“. In seinen Saka Studies, 1932, p. 141, gibt er mit diesem selben einzigen Beleg: *harma* of any kind, any, nom. -*mā*, und vergleicht aw. *haurva*. Gegen den Vergleich mit dem awest. Wort scheint die Verschiedenheit der Suffixe zu sprechen, besonders da in den übrigen iranischen Sprachen dieses Wort in der sakischen Gestalt bisher nicht belegbar ist. Die neuen tocharischen B-Texte, die S. Lévi 1933 (Fragments de textes koutchéens publiés et traduits . . . Cahiers de la Soc. Asiat., 1^{re} série, ii) veröffentlicht hat, belegen ein toch.-B. *solme* „complet“, das Meillet Bull. Soc. Ling. 35, Comptes Rendus, p. 51, richtig mit toch. A *salu*, skt. *sarvaḥ* usw. vergleicht. Toch.-B *solme* und sak. *harma* weisen beide das mit *m*-anlautende Suffix auf und stehen damit im Gegensatz zu allen übrigen idg. Sprachen. Ob da zwischen *solme* und *harma* ein direkter Zusammenhang besteht, der bei den verschiedenen gegenseitigen Beeinflussungen dieser beiden Sprachen nicht ausgeschlossen ist, lässt sich vorläufig nicht entscheiden.

Soghdische Miszellen

VON W. HENNING

I. *βynpt-*

IN einem der von mir unlängst veröffentlichten manichäischen Texte in mittelpersischer Sprache kommt zweimal¹ ein Wort *bšnbyd* vor, für das sich die Bedeutung „Götzenpriester“ zwingend aus dem Kontext ergab; die Herkunft des Wortes kannte ich damals noch nicht: sie wird mit einem Schlage klar, wenn man soghdisch *βynpt-* „Zauberer“ herbeizieht (*βynptw* SCE. 255; *Alte Briefe* i, 10; fem. *βynpt'nch* SCE. 255, 252), das offensichtlich mit mp. *bšnbyd* etymologisch identisch ist.²

Die gemeinsame Grundform muss **baginapati-* „Herr des *bagina-*“ gewesen sein, woraus in persischem Munde, mit Palatalisierung des *g* vor hellem Vokal, **bažinapati-* wurde. Nach Schwund des zweiten Vokals ergaben sich die Formen *baynapat* (daraus soghd. *βynpt-* = *βaynpat-*) und *bažnapet*, aus dem nach der im Persischen geläufigen Verwandlung³ von *-žn-* in *-šn-* schliesslich *bašnbeð* (= mpT. *bšnbyd*) werden musste.

Dass in verschiedenen iranischen Sprachen der alte Velar eines und desselben Wortes einmal bewahrt, ein andermal hingegen palatalisiert ist, kommt gar nicht so selten vor; es sei gestattet, hierfür ein paar Beispiele anzuführen, die sich jedoch leicht vermehren liessen:

(1) Parthischem *wrec* = *virōc* > *virōž*⁴ „Blitz“ steht im Persischen *wrey*⁵ = *virōy* < **virōk-* gegenüber (hierzu auch der Eigenname mp. *wreyd'd* = *Virōyādā* „vom Blitz gegeben“ in Manis Gigantenbuch, = „*Vrukdad*“ bei Bang *Manich. Erz.* 13 ss.⁶); zur

¹ Andreas-Henning, *Mittelir. Manich.*, ii (Sb.P.A.W. 1933), 311, 21; 312, 16.

² Die Form *βy'npt-* bei Benveniste *Gramm.*, ii, 78, 89, 213, existiert nicht; die dort, p. 78, gegebene Erklärung *βayān^opat-* „maître des dieux, sorcier“ ist daher völlig haltlos.

³ Cf. Meillet-Benveniste, *Gramm.*², 69.

⁴ Andreas-Henning, *Mittelir. Manich.*, iii (Sb.P.A.W., 1934), 908.

⁵ In unveröffentlichten manichäischen Texten.

⁶ *Musdon*, xlv; das dort von Bang behandelte türkische Fragment, auf das mich seinerzeit Professor Schaefer hinwies, gehört in den Kreis der Henoch-Geschichten, die sich an Manis Gigantenbuch und an sein Henochbuch anschliessen, vgl. Sb.P.A.W. 1934, 27 ss.; *Qonuy Burqan* (lies: *Xunox*) ist Henoch.

Bildung vgl. ai. *viroká-*, *virokín-* usw.; die im Ai. so geläufige Komposition von $\sqrt{\text{ruc}}$ mit *vi* ist im Iranischen fast unbekannt; ausser *wruw* usw. gibt es hier nur das denominative Verbum parth. *wrušn'dn* „aufleuchten“¹ = sak. *bārūn-* „to shine“.²

(2) Parth. *'bg'w-* = *aβgāv-* „vermehren“ < **abigāvaya-* gegen ap. *abižāvaya-* (woraus soghd. *'βž'w-* = *aβžāv-* und mp. *'bz'y-* = *aβžāy-*), die zur Wurzel av. *gav*¹ „verschaffen“ gehören.³

(3) Mp. *aβāy* „mit“ aus **upāk-* gegen judpers. *aβāz* aus **upāč-*.⁴

(4) MpT. *āvāy* „Stimme“⁵ (np. *āvā* „Ruf, Schrei“ Šn. 81, 367; Asadi 57, 1, 2, und sonst) < **āvāk-* gegen Pehl., np. *āvāz* < **āvāč-*.

(5) Soghd. *mrē* „Tod“ = *marē* gegen av. *ma(h)rka-*, np. *mārg-*.⁶

(6) Buddh.-soghd. *crks* „Geier“ (Frag. III 28), oss. *cārgās* (Reichelt I, 63, N. 3) gegen av. *ka(h)rkāsa-*, np. *kārgās*.

Das erste Glied des mit ziemlicher Sicherheit rekonstruierten altiranischen Kompositums **baginapati-*, also **bagina-*, bedeutete „Tempel“, wie sich aus dem zu arsacidischer Zeit vom Armenischen entlehnten Wort *bagin* „Tempel, Altar“ zweifelsfrei ergibt; **baginapati-* ist also der „Tempelherr“. Was nun die Herkunft von **bagina-* anlangt, so ist es wohl klar, dass dies Wort ein substantiviertes -*ina*-Adjektiv zu *baga-* „Gott“ ist; wie av. *hāmīna-* als Adj. „sommerlich“ und als Subst. „Sommer“ bedeutete, so hiess **bagina-* „den Göttern zugehörig“ und substantiviert „das den Göttern zugehörige, der Tempel“. Ausser dem Armenischen scheint nur das Soghdische dies Wort bewahrt zu haben: es kommt, in der Form *βyn-*, mehrmals in einem noch nicht veröffentlichten manichäisch-soghdischen Text der Berliner Sammlung vor; hier eine charakteristische Stelle (T II D 117 B V 11 ss.):

*'rty dywōδ dyβnw βyny' cyndr cw βyyšt 'skwnd s't wyspr̥nynt
znd pyšt mrt̥xmytyy pryw nyy j'ynd 'rty q'tm "dyw 'w rwδnyt βyyšt
ky 'ty wy' βyny' 'skwnd 'zšwendyy* [Abbruch] „Und wieviel Götzen es in diesen beiden Tempeln geben mag, die sind zwar alle mit jeglicher Art Edelgesteins geschmückt: allein, mit den Menschen reden können

¹ M. 81, R. 4, *wrušn'd* (unveröff.).

² Konow, *Saka Studies*, 125.

³ S. *Mittelir. Manich.*, iii, 892, s.v. *'bgw*; ebenso jetzt Schaefer, *Sb.P.A.W.* 1935, 502 N. 3.

⁴ Vgl. zuletzt Nyberg *Hilfsbuch*, ii, 11 ss.

⁵ z.B. *Mittelir. Manich.* i (Sb.P.A.W. 1932) 204.

⁶ Dies Beispiel ist freilich nicht ganz sicher, da soghd. *mrc* auch auf av. *marsti-* (*mrti-*) zurückgehen könnte (mit *ti* > *č*); anders Gauthiot, *Gramm.* i, 94.

sie nicht. Ferner, wer auch immer die metallenen¹ Götzen, die im Tempel sind, zufrieden² [zu stellen sucht] . . .“

II. *zurnny*

Buddh.-soghd. „*nurn'k*“, „*nurn'y*“, das bisher meist fälschlich mit „gläubig“ übersetzt wurde, bedeutet „Epoche“, wie Lentz soeben überzeugend nachweist.³ Freilich geht die von Lentz vorgeschlagene Verknüpfung mit buddh.-soghd. *nur* „jetzt“ fehl: das Wort ist vielmehr *zurn-* zu lesen und zu av. *zrvan-* „Zeit“, auch „Zeitabschnitt“, zu stellen. Den Beweis dafür liefert das Manichäisch-Soghdische, wo das Wort in der Form *zurnny* nicht selten vorkommt; es sei gestattet, eine eindeutige Stelle anzuführen (T II D 115 V 1 ss., unveröff.): *z'wr δβrnd skwn βγyšt wnyy mrtxmyty oo p'rt[y] dym 'ty ršty'k fryš'nd sk[un] pr zurnny zurnny γrβ'qy' gnecd skwn wyzryy r'δδ 'nšt'gnd skwn* „Die Götter geben den Menschen Kraft: denn sie senden, in den einzelnen Zeiten, die Religion und die „Gerechtigkeit“, sie lehren die Weisheit und zeigen den wahren Weg“; hier entspricht *pr zurnny zurnny* genau persischem *pd 'w'm 'w'm*.⁴ In manich. Texten begegnet auch eine Adjektiv-Ableitung von *zurnny*, nämlich *zurnncyk*,⁵

¹ Vorher ist von goldnen und silbernen (*n'ktynny*) Götzen die Rede.

² *'xšwendy* ist wohl dasselbe wie man.-soghd. *'xwēndy*; cf. M. 135, A. ii, R. 15 — V, 2 (unveröff.): *prw xwē'wē' 'xš'wnδ'rt'yb' 'sp's'w'w' 'ty 'xwēndy skw'nd* „(Teile den Tag in drei Teile, erstens) in den Dienst der Herren und Machthaber, auf dass sie gnädig seien“; hierzu gehört wohl buddh. *'yws'nt* VJ. 54c „froh“ (statt *'yws'nt* ist wohl öfters *'yws'nt* zu lesen!) und sicher buddh. *'yws'w* „ich hatte Freude“ VJ. 1108 (Impf. sg. I wie das daneben stehende *p'r'w* „ich nährte“, wie *pt'ywēw* VJ. 430, 577 usw.; von Gauthiot nicht erkannt).

³ Möller-Lentz, *Soghdische Texte*, ii (Sb.P.A.W. 1934), 604. Ich benutze die Gelegenheit, die Besprechung einiger in dieser Publikation vorkommender Wörter hier nachzutragen: *'wšb'* „Schrecken“, p. 578a; dazu buddh. *wzp-ywn'kw* VJ. 313, fem. *wzpywēw* VJ. 63e „schrecklich“. *γr'yk-* „Schlamm“, p. 583b (auch SCE. 160), gehört zu np. *zārā* „Schlamm“ (daneben auch خرد, z.B. Asadi 25). *qerty* „Gewand“, p. 586c; hierzu gewiss russ. *кырка* „Joppe“, das wohl auf dem Umweg über eine Türk Sprache ins Russische gelangt ist und schliesslich auch im Nhd. als „*Kurtka*“ erscheint (z.B. bei Chamisso häufig). *pāt* „Lippe“, p. 593a ist jüngere Form von buddh.-soghd. *prāt* SCE. 86 (ebenso christl. *pā't'd't* von buddh., manich. *prāt* usw.). *sed't* „eilen“ p. 596b; dazu buddh. *sed' sed'n* VJ. 1092 „eilends zu eilen“ (auch manich. *sed-*); ob etwa hierher Phl. Ps. 124, 5, *sed'tyān*, das „er wird sie führen“ heissen soll, gehört? *wy'wnt* p. 600a: SCE 90 steht *wy'wnty* (auf dem Facsimile ganz deutlich, nicht *wy'uty*). *yxwēl*, p. 601b, gehört wohl zu *yxw'y-* (christl. *yw'x'y-*) „teilen, trennen“ wie *pt'xwēl* zu *pt'xw'y-* usw., und nicht zu *ywē-* „lehren“; Pt. von *ywē-* ist buddh. *ywēl* < *ywyt-* „gelehrt, gewöhnt“ (VJ. 310, 320, 796 bzw. Dhuta 233; vgl. SCE. 536 *ywēsty* „lernt“ [so!] < *ywēsty* Dhuta 162, 275).

⁴ Sb.P.A.W. 1934, 3.

⁵ Auch buddh.: *pyštrw zurn'k ēyk mrtym'k*, Dhyaṇa 369, „der späteren Zeit angehörender Mensch“ (= chin. *homme futur*).

cf. T II D 207 R 1 s. (unveröff.): *III zwrnycykt pnc butyšt* „, die den drei Zeiten angehörenden fünf Buddhas “. ¹ Neben dem vom obliquen Kasus (mit Metathese) abgeleiteten *zwrnyy* besitzt das Soghdische zwei auf den Nominativ av. *zrva* zurückgehende Formen ²: *zrw'*, *'zrw'* als Gottesname (cf. mp. *zrw'n* dass.) und *zrih* „, Alter “ (cf. parth. *zrw'n* dass.).

III. Drei soghdische Wörter im türkischen Chvastvanest

(a) *buhdunē*

Der Satz *munday buhdunēsuz* ³ *yazuq yazintimiz ārsār* „, wenn wir solche von der Erlösung ausschliessenden Sünden getan haben “ (Chv. I C Ende ed. Bang) wird in der vermutlichen soghdischen Vorlage (entsprechend dem Stil manich.-soghdischer Beichtspiegel verwandle ich die 1. Pl. in die 1. Sg.): *cw m'n' pw bwx̄tunc γw'n' ktwδ'rn* gelautet haben, wobei **bwx̄tunc* „, Erlösbarkeit “ ein ē-Abstrakt zu **bwx̄tund* „, erlösbar, der Erlösung teilhaftig “ (< air. **bux̄tivant-*) wäre. Abstrakta von *vant*-Adjektiven sind im manich.-soghd. gar nicht so selten, vgl. z.B. *wrc̄x̄wendqy'* „, Wunderbarkeit “ (M 178 A R 18, unveröff.; zu av. *varōbahvant-*) oder das genau zu **bwx̄tunc* passende *fr̄nx̄wende* ⁴ „, Glücklichkeit “; da nun das Abstrakta bildende ē-Suffix sich ohne Zwischenvokal unmittelbar an den letzten Laut des zu erweiternden Wortes anschliesst, wie sich z.B. aus *δšt'wc* ⁵ „, Armut “ < *δštw'n + ē* (mit Schwund des schliessenden Nasals) ergibt, so verschmilzt leicht mit dem Suffix ein auslautender Dental, der dann auch nicht mehr geschrieben zu werden braucht (man vergleiche die femininen Partizipialformen manich. *'wswyc* „, rein “ M 178 A R 10 zu buddh. *'wswytk*, manich. *pt̄rysc* „, vermischt “ ibid. B V 22 zu buddh. *pt̄rystk*, manich. *pt̄syc* „, geschmückt “ ibid. A V 7 zu buddh. *pt̄s'γtk* gegenüber buddh. fem. *pt̄s'γtch* VJ 16b, 40c, 1169, 1258); ähnlich wie bei **bwx̄tunc* liegt die Sache vielleicht bei christl. *'w̄x̄wenc* ⁶ „, Kampf “.

¹ Sachlich vgl. Chavannes-Pelliot, *Traité*, ii (JA 1913, i), 137 N. 3.

² Cf. Müller-Lentz, *S.T.* ii, 602b.

³ So ist statt *bu adunēsuz* zu lesen, wie ich bei einer von Professor Schaefer und Fr. Dr. v. Gabain veranstalteten Universitätsübung über das Chvastvanest lernte.

⁴ Waldschmidt-Lentz *Dogm.* 548 V 22, und 580; daneben gibt es auch *fr̄nx̄wendky'* (T II D 163 R 2; T II D 207 R 10), *fr̄nx̄wendky'ḥ* (M 116 V 12; sämtlich unveröff.): das legt die missliche Vermutung nahe, dass *fr̄nx̄wende* auch fem. Adjektiv sein könnte.

⁵ Waldschmidt-Lentz, loc. cit.; manich. auch *δyš'wc* geschrieben, z.B. M 178 A V 25; zum Vokal der ersten Silbe vgl. christl. *dīš'tēn* „, arm “, Müller, *S.T.* i, 81, 16, pl. ibid. 34, 6, das Benveniste, *Gramm.* ii, 168, übersehen hat.

⁶ Müller-Lentz, *S.T.* ii, 577.

(b) *boytay*

Dass „*bügtäg*“ in *buyan bügtäg qilurbiz* (*Chv.* viii B Bang) und in *buyančī bügtäčī*¹ *arīy dīntarlarga . . . yazīntīmiz ārsār* (*Chv.* iv, B) aus dem Iranischen entlehnt ist und zu mp. *buxt* usw. gehört, hat Bang richtig erkannt.² Freilich verbieten die Schreibung mit *g* und die Bedeutung, an das passive Präteritalpartizip mp. *buxtay* selbst zu denken; näher liegend erscheint die Annahme eines Kompositums mit Verbalnomen im Hinterglied: parth. *bōy* „Erlösung“ (buddh.-soghd. βωγ *Dhuta* 201, βωκ' geschrieben, *SCE.* 215) + *-tāy* „in Bewegung setzend“ (causs. zu av. √ *tak* „laufen“); ein solches **bōytāy* „was die Erlösung bringt“ liesse sich dann unmittelbar mit parth. *mužday-dāy* „Bringer des Evangeliums“ (Waldschmidt-Lentz *Stellung Jesu* 86; im Persischen entspricht *mizday-tāz*) vergleichen und wird wohl ursprünglich wie dieses dem Parthischen angehört haben. Das von **bōytāy*, woraus türk. *boytay* (*bügtäg*), abgeleitete türk. nomen actoris *boytayčī* (*bügtäčī*) bedeutet demnach „Erlösungbringer“.

(c) *bačaq*

bačaq „Fasten“ (im *Chv.* und auch sonst häufig), das im Türkischen keine befriedigende Ableitung hat, dürfte wie so mancher Terminus der türkischen dem Soghdischen entnommen sein. *bačaq* ist wahrscheinlich eine türkische Weiterbildung von soghd. **pāč*, das aus air. **pāti*-, dem nomen actionis von av. √ *pā* „hüten, sich in Acht nehmen“, entstanden ist; der Lautübergang von air. *ti* zu soghd. *č* bietet keinerlei Schwierigkeit: er liegt vor z.B. in manich.-soghd. *χrīč* „Kauf“ (*xryc 'ty pr'δn* „Kauf und Verkauf“ M 135, A II V 9 s., unveröff.; dazu buddh. *γr'yck* „feil“, Reichelt i, 10, 153³), das auf air. **χrīti*- (= skr. *-krīti*-) zurückgeführt werden muss, und in dem häufigen Verbalpräfix *pc*-, das gewiss nicht auf **patisš* oder **paθi*-, wie gewöhnlich angenommen wird, sondern einfach auf *pati* beruht.⁴ Dass ein Derivat der Wurzel *pā* „hüten“ die Bedeutung „fasten“ haben kann, wird durch zahlreiche Beispiele bewiesen: cf. mpT. *pādan* mit und ohne⁵ *rōzay* „fasten“ (die Bedeutung

¹ Diese Lesart dürfte vorzuziehen sein.

² *Manichäische Laien-Beichtpiegel* (*Muséon*, xxxvi), 201 ss.

³ Daneben auch *γr'yck* dass. *SCE.* 356.

⁴ Die Bedingungen, unter denen *pati* zu *pač* wird, sind freilich noch nicht klar.

⁵ In unveröffentlichten Texten.

„Fasten“ von *rōzay* stammt ja erst aus der Verbindung *rōzay pādan*), arm. *pahk* „Fasten“, *pahem* „fasten“.¹

Soghdisch **pāč* ist jedoch dem Anschein nach von einem nach Gauthiot aus dem Indischen stammenden buddhistischen Wort verdrängt worden: buddh.-soghd. *βws'ntk* (SCE. 77, 387), *βws'nty* (ibid. 381). Dies Wort ist dann auch in die Sprache der soghdischen (und schliesslich der türkischen²) Manichäer übergegangen; es erscheint z.B. in einem Kolophon (M 214 R II 7, unveröff.): *ptyms βwsndyy nšk[rt]* „Es ist zu Ende: Die Deutung des Fastens“ und auch (ganz wie im *Chvastvaneft*) in der Verbindung mit „*yimki*“³: *ms š[y' δ'rδ' ...] ... ymgyy βwsndyy 'fr[y]wn p'syq* „Seid ferner eingedenk ... des Yamay-Fastens, der Gebete und Hymnen“ (M 134 I R 11–14, unveröff.), vgl. *Chv.* xv C, wo statt *yimki bačaq* die Petersburger Handschrift *yimki wusantī* hat. Statt *ymgyy*, der soghdischen Form von parth. *yamay*, schreibt man auch *ymqyy*: *pr myhr m'x jmnw mrysyzn ymqyy βwt* „zur ‚Mondzeit‘ (= Neumond) des (Monats) Mihr findet (die Gedächtnisfeier) für den ἀρχηγός Mar Sisīn statt“ (M 197 II V 3 s., unveröff.).

¹ s. Hübschmann *Arm. Gramm.* 217.

² s. Bang, loc. cit., 218 s.; neben dem über das Soghdische entlehnten *wusantī* gibt es im Uigurischen eine wohl direkt aus skr. *upavasathā* stammende Form, die ich durch Professor Rachmati kennen lernte, nämlich *posat* (*busat*).

³ Über *yimki* s. Schaefer *Iranica*, 22 ss., der Entlehnung aus einer jüngeren parthischen Adjektivbildung **yamayī* zu Unrecht annimmt; das türk. Wort stammt vielmehr wie fast alle iranischen Lehnwörter in dieser Sprache aus dem Soghdischen, nämlich aus soghd. *ymqyy*, *ymgyy*. Das von Schaefer herangezogene *ymg'nyg* im Petersburger Fragment S ist nicht eine adjektivische Ableitung vom Plural *ymg'n*, sondern, wie ich glaube, ein -*ānīy*-Adjektiv von *yamay* wie parth. *bg'nyg* von *bg* u. dgl. Der im zitierten Fragment auf die *ymg'nyg ruc'n* folgende Satz: *'wš 'et 'e 'ndr pd yk m'r wyšp gōšg* kann m.E. nicht einen Eigennamen *Višp gōšay* enthalten (Schaefer, loc. cit., 5 N. 4); der Satz muss doch etwa heissen: „Und es (sc. das Buch) enthält in einer Hymne alle *gōšay*“; *gōšay* gehört vielleicht zu np. *gōšā* „Winkel“.

Der Tod des Kambyzes: hvāmršyūš amryatā

VON ERNST HERZFELD

Beh. § 11. Ap. *passāva kambūžiya h^uvāmrš^uyūš amr^uyatā*,
 Akk. *arki kambuziia mi-tu-tu ra-man-ni-šu mi-i-ti*.
 Elam. *jak me.ni ʔkam.pu.ci.ia ^hal.pi t(u.man).e.ma*
^hal.pi.⁴k.

DIESER kurze, in drei sprachen erhaltene satz der Behistūn-inschrift des Dareios ist viel umstritten, von historischer und philologischer seite. Heute kann man das ergebnis von W. Schulzes bewundernswürdiger abhandlung „Der Tod des Kambyzes“¹ allgemein angenommen nennen. H. H. Schaefer schreibt dazu² „Die frage, so sollte man denken, ist damit erledigt — aber in AMI. 5 liest man“ und es folgt das citat eines satzes, in dem ich meine hier begründete, abweichende anschauung vorweggenommen hatte. Jedes ergebnis hängt von seiner zeit ab, die zeit fliesst, und keine frage ist für immer beantwortet.

W. Schulze hat gezeigt, dass viele indogermanische sprachen einen ausdruck wie „er starb seines todes“ besitzen und damit den tod als natürliches ende des menschlichen lebens, den dem menschen bestimmten tod meinen. Zu diesen ausdrücken zählt er das altpers. *hvāmršyūš* und sagt: „Die weithin verbreitete und nirgends verblasste formel schliesst mord und selbstmord unbedingt aus, nicht aber nach antiker auffassung die verhängnisvolle, doch unbeabsichtigte selbstverwundung, die gerade in Herodots darstellung sehr wirksam als überraschende erfüllung eines orakelspruchs auftritt. Kambyzes selbst, der gemäss der nächstliegenden deutung bisher gehofft hatte, in seiner eigenen residenz ἐν τοῖς Μηδικοῖσι Ἀγβατόνοισι τελευτᾶν γηραιός, also als *jarāmrtiyuh*, muss nun als erster erkennen, dass sein schicksal sich anders und früher als erwartet erfüllen soll: ἐνταῦθα, in der fremde, in dem syrischen Ἀγβατᾶνα Καμβυσέα ἐστὶ πεπρωμένον τελευτᾶν. — Auch so ist er, recht verstanden, πρὸ φύσεως zwar, nicht aber πρὸ μοίρας vom tod erreicht. Herodots berichtet, so ungeschichtlich er in der ausmalung sein mag, bringt den gehalt des Ap. wortes in voller reinheit zum ausdruck; unmittelbar fassen kann man ihn am besten durch eine antike umschreibung: κατὰ μοίραν ἀπέθανεν, oder *fato suo obiit*.“

¹ SbPrAkdW. 1912, p. 699 ss und 1918, p. 331 s.

² SbPrAkdW. 1935, xix, p. 496, anm. 1.

Strabo sagt I. 2. 1: οὐ πρόκειται πρὸς ἅπαντας ἀντιλέγειν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς μὲν πολλοὺς εἶναι, ἐκείνους δὲ διαιτᾶν, οὓς ἐν τοῖς πλείστοις κατωρθωκότας ἴσμεν.

Mehrere punkte in dieser darstellung Schulzes berechtigen zu fragen und widerspruch: bewertet er Herodots erzählung richtig? Kann sie den gehalt des Ap. wortes rein ausdrücken? Gehört das Ap. wort wirklich zu der allgemeinen wendung, und kann diese die unbeabsichtigte selbstverwundung einschliessen? Endlich, was sagen die akkadischen und elamischen übersetzer, die anders als Herodot, als zeitgenossen das wirkliche ereignis wissen und den lebendigen sinn des Ap. ausdrucks kennen mussten?

Herodots erzählung ist nicht bloss in der ausmalung ungeschichtlich; sie ist die zusammenarbeit von mehreren, mindestens drei quellen, deren wert er nicht kritisieren konnte.¹ Die rolle des orakels von Buto zeigt, dass Herodot als bewunderer Aegyptens in der hauptsache der aegyptischen überlieferung folgt, die alles im spiegel des priesterlichen hasses sah. Ueber Buto, wie auch über Syrien, hatte Hekataios ausführlich geschrieben, den Herodot zwar nicht citiert, aber in früher unerkanntem umfang benutzte. Auch die art, wie er seine aegyptische quelle verwendet, ist durch seine polemik gegen Hekataios bestimmt. Die Prexaspes-erzählung und die letzten worte des Kambyses zeigen, dass Herodot daneben auch mündliche mitteilungen von Persern besass. Seine gefühlseinstellung zu diesen mindestens drei incongruenten stoffen war sehr verschieden. So gestaltete er schliesslich ein sehr „wirksames“, aber ganz griechisches drama.

Der Apis war von Kambyses am schenkel verwundet und daran nach einiger zeit gestorben. Da für die aegyptische legende Kambyses' tod die rache des Apis ist, mussten diese beiden züge in die erzählung eingeführt werden, in welcher gestalt auch das gerücht vom wirklichen ereignis nach Aegypten gelangte. Das ist keine geschichtliche nachricht. — Der ort des unfalls ist bei Herodot ein Agbatana in Syrien. In seinen nachrichten über Syrien benutzt er Hekataios. Eine verlegung von Agbatana aus Mediën nach Syrien kann man Hekataios nicht zumuten, eher Herodot die interpretation eines anklingenden namens bei Hekataios als Agbatana; denn der aegyptischen quelle kann das „in Syrien“ nicht angehören, da es dem orakelsinn widerspricht. Dass es kein Agbatana in Syrien gab, wusste Nikolaos von

¹ vgl. AMI. v, 125 ss.

Damaskos, der daher in dieser erzählung das „syrische Agbatana“ in die „syrische hauptstadt“ umdeutend „Damaskos“ sagt. Weder ein syrisches Agbatana noch Damaskos waren der schauplatz der tragoedie. Das orakel von Buto nennt mit Agbatana den wahren ort, das wirkliche und einzige Hangmatāna in Medien: „In Agbatana wird Kambyses sterben.“ Der könig legt den doppelsinn erfreut aus: in seinem herrschersitz, also in besitz seines königtums werde er als greis *zarāmršyūš, wie dem menschen bestimmt, *fato suo obire*. Aber gemeint ist, dass er in seinem herrschersitz alles verlierend „an dem ihm nicht bestimmten tage“ in seiner sünden blüte den tod finden werde. Den tiefen doppelsinn des orakels hat Herodot völlig verdorben, und daraus ein falsches und triviales wortspiel mit zwei gleichnamigen städten gemacht. Es wäre ein seltsamer zufall, wenn eine so ungeschichtliche darstellung den gehalt des inschriftlichen wortes in voller reinheit zum ausdruck brächte.

Trogus Pompeius folgt halb Herodot, halb Ktesias, bestätigt also nichts. Die dritte und letzte quelle, Ktesias, will wie immer Herodot widersprechen und ist daher auch negierend von ihm abhängig. Von den aegyptischen einzelheiten lässt er nur den rest bestehen, dass Kambyses an einer zufälligen verwundung stirbt, aber auf einer fahrt nach Babylon. Der alleinige grund dafür ist, dass Herodot nicht recht haben soll; denn die babylonische reise ist ganz unbegründet und widerspricht der einzig sicheren geschichtlichen thatsache, dass der tod bei der, wegen der usurpation des Magiers überstürzten rückkehr aus Aegypten erfolgte. Ktesias, der sonst in den älteren teilen der Persika bruchstücke einer halb vergessenen, halb in sage übergegangenen überlieferung widergiebt, wie er sie am hofe hörte, hat über Kambyses' tod gar nichts gehört, sondern verschleiert nur bewusst seine abhängigkeit von Herodot. Er ist keine selbständige quelle, wie Schaeder nach den worten „sowohl nach Herodot wie nach Ktesias“ zu glauben scheint, und wir besitzen nur Herodot und die Dareios-inschrift.

An Herodots erzählung ist der stoff meist tendenziöse, aegyptisch-priesterliche entstellung; die „wirksam überraschende“ composition ist sein griechisches drama. Geschichte ist nur die thatsache, dass Kambyses in kritischster lage umsonst versucht, da Persis verloren ist, das andre kernland seiner macht, das agbatanische Medien zu erreichen, und in oder bei Agbatana stirbt: er wird an das orakel von Buto gedacht haben!

Bei der interpretation der inschrift-stelle muss man daher jede

beziehung auf Herodot streng vermeiden. Aus der inschrift allein hätte niemand geschlossen, dass Kambyzes infolge einer zufällig selbstbeigebrachten verletzung, wie moderne geschichtschreiber gesagt haben, an tetanus gestorben sei. Die inschrift bestätigt die authenticität von Herodots aegyptischer version *nicht*; selbst nach Schulze schliesst ihr ausdruck diese version nur nicht aus; und selbst in dieser einschränkung muss er ihn „recht verstehen“, nämlich *πρὸ φύσεως*, nicht *πρὸ μοίρας*.

Der kurze satz der inschrift ist danach die einzige geschichtliche nachricht über Kambyzes' tod. Das ist wert und zauber aller epigraphischen studien: es ist etwas andres, bei Herodot zu lesen, was man sich hundert jahre nach dem ereignis in fremden ländern erzählte, oder bei Dareios, der alles erlebte, was wirklich geschah.

Ich beginne die untersuchung des inschriftlichen satzes mit dem am meisten vernachlässigten, dem *elamischen text*.

Im elamischen ist *alpi* das gewöhnliche wort für „schlagen, töten, caedere, occidere“, das in Behistūn allein einige 30 male vorkommt, in folgenden formen, die ich nach alten studien von 1915 mit paragraphen und zeilennummern der elamischen version anführe:—

a) *alpi*, 1. sg. praet.

für ap. *ažanam* „ich schlug (ein heer)“ in § 18, i, 72; § 19, i, 77; § 31, ii, 53.

für ap. *avāžanam* „ich tötete (einen mann)“ in § 17, i, 65; § 20, i, 81.

b) *alpija*, desgl.

für ap. *avāžanam* „ich tötete (menschen)“ in § 13, i, 43; i, 45; mit *sop* „als ich getötet hatte“ in § 16, i, 57.

für ap. *ažanam* „ich schlug (schlachten)“ in § 52, iii, 49.

c) *alpis*, 3. sg. praet.

für ap. *aža* „mein heer schlug“ in § 25, ii, 18; § 26, ii, 27; § 27, ii, 31; § 28, ii, 35; § 29, ii, 43; § 30, ii, 47; § 38, ii, 83; § 41, iii, 11; § 42, iii, 16; § 46, iii, 26; § 47, iii, 33/34.

für ap. *avāža* „er tötete (einen mann)“ in § 10, i, 24; i, 24/25 mit *sop* „als er ihn getötet hatte“.

für ap. *avāžana* 3. pl. praet. „sie töteten ihn“ in § 23, ii, 8.

d) *alpis*, nicht optativisch für 3. sg. opt. ap. *avāžaniyā* in § 13, i, 39 u. 40.

⁴*Oramasta* ²*un ir alpisne* für ap. *ahuramazdātaiy žantā biyā* in § 61, „A.M. soll dich schlagen“.

alpisne.manka für ap. imper. *žadiy* „schlage, töte“ in § 38, ii, 82.

e) *halpis.manka* imper.

für ap. 2. sg. *žadiy* „schlage (das heer)“ in § 26, ii, 23; § 29, ii, 39.

für ap. 2. pl. *žatā* „schlägt (das heer)“ in § 25, ii, 15; § 33, ii, 62; § 50, iii, 41.

**wivana ir halpis kutta* . . . -*mara* für ap. *vīvaḥanam žatā* (2. pl.) *utā ava kāram* . . . „V. schlägt und das heer . . .“ in § 45, iii, 22 s.

f) Diesen activen formen steht die passivische gegenüber: *halpika* in *appo p^{rt}ia halpika* für ap. *tya b^{ar}δ^{ya} avažata* „dass Barδya getötet war“ in § 10, iii, 41.

Dieselbe form steht in der nachricht über Kambyses' tod. Die formen mit -*k*, -*ka* sind 1. *passiva*, z.B.:

marrik = *adāri* „wurde gehalten“; *marrika* = *āgrbitā* „wurde ergriffen“; *tintek* = *aniyatā* „wurde gebracht“; *tirikka* = *abahi* „wurde befohlen“; *kuktak* = „(mein gesetz) wurde befolgt“; *kusika* „wurde gebaut“; *rappoka* „wurde gebunden“; *pepraka* „wurde gelesen“; *tallik* = *nipištam* „geschrieben“; *huttak* = *asti* *krtam* „ist gemacht worden“.

Bei intransitiven, dazu bei verben der bewegung hat 2. das *k*-suffix stark *mediale* bedeutung, z.B.:

sinnik „profectus est“; *parik* = *parārasa* „gelangte“, cf. „nactus est“; *puttukka* „er floh“; *hallak* = $\sqrt{\text{yau}}$ - „concitatus“; *topaka* „ausus est“.

An *moriri* zu denken liegt nahe, aber das elamische verb meint überhaupt nicht sterben, sondern immer „töten“.

Die beschädigung des elam. textes betrifft den ausdruck für „eigen, *hva*“. Die reste sind 1. ein kurzer wagerechter keil mit kleinem winkel daran, 2. nichts, 3. ein *e*, 4. *ma*. Was das war, geht sofort aus dem unmittelbar folgenden § 12 hervor: *tu-man-e-ma* „eigen“.¹ Das *e* ist sächliches possessivum, das suffix -*ma* ist locativisch und instrumental. Also heisst es:

„darauf Kambyses töten-eigen-sein-durch wurde-getötet (od. tötete sich).“

Die elamische version spricht also den selbstmord uneingeschränkt aus.

Die akkadische version.

Das verbum מִיִּית ist als i, 1, „sterben“; das permansiv *me-i-ti*, *mi-i-ti* heisst „er ist, war tot“; „er starb“ wird nur für unsere

¹ Nicht wie Bork MAOG. vii, 3, p. 13, ergänzt *kor-pi-e* „seine hand“.

stelle angesetzt und nimmt ihr etwas von der absonderlichkeit des ausdrucks, auf dessen erhaltung es gerade ankommt. — Der stamm i, 2, zu dem der hier gebrauchte infinitiv *mitutu* gehört, hat eine etwas modifizierte bedeutung. Delitzsch, der in unserem falle „selbstmord“ übersetzte, bemerkt mit recht, dass es nicht „durch sich selbst sterben“ heisst. Aber es ist ganz deutlich, dass der stamm i, 2 immer, im unterschied von i, 1, das plötzliche, vorzeitige, auch gewaltsame sterben ausdrückt; oft „sie sollen sterben“, „sie wollen nicht sterben“ u.ä., immer im sinn „vor ihrer zeit“. Der infinitiv i, 2 *mitutu* wird so gebraucht: „ich (Istar) werde den tod (*mitutu*, nicht *mūtu*) des Ahšeri herbeiführen“, der dann ermordet wird. Ausschlag giebt die stelle „*Kuturnahhunte ina ūm lā šēmtišu urruhiš imtūt*“ „K. starb plötzlich an dem ihm nicht bestimmten tage“. Der begriff *šēmtu* nähert sich gr. *μοῖρα*, lat. *fatum*. Und doch ist die vorstellung grundverschieden: es ist das natürliche schicksal, und dem steht der begriff *lā šēmtu* für das, was die Griechen tragisch oder *ἐξαισιος* nennen würden, gegenüber. Das ist der „Antike“ ganz fremd.

Vom selbstmord des königs Ursa von Urartu heisst es in den Annalen Sargons z. 139: „mit seinem eigenen schwert, wie ein schwein, durchbohrte er sein herz.“ Der ausdruck fällt, bei allem grauen, unter die definition des witzes und ist als solcher beabsichtigt. Er ist dabei voll der altorientalischen verurteilung des selbstmordes. In dem bericht der 8^{ème} Campagne spricht Sargon spottend so davon: *murūš lā fībē emid ramānšu*. Thureau-Dangin übersetzt „une maladie incurable il s’infligea à lui-même“, nämlich den tod, gegen den kein kraut gewachsen ist. Dabei nimmt Thureau-Dangin meines lehrers H. Wincklers alte erklärung¹ von *šadāšu emēdu* „sterben“ an. Der seltsame ausdruck „auf seinem berge stehen (?)“, halb mythisch, halb euphemistisch, ist da ironisch verändert, indem *murūš lā fībē* für *šadāšu* eintritt; zugleich ist ihm durch den zusatz *ramānšu* der sinn „sich umbringen“ gegeben. Man könnte, die Ironie ausdrückend, übersetzen „an einer unheilbaren krankheit starb er freiwillig“. An sich bedeutet also *šadāšu emēdu* jedes sterben, ob natürlich oder freiwillig oder gewaltsam. Der begriff des *šēmtu*, *fatum* liegt nicht darin. Der andere ausdruck *ana šēmtišu illik, fato suo obiit*,² kann

¹ MDOG. 35, p. 43 n.

² In der neu gefundenen akk. version der charta des Xerxes von Persepolis wird das ap. *gāḫavā ašiyava* durch *ultu muḫḫi ša abnija dārijāuš ina ši-im-ūt el-li-i-ki* übersetzt. Damit ist die bedeutung „sterben“ für „vom throne gehen“ als euphemismus für den tod eines königs festgestellt.

dagegen nicht von selbstmord gebraucht werden. Der selbstmord ist gerade nicht ein *mātu ana šēmti*, sondern ein *mitūtu ina ūm lā šēmti*, ein „sterben am nicht bestimmten tage“.

Genau das sagt die akkadische übersetzung von Behistūn; sie gebraucht einen ausdruck, der für das ap. *hvāmrš'iyuš* die bedeutung „fato suo obiit“ ausschliesst: *mitūtu rammānišu mīti* „darauf Kambyses einen plötzlichen-tod einen selbst-gewählten war er tot“.¹

Der altpersische text.

amriyatā ist „er starb“.² *hvāmrš'iyuš*³ hatte ich früher, AML. v, 133, nach der analogie von Beh. *hvāipašya* gegenüber NiR b, 15 *hvaipašya* als vrddhi-adjectiv aufgefasst, und darin ein determinativ-compositum mit instrumentalem sinn des *hva-* gesehen, wie in *xvāḍāta-* „durch sich selbst geschaffen“, und *xvāḥwaršta-* „von sich selbst gezeugt“. Daran nahm Schaefer, l.c., schweren anstoss mit leichtem aber grundlosem spott. Denn wenn man vrddhi für unwahrscheinlich hält, tritt Benvenistes erklärungs ein, Gramm. § 298, die ich gern annehme, weil sie meine erklärungs erst recht bestätigt: Danach ist *xvā-* überhaupt instrumental von *xva-* und es bedeutet „litt. (la) mort par soi-même“. Den instrumental drückt das elamische durch sein suffix *-ma* aus. Dies instrumentale „tod-durch-sich-selbst“ ist der gegensatz zu dem „natürlichen tod“, den man mit ausdrücken wie „seines todes sterben“ meint. Also:

„Darauf starb Kambyses durch selbstmord.“

So haben es auch die beiden übersetzungen verstanden, und mit recht.

Ein euphemismus liegt nicht vor, da das wort für sterben nicht vermieden ist, und die bei Xerxes von Dareios' tod gebrauchte wendung „er stieg vom thron“ erscheint hier nicht.⁴ Der ausdruck ist ganz kurz, nur zwei worte, und doch ist mehr gesagt als nur „er starb“; durch *hvāmrš'iyuš* wird die todesart bestimmt. Man hätte

¹ Weissbach hatte richtig, gewiss auf grund des akkadischen „durch eigne hand“ übersetzt, denn in *ramānišu* liegt etwas von „wille“: es wird „eigen“ oder „selbst“, sofern ding oder person dem willen unterstehen, und es ist in kürze gleichbedeutend mit *ina qāt ramāniša*, z.B. NiR. b 21; daher ist die einschränkung „unbeabsichtigt kann gemeint sein“, die er in der anmerkung in rücksicht auf die nicht angezweifelte Herodot-erzählung macht, nicht nötig, nicht einmal ganz richtig.

² Zur schreibung siehe AML. iii, p. 113.

³ Cf. AML. v, 133.

⁴ Im mittelpersischen sagt man euphemistisch *viturtan* „decedere“, *pa baxt šutan* „fato suo obire“, im neupersischen *az bain* (d.i. *az miyān*) *raft* „e medio excessit“, alles genau wie im lateinischen, wie ich in hinblick auf die bemerkungen R. G. Kents, *Language*, ix, p. 42, erwähnen möchte.

erwarten können „er starb plötzlich, vorzeitig“. Aber auch als nur zufälliger wäre Kambyse's tod ein tod *ina ūm lā šēmtišu*, gegen die bestimmung des schicksals. Bei aller ähnlichkeit kann *hwāmršyūš* nicht zu der allgemeinen formel *fato suo obire* gehören, mit der es Schulze vergleicht und übersetzt, sondern muss ein ausdruck für den geschichtlichen sonderfall sein. Anders als z.B. bei den Stoikern, die darin den letzten und höchsten act menschlicher willensfreiheit sahen, verurteilt der Orient den selbstmord. Ein beispiel aus assyrischer zeit sind die angeführten worte Sargons, eines aus sasanidischer zeit wird gleich folgen. Die iranische verdammung geht noch weiter: auch der tod ohne erben — der fall des Kambyse's — wird mit höllenstrafe geahndet. Da dieser gedanke schon in Kambyse's letzten worten bei Herodot anklängt, ist die allgemeine verurteilung des selbstmordes erst recht die anschauung der achaemenidischen zeit. Daher *will* Dareios mit nicht mehr als zwei worten von Kambyse's tod sprechen.

Auch ohne die beiden eindeutigen und übereinstimmenden übersetzungen muss man so urteilen. Denn von einem könig, der seinen bruder und nachfolger ermordete, seine mutter in den tod trieb, seine gattin durch brutalität tötete und sich dann, am rande des wahnsinns, seines königtums durch seinen reichsverweser beraubt sieht, zu sagen „er starb eines natürlichen todes“, statt einfach „er starb“, könnte nichts andres meinen als „in solcher lage starb er, so unwahrscheinlich das klingt, eines natürlichen todes“: dann wollte die inschrift die gerüchte von der thatsache des selbstmordes durch leugnen aus der welt schaffen. — Und wenn die worte bedeuteten „er starb seines schicksalsgemässen todes“, so könnte das, da es nicht „er starb als greis“ heissen kann, in dem beispieldosen fall auch nur als verhüllter ausdruck für selbstmord aufgefasst werden. Aber diese auslegung ist ebenso unzulässig, wie die als „zufälliger tod“, die Schulze mit seinem „recht verstanden, *πρὸ φύσεως*, nicht *πρὸ μοίρας*“ halten will. Denn damit wird immer der tragische schicksalsbegriff, auch der der Nemesis, in die worte hineingetragen, der ausschliesslich griechisch ist und in altpersischer gedankenwelt nicht erscheinen kann.

Endlich giebt es eine parallele zu dem inschriftlichen ausdruck im Artavirāz-nāmak, i, 11, vom tod Alexanders d. Gr.: *χvat-škast ō dušaxv ducārist* „selbst-zerstört fuhr er in die hölle“. Den anlass zur sage vom selbstmord Alexanders müssen erzählungen wie bei Arrian, vii, 27, gegeben haben, wo Roxane Alexander von dieser absicht abbringt. Die absicht wird dabei ähnlich dem geschichtlichen selbstmord des Julian Apostata und des khalifen al-Ḥākim ausgemalt.

Die im Orient um Alexander wuchernde sage hat den gedanken ausgesponnen, um dem erketzer, der incarnation Ahrimans auch noch schimpf und sünde des selbstmordes anzuhängen. Die worte des Artavirāz-buches drücken dieselbe verdammung aus wie die der inschrift, und *χvat-škast* ist das genaue gegenbild von *hvāmršyuš*.¹

In R. M. Rilkes „Buch von der Armut und vom Tode“ steht:

„O Herr, gib jedem seinen eignen Tod,
das Sterben, das aus jenem Leben geht,
darin er Liebe hatte, Sinn und Not.“

„Denn wir sind nur die Schale und das Blatt.
Der grosse Tod, den jeder in sich hat,
das ist die Frucht, um die sich alles dreht.“

„Denn dieses macht das Sterben fremd und schwer,
dass es nicht *unser* Tod ist; einer, der
uns endlich nimmt, nur weil wir keinen reiften —“

Das griechische νεός δ' ἀπόλλυθ' ὄντιν' ἂν φιλήθεις steht im gegensatz zum orientalischen „Des Menschen Leben währet siebenzig Jahre“. Der tod nach einem solchen langen leben ist der tod *ana šēmtišu*; der tragische tod ist *ina ūm lā šēmtišu*. Dies in der griechischen welt nicht vorstellbare gegenteil vom ἀποθανεῖν κατὰ μοίραν ist *šadāšu emēdu ramānišu, mitūtu ramānišu*. — *hvāmršyuš* ist der nicht-unsere, nicht-gereifte, nicht-bestimmte, der selbst-gegebene tod.

¹ Ebenso spricht Eusebios, wenn er Pilatus' selbstmord mit den kurzen worten αὐτοφονευτὴς ἑαυτοῦ ἐγένετο berichtet, damit von Gottes strafe.

Bird-names in the Indian dialects

By E. H. JOHNSTON

THE dictionaries of the modern Indian languages, whether scientific or otherwise, are alike in omitting certain material which would be of considerable value both to linguists and to those whose fortunes take them to reside in the Indian countryside. I refer to the names of birds. There is, of course, good reason for the deficiency; not merely is interest in ornithology not as widespread among the educated classes in India as it is in England, but only a few of the commonest birds have names recognized over large areas; while relatively few Englishmen resident in India are capable of recording the names with the accuracy required by scholarship. The suggestion I should like to put forward is that concerted steps should be taken by the learned societies in the different parts of India to catalogue the varying names of the different kinds of birds, the materials to be compiled perhaps on the admirable lines of Sir George Grierson's *Bihar Peasant Life*. Such a survey could not avoid meeting with serious difficulties; names vary from area to area, and in some cases the same name is applied to different birds in different districts. Detailed knowledge of the names is mostly to be found amongst the shikaris and birdcatchers and for waterbirds among the boating and fishing castes, and it seldom covers birds which are rare in any tract. Further, the recorder must be able to identify the exact species in each case, and it is not easy to find such persons nor has the less qualified observer as a rule any book on which he can rely to help himself out.

The advantages and the nature of such a survey may be best illustrated by a list which I drew up many years ago of the different wild duck in the Monghyr district of Bihar. These names, which I collected for purely practical reasons, were not then noted by me in a scientific transliteration, and after this lapse of time I am not prepared to deny that there may be minor mistakes of spelling in it. The list refers mainly to Pargana Pharkia, a marshy area in the part of Monghyr north of the Ganges famous for its ducks, geese, and other waterbirds; and it covers all the varieties of duck which are to be found there in any number, and should be compared with the names, spelt in popular fashion, in F. Finn, *The Waterfowl of India and Asia* (Calcutta, 1909), whose order I follow. The omissions are not without

interest. Thus geese, which seem to be increasing in number there, are divided nearly equally between the Grey Goose (*Anser ferus*) and the Bar-headed Goose (*A. indicus*), whose different aspect is obvious from some distance; yet I never came across anyone who distinguished between them in name, though Finn gives special names as known in the adjacent district of Bhagalpur and in Nepal. The Dwarf Goose, of which I only saw one specimen, naturally had no special name. The Smew (*Mergus albellus*) frequents in most years a certain tank in the Jamui Subdivision of Monghyr, but equally has acquired no name. Among duck proper the Mallard (*Anas boschas*) only comes occasionally to this district, and is not known to the inhabitants as a separate species; and I omit the Ruddy Sheldrake, for which the regular Hindi word, *cakwā*, *cakāī*, alone is used. My list is as follows:—

The Red-crested Pochard (*Netta Rufina*), *dumar*.

The Red-headed Pochard (*Nyroca ferina*), usually known in England as the Common Pochard; the two sexes are entirely different in appearance and the female is also known as the Dunbird. The male is called *lālsar* (*lālsir* in Hindi), and the female *arun* (Sk. *aruṇa*). This latter name is interesting, as it recalls the *aluna* of Aśoka's Delhi-Topra Edicts, where it is mentioned next to the Ruddy Sheldrake. *Aruṇa*, in fact, does not imply any genuinely reddish tint, as compounds such as *bhasmāruṇa* show, and "dun" probably represents the sense as well as any other equivalent. It would be useful for the identification of the name in the Aśoka Edicts to ascertain if this name is applied to any other sort of bird elsewhere in India. Finn gives *cheun* as the name in Nepal, which shows the kind of mistake recorders fall into; for this is really the wigeon, the females of the two species looking much alike when dead.

The Tufted Pochard (*Nyroca fuligula*), *ḍubāo*; this bird, as the name implies, is a remarkable diver.

The White-eye (*Nyroca ferruginea*), known as *kuriā ḍubāo* or *majṭā* (spelling of last syllable uncertain); in the adjacent Beguserai Subdivision of Monghyr, where it is the commonest duck, it is called *maiṭā*. This bird is also a great diver, and the name possibly goes back to Sk. *majj*.

The Small Whistler (*Dendrocygja javanica*), *sitī*, the regular Hindi name; the same name is given to the Large Whistler, *D. fulva*, which, so far as I recollect, I only saw in the Jamui Subdivision.

The Comb-duck (*Sarcidiornis melanonotus*), *naktā*. Forbes' *Hindustani Dictionary* gives it in this form also, and the name is

presumably derived from *nāk*, by reference to the curious growth on the beak. The sexes separate in the cold weather; I saw only females in Pargana Pharkia, only males in the Jamui Subdivision.

The Cotton-teal (*Nettopus coromandelianus*), *kablā*.

The Wigeon (*Mareca penelope*), *cihū*.

The Shoveller (*Spatula clypeata*), *sakcur*.

The Pintail (*Dafila acuta*), *dighōch* (Sk. *ḍīrghapuccha*); Finn notes this name from places as far apart as Nepal and Sind, but the regular name in Hindi is *sīkpar* (Prakrit, *simka*, *JRAS.*, 1934, 614).

The Spotted-bill (*Anas poecilorhyncha*), *naḍīm*.

The Gadwall (*Chaulelasmus streperus*), *mail*.

The Garganey (*Querquedula circia*), *adhaṅgī*, presumably from Sk. *ardhāṅga*.

The Common Teal (*Nettium crecca*), *gairī*.

NOTE

As regards the White-eye, Professor Turner suggests to me the spelling *majīṭhā* and *maiṭhā* and a derivation from Sk. *mañjiṣṭha*, Sindhi having a similar doublet from the same word. The bird could be described as madder-coloured, and I am prepared to agree on both points.

Note on the Ancient North-Western Prakrit

By STEN KONOW

THE discoveries in Chinese Turkestan have brought to light extensive remains of one or two ancient Indian dialects. In the first place we have the Dutreuil de Rhins manuscript, which has found its way to Paris and Leningrad, and, in the second, the numerous Kharoṣṭhī documents found by Sir Aurel Stein and now available in the splendid edition of Messrs. Boyer, Rapson, and Senart. I shall distinguish them as Dhp. and Doc. respectively.

In Dhp. we have before us a remarkably consistent dialect, an ancient Prakrit, which must have been reduced to writing at a comparatively early date and used by some Buddhist school in religious literature. In my edition of the Indian Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions I have tried to show that it is essentially identical with the form of speech used in those records, over a large area, where we, at the present day, find Dardic languages, Lahndā, and Sindhī, and I have also drawn attention to the existence of traces of other Buddhist works in the dialect. It is *a priori* likely that Dhp. has been translated from an older version in a different dialect, and it is easy to show that the translators were also acquainted with the Sanskrit forms of several words. But it is a likely hypothesis that the translation was made at a time when Sanskrit had not yet come into general use as the sacred language of the leading Buddhists of North-Western India.

The Doc. language is far less consistent, and it has undergone so many modifications that we must necessarily assume that it had, for some not quite inconsiderable time, led an independent existence of its own, partly under the influence of non-Indian speeches. We can see that a Buddhist literature in Sanskrit had begun to come into vogue, at least towards the end of the period covered by these records, i.e. the end of the second century.

In a short note, *JA.*, x, xix, p. 411, Senart wrote that "les tablettes rapportées par le Dr. Stein, bien qu'elles proviennent à peu près de la même région, ne présentent pas les particularités phonétiques qui caractérisent le manuscrit Dutreuil de Rhins". I have never been able to accept that view. So far as I can see, we have before us two forms of one and the same dialect, one normalized as a literary

language, the other developed in a foreign country by the descendants of an ancient Indian colony, under the influence of more than one alien tongue.

As long as the Leningrad portion of Dhp. is inaccessible, it is not possible to arrive at certain results about all details. I have repeatedly tried to get reproductions, but always in vain. Our conclusions must, therefore, be based on the excellent plates accompanying Senart's masterly edition of the Paris folios. And, as a matter of fact, they are sufficient in order to enable us to settle the question about the home of the dialect with some confidence. That has been done in an excellent essay by Jules Bloch, *JA.*, x, xix, pp. 331 ff., at the hand of certain phonetical features, notably the treatment of compounds consisting of a nasal and a stop. We must, it is true, take exception to his statements that *ṅg*, *ṅgh* occur as *g*, *gh*, and *ṇḍ* as *n*, respectively. We find, it is true, *g* < *ṅg* in *sagama* < *saṃgrāma* and *kaḍigara*, Pali *kaliṅgara*, but in *sagama* *g* is initial in the second part of the compound word, and with regard to *kaḍigara* it is possible to compare Skr. *kaḍaṅkara*, Pāṇini, v, i, 69. Everywhere else *g* < *ṅg* is provided with a hook above or below, so that we can hardly have to do with an ordinary *g*. And for *ṇḍ* we always find *ṇ* and not *n*.¹ Bloch's main results are, however, unobjectionable: "la seule région qui admette à la fois tous les traitements caractéristiques du dialecte dans lequel sont rédigés les fragments Dutreuil de Rhins est celle du penjabi occidental et des parlers montagnards du Nord-Ouest. On est donc en droit d'affirmer que l'original de ce manuscrit, s'il a été écrit dans l'Inde, n'a pu l'être que dans cette région. Il est également possible, bien entendu, qu'il l'ait été plus au Nord, en un pays où l'on aurait parlé aux premiers siècles de notre ère un dialecte indien disparu depuis, et formant avec les parlers de l'Extrême Nord-Ouest un groupe linguistiquement continu."

In my edition of the Indian Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions I have drawn attention to several details where we find parallels in Dardic languages. In the present paper I shall try to show that there are many important points of such agreement, and that this remark also holds good with reference to Doc. The great chronological gap of more than a thousand years between Dhp. and Doc. on one side, and Dardic on the other, prevents us from expecting a thorough agreement.

Grierson, *JRAS*, 1925, pp. 226 ff., has shown that the combination

¹ See my remarks *Festschrift für Ernst Windisch*, pp. 85 ff. There are several misprints in this paper, owing to the fact that proofs could not be sent to me.

vowel + a geminate consonant is treated in different ways in Indo-Aryan vernaculars. Thus Prakrit *bhatta* < *bhakta* becomes *bhatt* in Pañjābī, *bhāt* in Gujarātī and the literary languages east and south of the Pañjāb, but *bhat*, *bat* in Sindhī and Dardic. The common view is that the last-mentioned forms have passed through the Pañjābī stage, but Grierson maintained that the geminate consonants did not exist in the Prakrit of the North-West. In Dhp. and Doc. long vowels and consonants are not generally marked as such, so that *bhata* might be *bhata*, *bhatta*, or *bhāta*. But *bhata* is excluded because the syllable is long, and *bhāta* because *-t-* regularly becomes *-d-*, at least in Dhp.¹ We can only think of *bhatta*. If those scholars who maintain that the *t* of Sindhī and Dardic is derived from *tt* are right, this feature does not prove anything about the position of the Dhp. Doc. language.

The treatment of the *r*-vowel varies in Dhp. and Doc. We frequently find the usual change to *a*, *i*, or *u*, e.g. Dhp. *svadi* < *smṛti*, *kida* < *kṛta*, *mucu* < *mṛtyu*; Doc. *kada* < *kṛta*, *kiṣi* < *kṛṣi*, *muta* < *mṛta*. In other cases the *r*-element is preserved; cf. Dhp. *pradhavi*, *padhavi* < *pṛthivī*, *driḍha* < *dṛḍha*, *prudhiḥaṇa* < *pṛthagjana*; Doc. *krida* < *kṛta*, *ghrita* < *ghṛta*, *prichati*, *pruchati* < *pṛcchati*. Turner² has compared *prichati* with Kashmīrī *pṛitshi* "asks" and drawn attention to the development *r* > *ri* in most Dardic languages. Doc. is here, on the whole, more in accordance with Dardic than Dhp., which was a literary language, probably to some extent influenced by the Prakrit from which it was translated.

With regard to stops the general rule in Dhp. is that they are preserved as initials and voiced as intervocalic. Forms such as *loka* with *k* can hardly represent the actual pronunciation, the less so because *-k-* occasionally also stands for *-g-*, e.g. in *naḍakara* < *naḍāgāra*, *parakata* < *pāragata*. A similar confusion is not rarely met with in Doc., e.g. in *ciṭughi* and *jiṭughi*; *taṃḍa*, *taṃṭa* and *daṃḍa*; *poḍa* for *bhoga*. We cannot draw the inference that voiced stops were liable to lose their voice. Such writings find their explanation in the voiced pronunciation of voiceless intervocalic stops, and partly probably also in the desire to avoid the pronunciation as fricatives, to which, e.g. the *ḡ* in *poḍa* seems to bear witness. I shall not, however, try to analyse such details which seem to point to the existence of fricatives

¹ Senart and those who have copied his text have failed to distinguish between the akṣaras *ta* and *da*. Also in Doc. it is often difficult to choose between *t* and *d*.

² Gypsy Lore Society, Monographs, No. 4, p. 7.

especially in Doc., because it would take too much of the limited space at my disposal.

There is an evident tendency to deaspirate voiced aspirates, a tendency which manifests itself in spite of the literary tradition, in which the influence of other Prakrits may have played a certain role. Even in Dhp. we find forms such as *jai* < *dhyāyan*, *duṇādi* < *dhunāti*, and conversely *drugha* < *durgāt*, *ghadhedi* < *ghātayati*, *kusidhu* < *kusīda*, *samidha* < *svāmītā*, *saghadhadhama* < *saṃskṛtadharma*, which point to a pronunciation of *dh* as *d*, if we have not here indications of fricative sounds. In Doc. the examples are numerous; cf. *ghrita* and *grida* < *ghṛta*, *viḡa*¹ < *vighna*, *ṡigra* and *ṡighra* < *ṡighra*, *jāna* < *dhyāna*, *ajeṡana* < *adhyeṡanā*, *guṭa* < *gūḡha*, *daridavo* and *dharidavo* < *dhārayitavya*, *tarmeṡa* and *dharmena* < *dharmeṡa*, *anusamīti* < *anusaṃdhi*, *bhaḡena* and *baḡena* < *bhāgena*, *poḡa* < *bhoga*, *durlapa* < *durlabha*, etc., and conversely, *dhaḡa*, *daṃḡa* and *taṃḡa* < *daṇḡa*, *dhaḡima* and *daḡima* < *dāḡima*, *dhaṡami* and *daṡami* < *daṡame*, etc.² It is difficult to account for this state of things, otherwise than by assuming a strong tendency towards deaspiration, and it is of interest to recall the fact that such deaspiration is a prominent feature in Dardic, though even there it has not become the rule.³

Before leaving the subject of uncompounded stops it will be convenient to mention one curious feature, viz. the occasional change of intervocalic dentals to *s* or *z*. In Dhp. I have only found *saghasadhameṡu* corresponding to Pali *saṃkhatadhammāṇaṃ* Cro 14 and *masuru* < *madhuram* B 11. Senart looked on both forms as mistakes, but they find some confirmation in Doc. *asimatra*, *aṡimatra*, *ajhimatra* < *adhimātra*, and *masu* < *madhu*.⁴ We may also compare *ṡiṡila* < *ṡithila*, which is common to Dhp. and Doc., because it may have passed through *ṡiṡila*, in the same way as *ṡāsana* occurs as *ṡaṡana* in Dhp. and *śāsana* in Doc.

This change of a dental to *s* or *z* must have been found in the dialect from which Khotanī Saka and the so-called Tokharian have

¹ The signification of the stroke above *g* is not of interest in this connection.

² Some of the instances of *dh* for *d* may point to a fricative pronunciation, and in the Khotan document No. 661, which has several instances of Iranian features, the regular initial *dh* < *d* is almost certainly a fricative. With regard to forms such as *taṃḡa* < *daṇḡa* it should be borne in mind that it is often very difficult to choose between *t* and *d*.

³ Cf., e.g., Morgenstierne, *Report on a Linguistic Mission to Afghanistan*, p. 51; *Report on a Linguistic Mission to North-Western India*, pp. 29, 49, 53.

⁴ The true explanation of this word was given by Lüders, *SBAW.*, 1933, pp. 1000 ff.

borrowed some of their Indian loanwords, for we find Saka *sīysā*, "Tokharian" *sīsā* < *sītā*, Saka *māysila* < *mīhilā*.

The Saka forms and some of those found in Doc. seem to point to *z* rather than *s*, while Dhp. *s* may represent an attempt at noting the voiced *s*. In that case it would be possible to think of a voiced dental fricative as the intermediate stage. At all events there cannot be much doubt that Doc. *masu* "wine" is the same word as Kāshmīrī *mas*, to which word Morgenstierne has drawn my attention. *Mas* can well be an old *maz* with the usual devoicing, and, on the whole, it is tempting to compare what Grierson¹ calls the Zetacism in Dardic. The form *śīśila* mentioned above has a parallel in Ashkun *cicilā*, Kati *cčil* "soft".

As shown in the paper quoted above, (l. 54), Dhp. distinguishes *n* and *ṇ* in the same way as a large group of Indo-Aryan vernaculars comprising Sindhī, Lahndā, Pañjābī, Rājasthānī, Gujarātī, and Marāṭhī.² In Indian Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions there is no consistency, but we are left with the impression that the two sounds tended to coalesce in the dental *n*. Such is almost certainly the case in Doc., as stated by Rapson in the edition mentioned above, p. 305.

According to Grierson, l.c., para. 117, "in Dardic the existence generally of the *ṇ*-sound is uncertain. It certainly does not exist in Kāshmīrī, and has not been noted elsewhere, except in Kāfirī, where it may be due to contamination with the neighbouring Psto, and in Ṣiṇā, where it is a secondary sound, arising from the proximity of another cerebral sound, as in the word Ṣiṇā itself."

Here there is accordingly an apparent difference between the system of Dhp. and that of Doc. and, so far as we can see, Indian Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions. It is, however, remarkable that the Kurram casket inscription, which contains a quotation of a canonical passage written in practically the same language as Dhp., has no trace of the Dhp. distinction between *ṇ* and *n*. We are left with the impression that Dhp. in this respect represents a normalization which may be due to the influence of another literary Prakrit, or belongs to a limited territory within the area covered by the dialect, where the treatment of *n* was different.

In Indian vernaculars an intervocalic *m* usually becomes *ṽ*. In Dardic, however, it remains, or the change is at least rare and, according to Grierson, l.c., p. 101, in such cases probably due to borrowing. It

¹ On the modern Indo-Aryan Languages, para. 326.

² Cf., e.g., Bloch, *La formation de la langue Marathe*, para. 132.

is, on the whole, a comparatively late change, so that nothing can be inferred from its apparent absence in Dhp. and Doc. Forms such as Dhp. *jīṇaviva* < *jīrṇam iva* can hardly count, because the accusative termination had long ceased to be *am*. On the other hand, the opposite change of *-v-* to *-m-* in Dhp. *emameva* < *evameva*, *sabhamu* < *saṃbhavam*, *namo* < *nāvam*, etc., Doc. *emu* < *evam*, *cimara* < *cīvara*, *gameṣati* < *gaveṣate*, etc., is isolated and difficult to explain, just as the corresponding change in Kāśhmīrī *namath* "ninety", Tōrwāli *nom* "nine".

The Dhp. treatment of nasals followed by mutes has, as mentioned above, been examined by Bloch, and I shall only add that the change of *ṇḍ* to *ṇ* is occasionally met with in Dardic, e.g. in Kāśhmīrī *raṇ*^u < *raṇḍa*. In Doc. there is great inconsistency. We find *upaśaṃk*, *upaśaṃg*, and *upaśaṃgh* < *upaśaṅk*, *draṃga* < *draṅga*, *kaṃculi*, and *kaṃjuli*, *khaṃja* but *gaṃñāvara*, *daṃda*, *chiṃnati*, and *chīnita*, *biṃnanti*, and *biṃnita*, etc. If we bear in mind how often we ourselves believe that we pronounce letters which are no more heard, we get inclined to lay special stress on such writings which agree with the state of things in Dhp.

In connection with nasals it may be of interest to consider the treatment of old *tm*. It regularly becomes *tv*, e.g. in Dhp. and Doc. *atvan-* < *ātman-*. Writings such as Dhp. *utvari*, Pali *uttariṃ*, Doc. *utvaravarṣi* < *uttaravarṣe*, however, show that the *v* was hardly sounded. If the common Doc. word *tanu* "own" is derived from *ātman-* and not from *tanu-*, it is of interest that it has its exact parallel in Dardic, cf. Turner, *Monograph*, p. 14.

Both Dhp. and Doc. preserve old *y* and do not change it to *j* like most Prakrits; cf. Dhp. *yujatha*, Doc. *yudhammi*, etc. The same is the case in most Dardic dialects.¹ Grierson² remarks that *ny* becomes *ñ* in Kāśhmīrī, but not elsewhere in India, and similarly we have *aña* < *anya*, etc., both in Dhp. and in Doc. The difference in the treatment of *y* is old, and therefore of some importance.

Of interest are also the numerous compounds where *r* has been preserved, because we know that also in this case the different treatment can be traced back to the third century B.C. The writing is not consistent, but forms such as Dhp. *krodha*, *gradhadi*, *trihi*, *drumapatra*, *pridiṇṇamoja*, *bramaṇa*, Doc. *krama*, *grahita*, *triti*, *draṃga*, *braṃmana*, *bhrada*, etc., clearly show the prevailing tendency. Among modern

¹ Cf. Turner, *BSOS.*, iii, p. 208.

² *LSI.*, viii, ii, p. 245.

languages Dardic and, to some extent, Lahndā, Sindhī, and Western Pahārī show the same state of things.¹

The change of *v* to *b* is apparently comparatively late in Indo-Aryan vernaculars. We cannot, therefore, lay much stress on the fact that it is unknown in Dhp and Doc., if we abstract from *b* < *v* in particles after old *m*, e.g. in Dhp. *siha ba* < *siṃham iva*. It is, however, of some interest that the change is also absent in Kāshmīrī, while some other Dardic languages often, but not always, have it.² Attention may also be drawn to the fact that *tv* and *dv* are usually preserved in writing, e.g. in Dhp. *catvari*, *satvaṇa*, *vidva*, etc., Doc. *śatva*, *dvara*, etc. Forms such as Doc. *capariśa* < *catvāriṃśat*, *bādaśa* < *dvādaśa*, *biti* side by side with *dviti* < *dvitīya*, etc., are, therefore, suspect of borrowing. As mentioned under the head of *tm* the *v* was probably not sounded, cf. also Dhp. *udhvaradha* < *uddharata*. The change of *tv*, *dv* to *t*, *d* respectively, which is already found in the North-Western Aśoka dialects, is common in the Dard group.³ It is also tempting to compare the gerund termination *ti* in Dhp. *baheti*, *pramajeti*, Doc. *aprochiti*, *palayiti*, etc., which is already found in the North-Western Aśoka edicts,⁴ with Kāshmīrī *ith*, Kati *ti*.

An outstanding feature is the preservation of, and careful distinction between, the three old sibilants, *ś*, *ṣ*, and *s*, which again have their parallel in the North-Western Aśoka dialects and in Dardic. The state of affairs is mainly the same in Dhp. and in Doc., even in minor, but significant details. They both also agree in sometimes using Sanskrit forms side by side with the genuine ones, but that is a feature which is too well known in most Indian languages to necessitate a discussion of details.

There is only one feature which cannot be traced in Dhp., viz. the tendency to voice intervocalic sibilants like other intervocalic consonants; cf. Doc. *iśa* < *iśa*, *kośalya* < *kauśalya*, *dajha* and *daśa* < *dāsa*, *tivajha* < *divasa*, etc. We cannot *a priori* decide whether the apparent absence of all such forms in Dhp. corresponds to the actual state of things or is due to the absence of letters for voiced sibilants. But it is of interest that the same tendency is found in Dardic,⁵ e.g. in Ṣiṇā *bazodu* < *vasanta*, *māz* < *māsa*.

¹ Cf. Turner, *Monograph*, p. 21.

² Cf. Grierson, *Vernaculars*, para. 367.

³ Cf. Turner, *Monograph*, p. 14; but Prasun *ṣipū*, Kati *ṣvā*, Waigeli *ṣatā* "four".

⁴ Cf. Thomas, *Acta Orientalia*, xiii, p. 78.

⁵ Cf. Turner, *BSOS.* v, p. 130.

Though old *ś* is generally preserved as *ś*, there is one curious exception. For Sanskrit *śuci* "pure" Dhp. has always *suyi* and Doc. once *suci*. Morgenstierne has drawn my attention to Kati *suč*,¹ an exclamation used in sacrifice. Have we to do with an old dissimilation? Dhp. *śaśaṇa*, Doc. *śaśana* < *śāsana*, and perhaps *śiśila* < **śisila* < *śithila*, are examples of the opposite tendency.

Writings such as Dhp. *śamaṇa*, Doc. *śamana* side by side with the Sanskrit form *śramaṇa* show that *śr* regularly became *ś* just as in Dardic and Kati.²

Old *śv* occurs as *ś* and as *śp*; cf. Dhp. *aśa* < *aśva*, *viśpa* < *viśva*, Doc. *aśpa*, *viśpa*, etc. Writings such as Doc. *eśvari* < *aiśvarya*, *śvana* < *śvāna* are evidently "learned". The usual forms can be compared, e.g. with Śiṇā *śū*, Kāshmīrī *hūn* "dog", Śiṇā *aśpo* "horse", etc.

With regard to *ṣ* it is a notable feature that the numeral "six", which begins with *ch* in all Prakrits except the North-Western, and in all Indo-Aryan vernaculars except Dardic, has preserved the initial *ṣ* in Dhp. Doc. *ṣo*. Also the treatment of the compound *kṣ* is the same as in Dardic. There are, it is true, in Dhp. and Doc. as everywhere else, some stray examples of the change to *kḥ*, but as a general rule we find an akṣara which resembles *ch*, but differs from it in not containing the cross-bar, and which had been variously transliterated as *kṣ* and as *čh*. It evidently had the same sound as the Dardic cerebral affricate sound *ch* mentioned by Turner, *Monograph*, p. 11. Cf. Dhp. *čhaya* < *kṣaya*, *cačhuma* (beside *cakhuma*) < *caḥsumā*, Doc. *čhura* < *kṣura*, *račhidavo* < *raḥṣitavyam*, etc.

If we turn to the dental *s*, we are met with some difficulties. The *śr* in Dhp. *viśravateṇa* < *visravatā* and the *ś*, which means the same thing, in *śaga* < *saṅga* are peculiar. Is it possible to compare the curious *r* in Kāshmīrī *śrūts* "pure"?

The change of *ts* to *tś* in Dhp. *bhetsīdi* < *bhetsyati*, *matsaṇa* < *mat-syānām*, Doc. *saṃvatsāra* < *saṃvatsara* is not much different from the usual treatment in other Prakrits. More peculiar is the development of *ms* to *mtś* in Dhp. *ahitśa* < *ahiṃsā*, *satśara* < *saṃsāra*, Doc. *maṃtśa* < *māṃsa*, etc. In Dhp. we also find *praśafadi* < *praśaṃsanti*, where the *tś* sound has become voiced. So far as I know a

¹ Cf. Robertson, *The Kafirs of the Hindu-Kush*, p. 421.

² Cf., e.g., Morgenstierne, *Report-Afghanistan*, p. 58.

similar development has only been traced in Sindhī, where we find *hañju* < *haṃsa*.¹

Old *sv* occurs as *sv* and as *s*; cf. Dhp. *svaga* < *svarga*, *salavhu* < *svalābham*, *rasa* < *hrasva*, Doc. *svaya* < *svayam*, etc. In Doc. we occasionally find *śv* instead in *śvasti* and regularly in *śvasu* < *svasr*. It is tempting to compare Tōrwālī *śū*, Gārwi *iśpo* and perhaps Khowar *ispuśār*, and it is perhaps possible to think of a kind of dissimilation. The word *śvasu* is also of interest in another respect, as showing that the word for "sister" was the same as in Dardic, where only Kāshmīrī, which has been largely influenced by the Midland languages, has adopted *beñe*.

With regard to the compound *st* the rule is that it remains between vowels and is changed to *th* when initial; cf. Dhp. *hasta* < *hastā*, *thala* < *sthala*, Doc. *hasta* < *hastā*, *thana* < *sthāna*. There are, however, also instances of initial *st*, e.g. Doc. *stīta* < *sthita*, *stora* "horse" *strī* and *istrī* < *strī*. A glance at the material registered by Grierson, *Vernaculars*, para. 290, will show that also here there is a remarkable agreement with the state of things in Dardic.

In making these remarks I have not attempted to give an exhaustive sketch of the phonetical system of Dhp. and Doc. But I have tried to draw attention to some important features which, in my opinion, make it absolutely certain that Dhp. and Doc. are not two different languages, but closely connected forms of one and the same ancient dialect. Moreover, there are so many essential points of agreement with Dardic that it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that also Dardic is derived from a Prakrit of the same kind as that of Dhp. and Doc. The cerebral *ṇ* in Dhp. and the change of *ṇś* to *ṇtś* in Dhp. and Doc., it is true, point to a territory where we, at the present day, do not find Dardic speeches. Grierson has, however, repeatedly drawn attention to Dardic traits in modern vernaculars outside the Dardic territory, and also the find-places of Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions written in the old North-Western Prakrit raise a strong presumption in favour of assuming that this Prakrit was subsequently ousted from a large tract of country, where we at the present day find languages such as Lahndā and Sindhī.

Dhp. shows that the North-Western Prakrit was, at a comparatively early date, used for literary purposes by a Buddhist sect. And the remarkable consistency apparent in the Dutreuil de Rhins manuscript

¹ Cf. *vañju*, Pañjābī *vañjh* < *vaṃśa*, and Doc. *saṃcaya* < *saṃśaya*.

shows that this was done with great skill and insight. We cannot tell how the development would have been, if this literary activity had been continued. But we know that the leading Buddhist school of the North-west soon gave up the use of Prakrit and adopted Sanskrit as their sacred language. We thus understand how these parts of the area of the ancient Prakrit where the literary activity was continued, in Sanskrit, came under an increasing influence of the Midland. Such has especially been the case in Kashmir, though even there we still find remarkable features which remind us of the Prakrit of Dhp. and Doc.

The Military Colonization of the Caucasus and Armenia under the Sassanids

By J. H. KRAMERS

THE ancient Arabic historian al-Balāḍurī (d. 892) begins his chapter on the conquest of Armenia by a description of the political conditions of those regions in Sassanian times. According to the local historical tradition, obtained from inhabitants of several Armenian towns, there had been a time when the people of the Ḥazars in Southern Russia were making continuous raids over the Caucasus passes and penetrated Persia as far as al-Dīnawar in Media. The first king to take energetic measures against these raids was Ḳubād (Kawād, 488-531). One of his generals ravaged Arrān (Albania) between the Araxes and the Kura; then Ḳubād came himself and founded or, better, fortified in this region the towns of al-Baylaḳān, Barḍa'a, and Ḳabala. He erected also a wall of brick which extended from the country of Širwān in the east as far as the pass called Bāb al-Lān, the "Pass of the Alans". His work was completed by his son Kisrā Anūširwān (Ḥusraw I, 531-579), who fortified farther to the north the towns of al-Šābirān and Maškāt,¹ and finally the very strong town of al-Bāb wa'l-Abwāb, on the site of the later Derbend. The name of this town, "the Gate and the Gates," is explained by the fact that its fortifications comprised the gates to several mountain passes. Here the text of al-Balāḍurī (ed. de Goeje, *Lugd. Bat.*, 1866, p. 194) continues as follows: *واسكن ما بنى من هذه المواضع قوماً سَمَّاهم السِّيَاسِيَّيْنَ* "He made dwell in these places which he had built a kind of people whom he called al-Siyāsīḡīn". Continuing the same tradition al-Balāḍurī describes the conquests of Anūširwān in the western direction, in Georgia, as far as the Black Sea, and in the south-western direction in Roman Armenia. Here were conquered in the first place Dabil (Dwīn) and Našawā (Naḥčewān), and further the fortress of Wayaš² and several fortresses in the country of al-Sīsāḡān. Here (p. 195) the text continues: *واسكن هذه الحصون والقلاع ذوى البأس*

¹ On the topography of all these places in Albania cf. Marquart, *Erānšahr*, pp. 111, 118, and the map accompanying W. E. D. Allen's *History of the Georgian People*, London, 1932.

² Arm. *Vayoc*, cf. Hübschmann, *Idg. Forsch.*, xvi, p. 469.

والنجدة من سياجيّة “He made dwell in these fortresses and strongholds strong and valorous men from Siyāsiḡiya”. Finally we read, at the end of the section on the conquests and the reign of the Persians in those regions (p. 197): فلم تزل ارمينية في أيدي الفرس حتى ظهر الاسلام فرفض كثير من السياسيين حصونهم ومدائنهم Armenia “حتى خربت وغلبت الخزر والروم على ما كان في أيديهم بديا، continued to be dominated by the Persians, until the appearance of Islam; many of the Siyāsiḡin then left their strongholds and their towns, which consequently were ruined, while the Ḥazars and the Romans recovered the territory they had originally possessed”.

The orthographies السياسيين and سياجيّة were adopted by de Goeje partly on the base of the different and generally unpunctuated readings of his manuscripts (see below) and partly on the assumption that the word must be related to the name of the Armenian district of al-Sisaḡān and that it denotes the inhabitants of that region. In the note on p. 194 of his Balāḡūrī edition de Goeje says: “Est populus cujus genealogiae princeps appellatur Sisag,” while referring to St. Martin, *Mémoires sur l'Arménie*, Paris, 1818, i, pp. 207-214. Here St. Martin discusses the text of Moses of Khoren's *History* (book ii, ch. 7) on the province of Sisakan, which is the north-westernmost province of Great Armenia, lying between the Araxes and the Lake of Sewan and bordering on Albania; the older Armenian name is Siounik'. Moses of Khoren derives the name Sisakan from a *heros eponymos* Sisak; this Sisak is, however, as Hübschmann also (*Idg. Forschungen*, xvi, p. 263) thinks, only an imaginary forefather, whose name was deduced from the form Sisakan. Now the reason of de Goeje's assumption can be no other than the fact that in the second passage quoted from al-Balāḡūrī (p. 195), the سياجيّة were placed also in al-Sisaḡān.

I do not know if de Goeje is the first to have made this identification. For in Thornberg's edition of the *Chronicle of Ibn al-Aḡ̃r* there occurs a parallel to al-Balāḡūrī's first passage in tome i, p. 319 (edited 1851), where the word in question is read السياسيين, although the MS. readings do not seem at all to make such a spelling more probable than any other. After de Goeje, however, the identification given by him has never been questioned; it was adopted by Marquart in his

earlier works (*Osteurop. und Ostasiat. Streifzüge*, Leipzig, 1903, pp. 37 sqq.; *Erânšahr*, Berlin, 1901, p. 120) and by Hübschmann (*Idg. Forsch.*, xvi, loc. cit.).

Parallels to al-Balāḍurī's first passage are found, besides in Ibn al-Aṭīr, also in Ḳudāma (ed. de Goeje in *BGA.* vi, 1889), p. 259—where the reading *السياسيين* was adopted—and in the geographical dictionary of Yākūt (ed. Wüstenfeld, i, p. 221)—where the edition gives the same spelling as Ibn al-Aṭīr. A parallel to al-Balāḍurī's second passage (p. 195) is found in Ibn al-Faḳīh (ed. de Goeje in *BGA.* v, 1885), p. 288, where de Goeje has printed *سياسيية*, in which the addition of the possessive ending gives in any case a better reading.

Ibn al-Faḳīh has, moreover, a passage, to which a parallel is not found in al-Balāḍurī. It is found on p. 291 of de Goeje's edition in a description of the fortification of the town of al-Bāb wa'l-Abwāb by Anūšīrwān and of the wall extending from this town to the mountains over a distance of seven farsaḥs. Here we read: *وجعل في هذه السبعة فراسخ سبعة مسالك على كل مسلك منها مدينة قد رتب فيها قوم من المقاتلة من الفرس يقال لهم السياسيين*. "He made in this distance of seven farsaḥs seven passages; each one of these was dominated by a town, in which he had placed Persian warriors named al-Siyāsikīn". A parallel text is found in Yākūt, i, p. 440, where there is printed *الانشاستيين*. The latter reading is made also much more likely by the MSS. of Ibn al-Faḳīh, but de Goeje, by his Sisaḡian or Sisakian theory, has again adopted a reading complying with that theory.

Finally the same people are mentioned probably in al-Mas'ūdī's *Murūḡ al-Dahab*, Paris edition, ii, p. 75, where it is said that they used the so-called Siyāwardī battle-axes. It is true that the Paris edition calls them *السيابجة*, but Marquardt (*Streifzüge*, p. 37) has pointed out that the Cairo edition, p. 89, has here *السياسيية*.

Now a comparison of the different MS. readings¹ puts it beyond question that the unpunctuated original readings of the three text passages of al-Balāḍurī and their parallels is *الساسجن* and *ساسجه*, while the passage of Ibn al-Faḳīh, p. 291, and its Yākūt

¹ For footnote, see p. 616.

parallel go back to الاساسكس. My conclusion is that the first group must be punctuated النشاستجين (and نشاستجه)—which is, indeed, the reading of the British Museum MS. of Ibn al-Aṭīr—and the second الانشاستكين—which is the printed reading of Yāqūt, i, p. 440. The word would render then an arabicized plural of middle Persian *nišāstag*, belonging to the middle Persian verb *nišāstan*, the causative form of *nišastan* (cf. H. S. Nyberg, *Hilfsbuch des Pehlevi*, ii, Glossar, Upsala, 1931, p. 161). The meaning would be “somebody who has been made to dwell in a certain place” and, in a pregnant sense, a “garrisoned warrior”. The Arabic verb اسكن used in the first passage of al-Balāḍurī is the exact counterpart of *nišāstan* in this sense.

This interpretation is much more obvious than that of Sisakians, because an Arabic plural derived from سيسجان would yield سياسجه and the addition of the ending -ūn or -īn would be abnormal in the highest degree. And as to the historical facts, it appears from al-Balāḍurī, that those garrisons were firstly laid in Albania and the Caucasian towns, and only afterwards in Armenia, amongst others in al-Sisaḡān. Moreover, the text of Ibn al-Faḡīh, p. 291, states expressly that the garrisons consisted of Persians.

Another interpretation of the word concerned is incidentally given by J. Markwart in his paper, “Np. āḏīna Freitag” (*Ungarische Bibliothek*, i, 13), p. 83,¹ where, without referring to the Arabic

Footnote to p. 615.

al-Balāḍurī, p. 194

السامسجين (all MSS.)

p. 195

ناسجه (two MSS.)

ساسجه (one MS.)

p. 195.

السامسجين

النسامسجين

السامسجين

Ibn al-Faḡīh

p. 288

نشاستجه

نشاستجه

نشاستجه

p. 291.

الاسناسكس

الاسناسكس

الاسناسكس

Kudāma p. 257.

السامسجين

Ibn al-Aṭīr i, 319.

السامسجين

النشاستجين

السامسجين

¹ I owe this reference to the kindness of Professor V. Minorsky.

historians and geographers cited above, he takes it for granted that the Sasanian military colonists in Daghestan were called *spāsīgān* سبايسيجان. Markwart here interprets the word as "Dienstleute", deriving it from Pahlavi *spās*, which, as appears from the Armenian loanword *spas*, may have had also in middle-Persian the meaning "service" (cf. Nyberg, *Hilfsbuch*, ii, p. 205). I cannot agree with this explanation: (1) because a form *spāsīk* has not been actually proved to exist, while in Persian *sipāsī* apparently means only a "beggar", according to the *Burhān-i Kāfi*; (2) because the majority of the manuscript readings is in favour of the reading نش; (3) because al-Balādhurī's text gives a kind of interpretation by the verb أسكن. Moreover, the form سبايسيجان does not deserve any regard, because the texts prove that the final *s* is the suffix of the 3rd person preceded by the oblique form of the masculine Arabic plural.

The information given by the Arabic authors on these conquests reposes on local traditions gathered in early Islamic times and does not occur in this form in the Arabic versions of the Persian Royal Annals, the *Hwatāy-nāmak*. It is not found in the history of Sassanian Persia by al-Ṭabarī, nor in Firdawsī's *Šāhnāma*. For this reason the corrupted reading in the Arabic texts cannot be ascribed to the misinterpretation of a Pahlavi original. The two different original forms انماذج and النشاستجين—also point to an endeavour of the early Islamic collectors of local traditions to render a word really heard.

From an Arabic grammatical point of view the ending *-īn*—used by Ibn al-Faḥīh even in the nominative—seems to be a compromise between the Persian ending *-ān* and the Arabic *pluralis sanus* ending in *-ūn* (gen. *-īn*). I do not know another instance of the plural of a Persian word being made in this way, but it certainly can be brought under the rule that the proper names of men form their plurals in this way.¹ The plural of non-Arabic words is formed by preference by a so-called "broken plural" (cf. Siddiqi, *Studien über die persischen Fremdwörter im klassischen Arabisch*, Göttingen, 1919, p. 20 sqq.); only the *nisba*-forms—which often represent as well the Persian ending *-ī(k)*—have generally *-īyūn*.

Further, it is to be noticed that the causative verb *nišāstan* is

¹ Wright's *Grammar of the Arabic Language*, 3rd ed., i, p. 195.

essentially middle-Persian, for which modern-Persian has *nišāndan* or *nišāhtan*. In literary Pahlavi it is used in a cognate sense in the *Catalogue of the provincial Capitals of Ērānšahr* by Markwart (ed. Messina, Rome, 1931), pp. 9, 10, 17, for the founding of fire temples or a camp, while in Manichæan middle-Persian we find it used for the founding of Manichæan monasteries called *mānistān* (Andreas-Henning, *Mitteliranische Manichaica aus Chinesisch-Turkestan*, ii, Berlin, 1933, p. 11 [302]). Dr. Bailey kindly draws my attention to two passages in the *Bundahišn* (ed. Anklesaria), where *nišāstak* has equally the meaning of "settled", used of men. In the first passage (pp. 106⁷, ⁸) it is said that nine of the primordial kinds or races of men passed the sea Frāhkart from X^uvaniras and were settled in the other six Karšvars (*ō ān 6 kišvar i diŋgar vitārt u ōd nišāstak kart*). In the other passage (pp. 108¹², sqq.) it is told how the people of the Zangik, who had sprung up under Aži Dahāk's reign from the mixture of men and female demons, fled from Ērānšahr when came the reign of Frētōn, and were made to dwell on the border of the sea (*pat kanārak-i zrāy nišāstak kart*). The reading of *nišāstak* (p. 109¹) is here corrupt, but as Dr. Bailey informs me, the shorter text has here the ideogram for "to sit". The language of Firdawsī has, just in the same meaning of populating a town—which is the meaning of النشاستجان—the verbs نشاختن (ed. Turner Macan, p. 1379, with relation to the foundation of Ġōr—written erroneously Zōr—by Ardašīr I) or نشاندن (ed. Mohl, vi, p. 214, in connection with the populating of the town of Zēb-i Ĥusraw with Roman prisoners by Anūšīrwān).

We have to finish by pointing to the fact that the interpretation given above of the Arabic texts is not without importance for our knowledge of the military administration of the Sassanid Empire, as it reveals the establishment of a system of frontier garrisons which reminds us very much of the organization of military themes in the Byzantine Empire in the seventh century and, in many ways, of the frontier-posts called *ribāṭ* in the Islamic empire of the Caliphs.

Māla vihāra

Par † SYLVAIN LÉVI

J'AI eu l'occasion, il y a trois ans, d'attirer l'attention sur un terme obscur du bouddhisme sanscrit, *mālavihāra*, que j'avais rencontré dans le texte du Mahā-Karmavibhaṅga dont je donnais l'édition et la traduction (Paris, 1932, p. 63, note). Il s'agissait, dans ce passage, du fameux Candanamāla vihāra érigé par Pūrṇa à Śūrpāraka. J'avais rappelé à ce propos le récit du voyage de Bhagavat à Śūrpāraka sur l'invitation de Pūrṇa et de la consécration du vihāra, tel qu'il est rapporté dans le Divyāvadāna (ii, Pūrṇāvadāna) ou plus exactement dans le Vinaya des Mūla Sarvāstivādin's (Oṣadhivastu, chap. ii = Dulva tibétain ii, 40 sqq.). J'avais signalé quelques autres textes, tant sanscrits que pâlis, où la même expression se retrouve, soit à propos du même Candanamāla vihāra (Kandjour, Mdo iii; Paramatthadīpanī (et non Apadāna; à rectifier) sur Theragāthā 187-188 Paramatthajotikā sur Suttanipāta, Pūraḷasutta; soit comme une désignation générique (Mahāvastu ii, 367; Śikṣāsamuccaya, p. 300; Divyāvad., p. 79 et p. 467; texte sanscrit de Koutcha publié par M. Lüders, Pr. Ak. Wiss. 1930, i, p. 23). Aux textes sur le Candanamāla je puis ajouter maintenant le Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa (Trivandrum Sk. Ser., p. 619, inf.) qui mentionne un bhikṣu nommé Nanda ou Nandaka, hôte du Candanamāla, avec une longévité de trois cents ans :—

*bhavitā Candanamāle 'smiṇ bhikṣur Nandako bhuvi
tasmiṇ kālādhamo prāpte jīved varṣāsatatrayaṃ.*

J'avais rappelé aussi l'embarras des traducteurs, à commencer par les interprètes tibétains qui avaient hardiment substitué *mālā* à *māla* et rendu par *phreṅ ba* "guirlande"; Burnouf, dans sa traduction du Pūrṇāvadāna, avait fait de même (*Introd. à l'Histoire du Bouddhisme indien*, p. 258), et Bendall après lui (Śikṣāsamuccaya, loc. laud.); Lüders s'était contenté d'un point d'interrogation.

Les textes jainas, témoins précieux et trop peu consultés, donnent la solution de cette difficulté. Le mot *māla* y paraît souvent, non seulement dans les récits et les contes, mais aussi dans les prescriptions d'ordre rituel. Jacobi l'avait rencontré dans l'Āyāraṅga (ii, 1, 7) et dans la traduction qu'il a donnée de cet ouvrage (*Sacred Books*, vol. xxii), il en a bien reconnu la signification. Il est interdit au moine ou à la nonne en tournée d'aumônes, d'accepter de la nourriture qui a été placée en lieu élevé, "sur un poteau, ou un pilier, ou un

tréteau, ou un *māla*, ou une plate-forme, ou une terrasse” (*khaṁdhaṁsi vā thaṁbhaṁsi vā maṁcaṁsi vā mālaṁsi vā pāsāyaṁsi vā hammiyatalaṁsi vā*). Jacobi a rendu *māla* par “loft”, le grenier en haut de la maison. Et il met en note : “The word is not explained in the *Ṭikā* and *Dīpikā* ; the Guzerati translation says that the word is *lokapratīta*, commonly understood. It is probably the Marāṭhī *māl* or *mālā* ; the former word denotes a loft floored with bamboos ; the second, the room formed by overlaying with slight sticks the cross-beams of a house, a loft, an erection or stand in a cornfield, scaffolding (of a building). Molesworth, *Marāṭhī and English Dictionary*, s.v.” L’excellent dictionnaire prācrit de Pandit Hargovind Das T. Sheth (*Pāia Sadda Mahāṇṇavo, A Comprehensive Prakrit-Hindi Dictionary*, Calcutta, 1923) distingue deux homonymes *māla*, masculins tous deux, provinciaux (*deśī*) d’origine tous deux ; à l’un il attribue les significations de 1° jardin (*ārām*, *baṅcā*) ; 2°, plate-forme (*mañc*, *āsan-viśeṣ*) ; 3° harmonieux (*mañju*) ; pour l’autre il donne comme significations : 1° nom de pays (*deś-viśeṣ*) ; la littérature sanscrite connaît ce nom ; 2° partie supérieure de la maison (*ghar kā uparibhāg*), support (*talā*), et il ajoute : “En langue du Guzerat, c’est *mālo* (*Gujarātī mē mālo*). Il indique encore comme troisième sens : une espèce d’arbre (*vanaspati-viśeṣ*). Et pour toutes ces significations, il donne des références précises à des ouvrages jainas. L’admirable encyclopédie du jainisme Śvetāmbara, l’Abhidhāna Rājendra une œuvre modèle, qui devrait servir d’exemple au bouddhisme et au brahmanisme, et qui n’a pas encore obtenu la consécration qu’elle mérite enregistre le mot *māla*, masculin, avec les interprétations suivantes (en sanscrit) : 1° la partie d’en haut (*uparitanabhāge*) ; 2°, plate-forme (*mañcādika*) ; 3° nom d’un pays montagneux. Et il rappelle les significations indiquées par Hemacandra dans sa *Deśināmamālā* : jardin ; harmonieux ; plate-forme (*ārāmamañjumañceṣu*). Les deux lexicographes, à la suite de Hemacandra, qui suit les commentateurs jainas, se servent, pour expliquer le mot *māla*, de ce mot *mañca* que nous avons vu paraître à côté de lui dans le passage cité de l’Āyāraṅga. A la différence de *māla*, *mañca* est un mot d’usage courant dans la littérature sanscrite ; la formule *mañcāḥ krośanti* est un des exemples stéréotypes de métonymie qui reparaît à l’infini dans tout l’Alaṅkāraśāstra. P. K. Acharya, dans son utile *Dictionary of Hindu Architecture* (où il n’a pas malheureusement mis à contribution les ouvrages jainas, qui ont tant à fournir dans ce domaine) explique *mañca* par “bedstead,

couch, bed, sofa, chair, throne, platform, pulpit" et cette multiplicité d'équivalents atteste l'extrême élasticité du sens. L'Abhidhāna Rājendra dit fort bien, s.v. : "un *mañca* est fait d'un lit de bambou posé sur des montants (*sthūṇānām upari sthāpitavaṃśakataḥkādīmāyo mañcaḥ*)" et il ajoute : "Tout le monde sait ce que c'est (*loka-prasiddhaḥ*). Et il a recours encore, pour l'expliquer, à un dérivé du mot *māla*, *mālaka* : "c'est un *mālaka* où des gens qui veulent voir un spectacle peuvent s'asseoir (*prekṣaṇakadrasṭrjanopaveśananimitte mālake*). Et, sous le mot *mañcātimañca*, il répète : "*mañca* est un *mālaka* où des gens peuvent s'asseoir pour regarder une grande fête (*mahotsavavilokanajanānām upaveśananimittamālako mañcaḥ*). Le commentateur du Sthānāṅga ajoute encore une précision importante ; le texte (3, 1, 145 ; p. 124a) mentionne toute espèce de grains qui sont conservés dans des endroits divers, entre autres "conservés dans un *mañca*, *mañcāutta* [*āgupta*], conservés dans un *māla* (*mālāutta*)". Le commentaire explique le premier mot dans les termes que l'Abhidhāna Rājendra lui a empruntés pour sa définition : *sthūṇānām upari sthāpitavaṃśakataḥkādīmāyo janapratītaḥ* ; pour le mot *māla*, il en est de même : *mālako gr̥hasyoparitanabhāgaḥ* ; mais il ajoute une référence à un texte jaina, dictionnaire ou commentaire : "Et il est dit : un *mañca* n'a pas de murs, et de plus un *māla* est au-dessus de la maison (*akkudḍo hoī mañco mālo ya gharovariṃ hoī* glosé en sanscrit par : *akudyo bhavati mañco mālaś ca gr̥hopari bhavati*). Ainsi le *māla*, comme le *mañca*, n'a pas de mur ; mais à la différence du *mañca*, il est situé en haut de la maison ; on conçoit dès lors que les deux mots servent à s'expliquer mutuellement : un *māla* est un mirador, une loge, un kiosque, un pavillon, un balcon place en haut de la maison, et en général placé en haut. C'est dans ce sens que ce mot—sous sa forme dérivée : *mālaka*—paraît dans un texte sanscrit jaina, la *Simhāsanadvātrīṃśikā* éditée par Weber, *Ind. Stud.*, xv, p. 266 sq. ; Dans un village d'Avanti, un brahmane tirait de son champ des moissons merveilleuses. "Alors il fit élever dans le haut de ce champ un *mālaka*. Or chaque fois qu'il monte dans ce *mālaka*, il se sent de la grandeur ; chaque fois qu'il en descend, il se sent misérable." Il va à la capitale informer le roi Bhoja de ce prodige. "Le roi vint lui-même examiner les lieux, mais il ne remarqua rien. Alors il monta en personne dans le *mālaka* et il se sentit une grandeur extraordinaire. . . . Le roi acheta à prix élevé ce champ au brahmane, et il fit creuser au-dessous du *mālaka*." C'est là qu'on découvre le trône merveilleux aux trente-deux statues autour duquel

se déroulent les contes. Il est bien clair qu'il s'agit ici d'un de ces abris portés sur des poteaux qu'on voit si souvent dans la campagne indienne, où le paysan se repose à l'ombre d'un toit de chaume et surveille ses cultures. Weber avait bien deviné (ib., p. 219) qu'il s'agissait "probablement d'une estrade" mais qu'il imaginait ronde (wohl einem ringförmigen Gestell) sans doute sous l'influence, lui aussi, du mot féminin *mālā* "guirlande".

Examinons maintenant la miniature népalaise publiée par M. Foucher dans son *Étude sur l'Iconographie bouddhique de l'Inde*, pl. I, 6; j'ai déjà indiqué dans ma note du Mahā-Karmavibhaṅga qu'il fallait rectifier la transcription et lire, au lieu de Supāca, Supāra : *Supāranagare Vuntraka* (M. Foucher a lu : *Vulbhuka*) *vītarāgaḥṭa Candanavihāra*. Supāra est une de formes que prend le nom de la ville où Pūrṇa éleva son fameux Candanamāla vihāra; c'est sous cette forme même Σουππάρα que Ptolémée, vii, 1, 6, écrit le nom du grand port que fréquentait le commerce d'Alexandrie. J'ai antérieurement proposé de considérer l'énigmatique Vuntraka (?) comme une altération graphique assez facile à expliquer de Pūrṇaka. Quoi qu'il en doive être de ce nom mystérieux, le monastère de santal à Supāra ne peut être, dans la galerie des lieux saints les plus célèbres, que le Candanamāla vihāra. Et la miniature montre en effet au premier plan une loggia, une espèce de balcon couvert accroché au flanc d'une maison d'habitation; dans la loggia se tient un personnage portant une guirlande au cou, le même peut-être qu'on voit apparaître au fond, dépassant largement de sa taille démesurée le stūpa à parasol et le pilier surmonté d'une image (de lion ?, pour rappeler le Sākyasiṃha, le Lion des Sākya's ?) un ensemble qui évoque nécessairement le souvenir des grands vihāra's du Népal. Est-ce le Bouddha qui vient sur l'initiative du Pūrṇa et qui ensuite visite le monastère ? L'artiste le fait alors paraître dans la loggia de santal qui avait valu au monastère sa réputation. Nous avons donc là l'illustration d'un *māla*. Et il est frappant de voir un mot considéré comme proprement gujarati paraître dès les origines du bouddhisme dans le nom d'un monastère qui était la gloire du Guzerate. Il y aurait là un indice curieux de l'ancienneté du vocabulaire des parlers régionaux de l'Inde.

Je suis heureux de soumettre cette question au grand savant et au vieil ami dont le nom reste et restera toujours lié indissolublement à l'étude linguistique de l'Inde, au créateur et à l'auteur du *Linguistic Survey of India*, Sir George Grierson.

Nochmals *mleccha*

By B. LIEBICH

UEBER diese Entsprechung des griechischen *bárbaros* im Sanskrit habe ich im 72. Band der *ZDMG.* (1918) Seite 286/7 eine kleine Studie veröffentlicht. Den Anlass dazu gab ein Artikel von K. P. Jayaswal, der am gleichen Ort einige Jahre vorher erschienen war. Jayaswal hatte richtig erkannt, dass die allgemeinere Bedeutung von *mleccha*, wie sie in der Literatur erscheint und auch von den indischen Grammatikern angegeben wird, sekundär sei, und dass das Wort ursprünglich ein bestimmtes nichtindisches Einzelvolk bezeichnet haben müsse: „like *Yavana*“, sagt er, „*Mlechcha* is a foreign word, and like *Yavana* it originally meant a specific foreign people.“

Das griechische *bárbaros*, lat. *barbarus* bietet in dieser Hinsicht kein Problem; es zeigt in seiner reduplizierten Form deutlich seine Abkunft von einer uralten lautmalenden (onomatopoetischen) indogermanischen Wurzel *bar*, die sich, ebenfalls redupliziert, als Verbum mit der Bedeutung plappern, summen u.ä. in mehreren slawischen Sprachen und im Litauischen erhalten hat. Ja diese Wurzel *bar* hat in der neudeutschen Theatersprache eine interessante Wiederauferstehung erlebt, wo sie in der Vermummung Barbara oder Rhabarber vom Sprechchor allgemein als „Volksgemurmel“ Verwendung findet. Neben indogermanisch *bar* steht die Wurzelvariante *bal* in lat. *balbus* „stammelnd“, lat. *balbutire* und skr. *balbalā-karoti* „stammeln, stottern“, also in Beziehung auf einen individuellen Sprachfehler. Griechisch *bárbaros* bezeichnet dem gegenüber von Haus aus einen Menschen, der sich durch seine undeutliche oder unverständliche Sprache als Volksfremden zu erkennen gibt.

Soweit kann man also Jayaswal zustimmen, aber seine Verknüpfung von *mleccha* mit einem bestimmten Volk ist allzu kühn und durfte nicht unwidersprochen bleiben. Er geht nämlich vom ältesten Vorkommen des Wortes im *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa* aus, wo gesagt wird, dass die Asura mit dem *mleccha*-Ruf *helavo helavo* im Kampf unterlagen und zu Grunde gingen. Die Asura sind ihm (wie anderen neueren Hindu-Gelehrten) die Assyrier, in *helavo* findet er das hebräische *eloah* „Gott“ und in *mleccha* selbst das semitische *melech* „König“!

Was die Asura betrifft, so genügt es wohl, daran zu erinnern, dass mit diesem Wort in den älteren Büchern des *Rgveda* die eigenen Götter

(Indra, Varuṇa, die Āditya's) bezeichnet werden; erst vom zehnten Buch ab, im Atharvaveda und in den Brāhmaṇa's sind die Asura zu Dämonen geworden und stehen den Deva's als Feinde gegenüber. Die umgekehrte Entwicklung haben diese Worte bekanntlich im Iranischen genommen, wo *asura*, lautgesetzlich als *ahura* erscheinend, im Namen des höchsten Gottes Ahuramazda—Ormazd wiederkehrt, während hier die Diven zu Dämonen und Götterfeinden geworden sind. Martin Haug, der zuerst auf diesen Gegensatz hingewiesen hat, sah darin das Anzeichen einer religiösen Spaltung zwischen Indern und Iranern, welche die Trennung der alten Indoiranier in zwei gesonderte Völker begleitet oder veranlasst habe, was wohl auch jetzt noch die natürlichste Deutung bleibt. Jedenfalls hat Asura nur mit den arischen Persern, nicht mit den semitischen Assyriern etwas zu tun, und damit erledigt sich die Gleichung *mleccha* mit *melech* von selbst.

In meiner oben erwähnten Entgegnung unterstrich ich die Tatsache, dass das später so häufige Wort *mleccha* in der Tat in Ṛg- und Atharvasamhitā wie auch in der vedischen Prosa des Yajurveda und der alten und mittleren Brāhmaṇa's völlig fehlt und erst im dritten Buch des (verhältnismässig) jungen Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa erscheint. Im Ṛgveda bis zum zehnten Buch einschliesslich finden wir sogar eine andere Entsprechung von *bárbaros*, die später ganz verschwindet, nämlich *myḍhravāc* „dessen Rede (Sprache) mangelhaft, — fehlerhaft ist, kauderwelsch —, barbarisch redend“ (Geldner, *Der Ṛgveda in Auswahl*, I, 138). Als Redaktor des Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa wird uns Yājñavalkya genannt, der am Hofe des Königs Janaka in Videha, dem späteren Magadha, im unteren Gangeslande seine berühmten, im Brāhmaṇa selbst aufgezeichneten Disputationen über Ātman und Brahman hielt; und im ersten Buch desselben Brāhmaṇa (I, 4, 1, 10–18) finden wir die Erzählung von Videgha Māthava, dem sagenhaften Stammvater der Videha's, und seiner einstigen Besiedlung dieses Landes, das ganz felderlos (*akṣetrataram*) und sehr fliegend, sumpfig (*srāvītaram*) gewesen sei, bis Agni Vaiśvānara, gefolgt von Videgha Māthava, es überbrannt habe (*atidādāha*). Bei Agni Vaiśvānara, dem „Jedermannsfeuer“, wird man an das Abbrennen des Jungle zu denken haben, das der Besiedlung und Bebauung des Landes vorangehn musste. Hier am unteren Ganges dürften wir also nach allen äusseren Indizien den Ursprung des Namens Mleccha zu suchen haben.

Das Wort *mleccha* im Sinne des griechischen *bárbaros* ist nicht nur häufig im klassischen Sanskrit, sondern ist auch in der gleichen

Bedeutung in die indischen Dialekte übergegangen. Konsonantengruppen werden hier durch Assimilation oder Vokaleinschub beseitigt; der durch Assimilation entstandene Doppelkonsonant wird im Anlaut durch den einfachen ersetzt. Dazu kommen hier und da, namentlich wo es sich um die Wiedergabe von Fremdworten handelt, noch sporadische Veränderungen. Demgemäss finden wir für *mleccha* im Pali *milakkha*, in Śaurasenī, Jaina-Mahārāṣṭri und Apabhraṃśa *mēccha*, in Ardhamāgadhī sogar vier Formen: *miliccha*, *milakkhu*, *mēccha* und *miccha* nebeneinander. Alle diese Formen sind durch Parallelfälle lautgesetzlich vertretbar; die Nachweise sind bei Kuhn und Pischel leicht zu finden.

Auf Grund dieses Tatbestandes wies ich auf die Mēch hin, ein nichtarisches Volk von jetzt rund hunderttausend Menschen, das heut hauptsächlich im Tarāi, also im Jungle, westlich des Brahmaputra haust, teils in Assam, teils in Bengalen. Obwohl sie durch Hautfarbe und mongolide Züge den Bōdo nahe stehen, haben sie keine Tradition, dass sie jemals ausserhalb des Jungle gelebt haben. Ich erinnerte schliesslich daran, wie stabil häufig die Namen auch der nichtarischen Völker in Indien sind: die Bhilla und Kirāta der alten Sanskrit-Autoren finden wir noch heut in den Bhil des Vindhya und den Kiranti des Himālaya wieder, die Sabara des Plinius und Ptolemaeus unter ganz dem gleichen Namen in den östlichen Ghats, die Darada des Mahābhārata in den Darden von Dardistan.

Als ich meine Studie veröffentlichte, kannte ich die Mēch nur aus dem vortrefflichen Werk von Sir Athelstane Baines, *Ethnography* (castes and tribes), Strassburg 1912, p. 129, von dem, beiläufig bemerkt, mein Kollege Freiherr von Eickstedt erst kürzlich bedauerte, dass es, weil im Grundriss der indoarischen Philologie erschienen, bei seinen Fachgenossen, den Ethnologen und Anthropologen so gut wie unbekannt geblieben sei. Ich war aber hocherfreut, als ich einige Jahre später in der Linguistic Survey of India, dem monumentum aere perennius des ehrwürdigen Altmeisters der Indologie, zu dessen Ehren diese Festschrift entstanden ist, in vol. iii, 2, p. 1 die folgende Stelle fand: „The Bârâ folk who live to the west of the Kamrup district are called Mech by their Hindū neighbours. This word is probably a corruption of the Sanscrit '*Mlēchchha*', which corresponds to the original meaning of our word 'Welsh', i.e. foreigner, stranger.“ Es kann für uns dahingestellt bleiben, wer von beiden den Tatbestand zutreffender erfasst hat, die Linguistic Survey des Census von 1901 oder die Ethnographical Survey des gleichen Census, auf deren Angaben

Baines sich stützt. Jedenfalls erhält meine damals noch ziemlich schüchtern geäußerte Vermutung durch diese Stelle eine wichtige Bestätigung.

Noch ist eine dritte Behandlung dieser Frage zu erwähnen, die ein Jahr nach meiner Arbeit von Isidor Scheftelowitz am gleichen Ort (*ZDMG.* 1919, S. 243/4) veröffentlicht wurde. Sch. verwendet eine andre Methode und kommt zu einem andern Ergebnis. Er trennt pali *milakkha* ganz von skr. *mleccha* und weist sie zwei verschiedenen, aber indogermanischen Wortsippen zu. Allerdings geht es dabei nicht ohne Gewalttätigkeit ab. Zunächst ist es ziemlich kühn, die Zusammengehörigkeit dieser beiden Worte zu bestreiten, die genau im gleichen Sinne in der Literatur verwendet werden und durch die oben erwähnten Zwischenformen verbunden sind, weshalb alle gründlichen Kenner der indischen Dialekte, Kuhn, Franke, Stede, Pischel, wie auch die einheimischen Grammatiker an der Zusammengehörigkeit festhalten. Die Tatsache des späten Auftretens von *mleccha*, die mir wichtig erschien, wird von Sch. mit Stillschweigen übergangen.

Skr. *mleccha* muss sich zunächst eine Umformung gefallen lassen. Sein palataler Ausgang soll auf einen älteren dentalen zurückgehen. Durch diesen (sehr ungewöhnlichen) Lautwandel kommen wir auf ein indogermanisches **mlais-sko*, das auch in cymrisch *bloesg* vorliegen und mit lat. *blaesus* aus **mlais-sos* verwandt sein soll. Diese beiden Worte bedeuten „stammelnd, stotternd“. *Mlais-sko* ist aber eine rein papierne, kaum aussprechbare Konstruktion.

Pali *milakkha* wird von Sch. mit skr. *mūrkhā* „Dummkopf“ vereinigt und zu einer indogermanischen Wortsippe gestellt, deren Grundbedeutung „erstarren“ zu sein scheint, während die ihr zugeschriebenen Verben in den verschiedenen Einzelsprachen meist schweigen oder schlafen bedeuten.

Scheftelowitz schliesst mit den Worten: Die Untersuchung hat somit ergeben, dass altind. *mleccha* nicht mit altind. **mlska*, **mlsku* (pali *milakkho*, prakr. *milakkhu*) etymologisch verwandt ist, aber beide Worte rein indogermanischen Ursprungs sind. — Ob seine Ausführungen überzeugend genug wirken, um ein so zuversichtliches Urteil zu rechtfertigen, mögen andere entscheiden.

Nugae Burushaskicae

By D. L. R. LORIMER

THE makers of Burushaski, whoever they were and wherever and whenever they lived, were people of resource and ingenuity, perhaps of imagination. So much is evident from the grammar of the language, which I have described in some detail elsewhere, *The Burushaski Language*, vol. i, Oslo, 1935. I am not referring to the modern speakers of Burushaski. They appear to me lacking in these qualities. They might be gifted as craftsmen, but not as creative artists.

After further researches I would now also attribute to the begetters of the language some subtlety of mind. I would even credit them with a measure of originality; but if I adduced in evidence the phenomena which I am here going to describe I fear I should be speedily convicted of ignorance of all the most interesting languages of the globe.

1. I will merely mention here in passing the system under which by varying the quality, stress, and length of the vowel of its pronominal prefix (or infix), a verb may be changed from Intransitive to Simple Transitive, then to a Transitive where a third party is affected (to whom the pronoun-prefix then refers), and lastly into a Causative Active. The Intransitive form of the verb sometimes has no pronoun prefix. In the following examples the pronoun-infix is in the 3rd person singular form, unless otherwise stated:—

Intrs.	šuqa dis'ilimi	<i>the cloak became wet</i>
Trs. 1.	ine ja šuqa d'esilimi	<i>he wet my cloak</i>
Trs. 2.	ine ja šuqa d'a'silimi	<i>he wet my cloak for me</i>
	(1st pers. sg. pronoun-infix)	
Cs.	uŋe gu'imo nokər ja šuqa	<i>you made your servant wet my</i>
	d'e'asiloma	<i>cloak; or</i>
	uŋe gu'imo nokər ja šuqa	<i>you made your servant wet my</i>
	d'a'asiloma	<i>cloak (for me)</i>
	(1st sg. pronoun-infix.)	

In the Transitive 2 and the Causative the vowel is markedly long and may be diphthongized. There is probably also a change in tone between the vowels of Trs. 1 and Trs. 2 and Cs. Neither I nor my informants could decide.

2. I will again only briefly refer to a number of Intransitive

verbs which add, or may add, a theme (apparently *-ia-*) to the root when the subject is plural :—

du'sas Pres. Base *du's-* with sg. or pl. subj.

duwašē.as Pres. Base *duwašač-* with pl. subj. only,
both meaning *to come out, emerge, etc.*

inē du'saei *he is coming out*

u'ē du'sa'n or *duwašača'n* *they are coming out*

taswīr šu'a d'usila *the photograph has come out well*

taswīriḡ šu'a d'usitsa or *duwaša bitsa* *the photos have come out well*

Other such verbs are :—

ga'rtsas *to run*

ga'rtsimi *he ran*

(ga'rtsuman) *they ran*

ga'rc'ē.as „

ga'rcaman *they ran*

huru'tas *to sit*

huru'timi *he sat*

(huru'toman) *they sat*

huruč'ē.as „

huručaman *they sat*

In the two preceding verbs the form with the *-ia-* theme is usually only employed in the past tenses (plural), where it ordinarily displaces the simple form.

guiyas || *giyē.as*

to fall, plunge, etc.

**-uyas* with *h* or *x* subject

buyas with *y* subject

} *to become dry*

**-uyē.as* with *h* or *x* subject pl.

buyē.as with *y* subject pl.

} *to become dry*

h, *x*, and *y* refer to different categories or "genders" of nouns. An asterisk indicates that the verb is preceded by a pronoun-prefix.

I can quote one Transitive verb, more will probably be discovered, where a *-ia-* theme appears when the object is *y* plural :—

pusa's

pus'uyas

} with *y* sg. object

**-pfosas* with *h* or *x* obj. sg. or pl.

puš'ē.as with *y* pl. obj.

All meaning *to tie up*.

Thus :—

balda pus'ē, or pus'u

tie up the load

hayor ipfus

tie up the horse

korsimots upfus

tie up the chairs

baldaḡ (y pl.) puš'a

tie up the loads

šīqa (y pl.) puš'a

tie up the grass

3. I now pass to phenomena which require less technical knowledge to make them fully intelligible.

Burushaski has a system of depreciatory or contemptuous expression which in certain circumstances is applied to many of the commonest objects of daily life.

The depreciatory effect is produced by attaching a qualificatory word to the ordinary word denoting the object. Where the meaning is unmistakable the qualificatory word is sometimes substituted for the standard word. This qualificatory word is sometimes the name—

(a) of a particular part of, or of a small quantity of the object ;

(b) of a small or inferior form of it ;

(c) of a small or inferior object made of, or associated with it. Sometimes it is merely—

(d) a more or less general word denoting smallness in quantity or size.

The following are a few out of a large number of available examples, falling roughly under the four above headings. (The suffix *-an*, *-n*, denotes "one", "a").

<i>Simple word.</i>	<i>Depreciatory term.</i>	<i>Meaning of qualificatory word.</i>
(a) <i>hu'čo soft leather boot</i>	<i>hučo iltumal</i>	<i>lit. "ear", secondarily "side piece of boot"</i>
<i>sap horse-shoe</i>	<i>sapε mu's-an</i>	<i>an end, an edge</i>
<i>yaš'il (fire)wood</i>	<i>yaši'le jučo'r-an</i>	<i>a shaving</i>
<i>žu warp yarn</i>	<i>žuε yaγ-an</i>	<i>one long thread of yarn</i>
<i>y'e'in grapes</i>	<i>ye'inε čhu-an</i>	<i>a bunch</i>
	<i>ye'inε pfulpful-an</i>	<i>a berry</i>
(b) <i>hay'ur horse</i>	<i>hay'ur bučo'ku-an</i>	<i>a small pony</i>
<i>ts.hi'r she-goat</i>	<i>ts.hi'ε duw-an</i>	<i>a kid</i>
<i>ha house</i>	<i>ha duku'ri</i>	<i>shelter, hut</i>
	<i>ha guti</i>	<i>hut</i>
<i>bir'anč mulberries</i>	<i>biranč mayero'ti</i>	<i>unripe mulberries</i>
(c) <i>gap hide</i>	<i>gapε ašk'i'ltər</i>	<i>thong for fastening yoke to shaft of plough</i>
<i>pf'ata bowl</i>	<i>pfata čök'u'li</i>	<i>fragment of bowl</i>
<i>p'āci cotton cloth</i>	<i>pači.ε gak'a'y,</i>	<i>patch, old scrap</i>
	<i>pači.ε tat'ay</i>	<i>ditto slightly larger</i>
<i>baṭ skin, leather</i>	<i>baṭε čhaya (lukan)</i>	<i>patch</i>
	<i>baṭε bərp'i't (lukan)</i>	<i>strap</i>
<i>sap horse-shoe</i>	<i>sapε g'ili-an</i>	<i>a nail, peg</i>

There are not many examples of this type.

<i>Simple word.</i>	<i>Depreciatory term.</i>	<i>Meaning of qualificatory word.</i>
(d) šap'ik bread	šap'ik pfu'k-an	a tiny piece
	šap'ik lap-an	a mouthful
	šap'ik čuru'k-an	a broken-off piece
ts.hil water	ts.hil thi's-an	a little (liquid)
dəl oil	dəl yaša'n	a little
	dəl yu'w-an	a tear

With words denoting cloth, or articles of cloth, the terms *loq scrap*, *bud'ol rag*, are commonly used.

These depreciatory expressions have different values according to the context in which they are used :—

1. When used of a personal possession they minimize the value of the article and indicate humility, or the absence of self-magnification, on the part of the speaker. So one may say :—

ye'inge pfulpfulan go'r ditsa ba *I have brought you some grapes*
 ("a grape berry")

bu'yomuts a'lta mani.en *There have become two little*
bunches, i.e. I have got a couple
of stacks (a'lta hur'seints) of
cut crops ready for threshing

sərmutsan pfalo senas æip its.hæi *They reckon it reprehensible to*
 ba'n ; ku'to.an pfalo seiba'n *say " (I have) a sack of grain ",*
they say " (I have) a small bag
of grain "

2. They may be used of another person's things with the effect of insulting or depreciating him :—

b'ese guse dukuri.olo horu'ta ? *Why have you taken up your*
abode in this hovel ?

ja ha ke u'ne dukuri hana ? *Are my house and your hovel one*
and the same thing ?

They are thus used when expressing dissatisfaction with a gift and the giver :—

Q. thame hald'enan guwæya ? *Has the king given you a (he-)*
goat ?

A. besane halden ? bi'ske *(Yes but) what sort of a goat ? He*
 usko ayunæi *has given me three hairs (i.e.*
a goat in very poor condition)

birançe mu'nan ačh'i bæi *He has given me a " stump " of a*
mulberry tree

3. These uses are straightforward; the subtlety to which I have referred appears in the next, in which by depreciating the object the owner or giver is exalted; the implication being that while, e.g. the coat is a perfectly good coat and to the recipient a glory, to the giver it is a mere scrap of cloth or a tattered old garment. Or, the rôles being reversed, the full meal offered to the guest is to him merely a mouthful of bread or a cup of tea. Again, out of courtesy to the recipient the giver will represent his gift as small and unworthy. Thus I say to a superior:—

hu'éo i'tumal a'chi. *Give me a side of a boot, i.e. give me a pair of boots.*
and the giver will say as he gives them:—

i'tumaliŋ bitsaŋ. gutse ya'ski ke ap'i.en. *They are (a) mere (set of) bootsides. They are not worthy of you.*

guwataŋum menan jo. *Give me a set of old clothes off your person.*

ko'te bud'ul lukan a'chi. gaka'yan bila, da u'ŋar besan? *Give me a rag of a coat. It's a mere old scrap, and so what is it to you?*

'aya Giltar nič'am "hu'éotse waščar gape pfo'léo lukan bi ke", nusen da'ræi. Ju ju, lukan ti'ko miy'uwin. *My father was going to Gilgit, and saying "if there is a little scrap of hide to apply to my boots", he has sent me (to you). Many salams! Give us a bit.*

ja gap guyam seiba. besane gap? piso'k lukan bilom. akhu'roman a'ski'ltar bilom. *You say I gave you hide. What sort of hide (was it)? It was only a little calf-skin. A little bit of thong like this.*

baŋiŋ ŋu'ran a'r thi'l 'etia. *Will you be so good as to sprinkle out (with the fingers) a little dusting-flour for me? i.e. will you give me some flour?*

Here "baŋiŋ", "ŋu'ran" and "thi'l" are all in their different ways diminutives.

This conception of depreciation is carried over into the sphere of the verbs. Thus one says:—

hu'éo ulta. *Put on the boots* (u-, 3rd pl. pn. pf. agreeing with hu'éo).

This is normal and grammatically correct, but may be regarded as honorific to the boots. Or one may say:—

hu'éo ilta (i-, 3rd sg. pn. pf.).

This is humiliating to the boots, but honorific to the person addressed. Doing honour to another person and humiliating the boots one says:—

guse bu'č ču:k eti. *Put on this boot*

To a person of distinction a would-be host says :—

ja ha'ler čham mane! go'r ča'i o'čam. *Enter my house (i.e. Do me the honour of entering my house). I'll make them make tea for you (i.e. I'll entertain you to a meal).*

On the other hand, however :—

ya'ski sisan 'e'ts.huyasər xe.a'la'te uxatatum gute seiba'n: "mi ha'ler čham me'ima?" *With the intention of not taking an unworthy person (into one's house) they say from their lips (lit. mouth): "Will you do me the honour of entering our house?"*

4. The last phenomenon to which I will here call attention is the existence of an indefinite number of verbal compounds (an adjective or noun plus an auxiliary verb) of which the meaning is modified by alteration in the vowel of the first component. The variants from the standard are in the nature of diminutives.

As a typical example the following may be given :—

Normal.

Variant.

šar etas *to roll out (dough)*

šir etas *to roll out a small quantity thin, with quick short motion.*

ša't etas *to roll out larger (?) quantity slowly.*

This represents, I think, the commonest series of vowels, and in it the *i* vowel seems to point to a diminishment in the action of the verb with regard either to the thing acted on or the means employed, or in what results from the action. The *a* vowel may also denote some quantitative reduction, but seems frequently to indicate slow motion.

There seemed to me to be a difference in the tone of the vowels, the tone of the norm being normal, that of the *i* high, that of the *a* low.¹ The effect of the variations may be intensified by further lengthening those vowels. Many of the first components may also be reduplicated, giving probably the sense of repetition or continuance of the action.

In some cases, where the vowel of the norm is *-a-*, there are diminutives in *o* or *u*.

When the vowel of the norm is *i* or *u* the diminutives are obtained by simply lengthening and lowering the tone of those vowels. Frequently where the norm has *-i-* there is a diminutive also with *-a-*, and where the norm has *-u-* there is a diminutive with *-i-*.

¹ In the following examples a line above a vowel denotes a high tone, and a line below a vowel a low tone.

It will be evident that it is impossible from the vowel of any isolated form to say whether it is a normal or a diminutive.

The following are a few miscellaneous examples. I cannot in all cases given the precise meaning of the diminutives, either *vis-à-vis* the norm or *vis-à-vis* each other:—

ṭham ṭham etas to sweep up	ṭhi'm ṭhi'm ε. ṭhiṭhi'm ε. ṭha'm ε.	to sweep up a small quantity to sweep up a small quantity, or slowly
xalaṭ etas xalaxalaṭ ε.	xi'lixiliṭ ε. xal'a't ε.	to work round a little with one finger ditto, a few times, slowly.
ḍaṇ etas to make hard, to cook	ḍi'ṇ etas ḍa'ṇ mani bi	it has become a little hardened, slightly cooked.
laṣ etas lalaṣ ε.	li'ṣ etas lil'i'ṣ ε. la'ṣ ε.	to lick

bu'ṣi mamu še'astse at'a'ṣəya ba; salat la'ṣ etastse da'ṣəya ba.
I'm not worried at the cat's drinking the milk. I'm annoyed at its
(way of) slowly licking its moustache.

This may be said when a new man receives an official appointment:
"I am not concerned about Smith's taking bribes. I can't stand his putting on airs."

(There is uncertainty regarding the exact meaning of da'ṣəya ba. It was explained as meaning "I am afraid of". I have not, I think, met it elsewhere. It is probably related to a'ṣəya ba, "I regard as," "consider.")

ṣaq etas to comb	ṣiq ε. ṣiṣ'iq ε. ṣa'q ε. ṣaṣa'q ε.	to comb with short quick movements ditto, with long slow movements
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Examples of other vowel patterns are:—

lu'k etas to put a mouthful into one's mouth	li'k ε. lu'k ε.
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thi:l etas	thal ε.
to sprinkle or flick,	thi:l ε.
flour, sugar, etc.,	tha:l ε.
with the fingers	
şuk etas	ş'i'k ε. }
şuşuk ε. }	ş'iş'i'k ε. }
	şu:k ε. }
	şuşu:k ε. }
thər etas	thir ε.
thathər ε. }	thor ε.
to undo,	
untie	tho:r ε., thotho:r ε.
	tha:r ε.

tho:r and tha:r are polite words :

hayure gaşk tho:r ε. *Would you be so good as to take the trouble to undo the horse's rope*

tha:r εcam. *I'll undo it with pleasure ; it's no trouble*

la:ş etas	loş ε. }
to smear	lol'o:ş ε. }
plaster over	lu:ş ε. }
	lulu:ş ε. }

ga:l lu:ş manimi. *The wound re-opened (sloughed ?)*

This vowel-variation is applied in other cases besides the verbal compounds which have just been considered :—

ts.hile thi:şan	thi:şan	} a very little
a little water	th'Δşan	
	th'a:şan	
lukan a little	lu:kan	} a very little, rather little
	li:kan	
kaman a little	ka'man	} „ „
saŋ manimi	sīŋ manimi	
it became light, day	sa'ŋ	} first peep of dawn (?)
dawned	si:ŋ	
	sisa'ŋ	
ya:şki worthy	ya:şki	(so little worthy as to be) unworthy

Lengthening of the vowel in ordinary verbal forms introduces an element of doubt or uncertainty :—

Akhi s'enimi *he said so (in the ordinary, positive way)*

akhi s'ε'nimi *he said so (unemphatically, not clearly), or he said something to that effect, or the statement he made was doubtfully true.*

sena b'æyam *I had said. . . .*

s'ε'na bæyam *perhaps I had said (something like that)*

biṭan mowašča'n seiba'n (people) *say they are going to make the "biṭan" dance*

biṭan mowašča'n s'ε'iba'n. be' Yam (people) *say they are . . . , etc. But I don't know.*

akhi ε'tam *he had done so*

akhi 'ε:tam *he had perhaps done so*

In adjectives and nouns it reduces the original significance of the word :—

šo:n	<i>blind</i>	šo:n	<i>somewhat blind</i>
ʔāyū	<i>lame</i>	ʔāy'u'	<i>lamish</i>
ʔūt	<i>deaf</i>	ʔu:t	<i>deafish</i>
hum'al'kom	<i>quickly</i>	hum'a'l'kom	<i>a little quickly</i>
ʔal'is	<i>ill</i>	ʔali:s	<i>slightly indisposed</i>
jaṭan bæi	<i>he is old</i>	jaṭan bæi	<i>he is oldish</i>
gaṭ	<i>(knot), enmity, grudge</i>	ja ka gaṭ bila	<i>he has a slight enmity, grudge, against me.</i>

The use of these "joṭiṅ bəriṅ", "little words," received or improvised, may be applied to various practical ends. The following "true story" is related :—

Fifty Levies went to Chitrāl with Wazir Humāyūn Bīg. The men, by the time they had arrived at Drāsan, had become very hungry. They poured into the houses and gobbled up everything that came to hand. The people of Drāsan came to the Wazir and complained with tears : "Your Levies have emptied out all the flour in our houses and have left us nothing."

The Wazir was very angry and assembled the Levies and told them off. Then Khujunoy Deru, speaking all in "small words", made the Wazir laugh and turned away his wrath. He spoke on this wise : "O Wazir, may we be your sacrifice ! We went into the house of an old woman, and on looking we saw that there was a very little flour in a corner (of a sack or bin). Scraping it together we worked it round into dough and popped it into our mouths and so saved our lives."

This in ordinary language would run :—

Wa Wazi're n'azər! Mi buṭ ḡh'amine nimi'man hin jaṭ gos'anmo ha'lər nim'e'n bər'e'ye'n ke y'u'ki.anolo th'uran day'o'aṇ bitsum. I'ke ṭham ṭham ne, x'alaxal'aṭ ne, ḡaṇ ne, lu'k ne, ji d'espasuman.

What he actually said, no doubt in a small and pathetic voice, was :

"Wa Wizi're nazır! Mi buṭ ḡh'imine nimi'man, hin jaṭ gos'anmo ha'lər nimi'n, biri'an ke y'i'ki.anolo th'i'ran b'i'ṭid bitsum. I'ke ṭhi'm ṭhi'm ne, xi'lixili'ṭ ne, ḡi'ṇ ne, li'k ne, ji d'espasuman."

Zur Schrift und Sprache der Kharoṣṭhī-Dokumente

VON HEINRICH LÜDERS

DIE Ausgabe der von Sir Aurel Stein in Ostturkestan gefundenen Dokumente in Kharoṣṭhī-Schrift ist eine Leistung, die jedem, der sich mit ihr beschäftigt, ehrliche Bewunderung abnötigen muss. Allerdings wird es noch langer Arbeit bedürfen, ehe diese sprachlich wie sachlich gleich wichtigen Urkunden dem vollen Verständnis erschlossen sind. Vielleicht werden auch die folgenden Bemerkungen als ein kleiner Beitrag zu diesem Ende von Interesse sein.

Für *lpa*, bzw. *lpi*, werden in der Schrifttafel XIV unter Nr. 219–221 drei Zeichen gegeben. Von dem ersten wird S. 316 gesagt, dass es zweifelhaft wäre, ob es sich irgendwo in den Dokumenten fände, wenn auch *lpi* ähnlich geschrieben in *[ka]lpitaṃti* in 141 vorkomme. Da keine Reproduktion von 141 vorliegt, vermag ich über die Form des Buchstabens nichts zu sagen; Zweifel an der Lesung scheinen mir aber nicht ungerechtfertigt. Eine Form von der Wurzel *klp* kommt sonst nirgends in den Dokumenten vor, und das Täfelchen ist offenbar so stark beschädigt, dass sich der Inhalt der ersten Zeile, in der angeblich *[ka]lpitaṃti* steht, nicht feststellen lässt. Dies Zeichen muss daher unberücksichtigt bleiben.

Das zweite Zeichen erscheint nach den Herausgebern ohne den *i*-Strich in *alpa* 468, *silpa* 355, mit dem *i*-Strich in *silpiḡa* 217. Ausdrücklich wird auch im Index bemerkt, dass dieses Zeichen in 415 in dem Namen *lpaṅga* verwendet ist. Nach dem transkribierten Texte kommt es ausserdem in *alpa* 634, 764, *jalpiti* 255 (?), 399, *jalpidemi* 106, *jalpita* 524, 566, 594, 764, *jalpitaṃti* 413, 351, *jalpidavya* 358 vor.

Viel häufiger ist das dritte Zeichen, das in der Ausgabe mit *lpa* umschrieben ist.¹ Die Herausgeber haben S. 318 die Wahl dieser Umschrift näher begründet. Sie gehen von dem Zeichen 244 aus, das in der Ausgabe durch *spa* wiedergegeben ist. Nachträglich sind die Herausgeber aber zu der Überzeugung gekommen, dass das Zeichen besser durch *s̥va* umschrieben sein würde, wobei *é* als Repräsentant des labialen Halbvokals aufzufassen wäre. Dann heisst es weiter, dass derselbe Laut („the same sound“) häufig in Verbindung mit *l*, z.B. *lpi* (lies *lpa*) 221 und selten in Verbindung mit *s*, z.B. *spa* 238, erscheine.

¹ In der Tafel ist es durch ein Versehen mit *lpi* umschrieben; in dem Zeichen fehlt der *i*-Strich.

Allein das ist eine *petitio principii*; zunächst lässt sich doch nur sagen, dass das subskribierte Zeichen in Verbindung mit *s*, *ṣ* und *l* die gleiche Form hat. Allerdings darf nicht übersehen werden, dass das Zeichen, wie es unter 221 in der von Rapson gezeichneten Schrifttafel erscheint, keineswegs die typische Gestalt zeigt. Ich habe sämtliche in der Ausgabe und in Stein's *Ancient Khotan* veröffentlichten Reproduktionen von Dokumenten daraufhin durchgesehen und in keinem einzigen Falle die Form der Schrifttafel gefunden. Zunächst ist die Schleife an der linken Seite der Vertikale im allgemeinen schmaler als in der Zeichnung, bisweilen fehlt sie ganz, so in *lpipeya* 1, *lpipe* 17, *lpipeya* 20, *lpipe* 32 (sämtlich Tafel I). Sie ist also offenbar garnicht beabsichtigt, sondern entsteht rein zufällig, wenn die Feder vom Ende der Vertikale des *la* wieder hochgezogen wird, um den Haken zu bilden, und nicht genau der Vertikale folgt. Das ist aber nur eine kleine Verschiedenheit, auf die ich keinen Wert legen möchte. Wichtiger ist, dass der Haken in allen Fällen viel weiter heruntergezogen wird als in Rapson's Zeichnung und häufig noch einen Schwung nach links zeigt, der bisweilen an die Vertikale heranreicht; vgl. ausser den angeführten Beispielen *lpipeya* 164 (Taf. iii), *lpimsu* 164 (Taf. iii), *palpi* 165 Z. 7 (Taf. iii), *lpipanṣa* 571 (Taf. ix) usw. Dadurch gewinnt das Zeichen ein wesentlich anderes Aussehen als in der Schrifttafel. Das gleiche gilt aber auch für die durch *spa* und *ṣpa* umschriebenen Zeichen. Auch hier gibt die Zeichnung der Schrifttafel ein nicht ganz richtiges Bild, denn auch in diesen Ligaturen wird der Haken stets nach unten und meistens dann noch nach links gezogen; vgl. *spora* 165 Z. 7 (Taf. iii), *tamaspa* 571 (Taf. ix), 580 (Taf. x), 581 (Taf. x), *ariṣpa* 581 (Taf. x). Vom rein paläographischen Standpunkt aus würde sich also gegen die Auffassung der *l*-Verbindung als *lpa* oder *lva* kaum etwas einwenden lassen. In einer so kursiven Schrift, wie es die Kharoṣṭhī ist, besteht aber stets eine starke Neigung zur Anähnlichung ursprünglich verschiedener Formen, und meines Erachtens können daher insbesondere bei Ligaturen Schlüsse auf den Lautwert aus der äusseren Gestalt des Zeichens nur dann als gültig angesehen werden, wenn sie sich auch sprachlich rechtfertigen lassen. Das trifft aber in diesem Falle nicht zu; die Lesung der Ligatur als *lpa* oder *lva* scheint mir im Gegenteil zu sprachlich unmöglichen Formen zu führen.

Nun begegnet uns die Ligatur allerdings fast ausschliesslich in Fremdnamen, über deren sprachliche Form sich von vorneherein nichts sagen lässt. Glücklicherweise erscheint sie aber auch in ein

paar Wörtern, die aus dem Sanskrit stammen und daher einen Rückschluss auf den Lautwert des Zeichens ermöglichen, und bisweilen lässt sich ein solcher Schluss auch aus Doppelschreibungen von Fremdwörtern ziehen. In dem Vertreter von sk. *kalyāṇa* wird das *lya* meistens in der gewöhnlichen Form geschrieben, so in *kalyanakari mitra* 499, 612, und in den Namen *kalyanadhaṃa* 123, 560, 597, 601, 611, 618, gen. *kalyanadhaṃaṣa* 477, 619, 762, 763, und gen. *guna-kalyanaṣa* 311. In 605 aber lesen die Herausgeber *kalpanadhaṃa*, in 536 *kalpanadhaṃaṣa*, in 756 *gunakalpanaṣa*, in 175 den Namen *kalpana*.¹ Sie sehen es als zweifellos an, dass hier der Wechsel eines *v*-Lautes mit *y* vorliege, wie er auch sonst im Prakrit vorkommt. Dass unter gewissen Bedingungen, die sich, nebenbei bemerkt, viel genauer feststellen lassen als es bisher geschehen ist, *v* für *y* eintreten konnte, ist unbestreitbar; dass aber *kalyāṇa* jemals zu **kalvāṇa* geworden sein sollte, halte ich für ausgeschlossen; es fehlt dafür an jeder Parallele. Wenn das fragliche Zeichen für *lya* eintritt, so kann man daraus nur schliessen, dass es einen dem *lya* ähnlichen Lautwert haben muss, und da es im Grunde nur in Fremdwörtern erscheint, so wird es nicht einfach eine andere Schreibung für *lya* sein, sondern ein der Fremdsprache eigenes palatalisiertes *la*, das man gelegentlich auch in der Schreibung des Vertreters von sk. *kalyāṇa* verwendete. Da das subskribierte Zeichen in der Ligatur nach den obigen Darlegungen offenbar eine kursive Form des *ya* ist, so möchte ich vorschlagen, die Ligatur in Übereinstimmung mit der sonst von den Herausgebern gewählten Umschrift modifizierter Zeichen durch *lyā* wiederzugeben, obwohl ein mouilliertes *l* den Laut wohl genauer ausdrücken würde.

Anstatt des gewöhnlichen *lihita* 649, *lihida* 144, 328, 437, 652, *likhida* 331, 648, findet sich in 575 *lyihida* „geschrieben“. Da das Auftreten eines Labials zwischen dem *l* und dem *i* natürlich unerklärlich ist, sind die Herausgeber gezwungen, das von ihnen angenommene *lpihida* als einen Schreibfehler anzusehen. Sobald wir in dem Zeichen ein palatalisiertes *l* sehen, bietet sich eine viel weniger gewaltsame Erklärung dar. Es zeigt sich, dass das *lyā* seine Hauptstelle in Verbindung mit *i* in den nicht-indischen Namen hat. Im Index sind die mit *lyi* beginnenden Namen leicht zu übersehen. Es sind, wenn man von Varianten in der Schreibung absieht, von *lyipaae* bis *lyivrasmaṣa* nicht weniger als 23. Dazu kommen mit in- oder auslautendem *lyi*: [*kalýike*] 757, *kalýigeya* 495, *kalýigeyaṣa* 207,

¹ Ob in 351 *kal.na* zu *kalyana* oder *kolpana* herzustellen ist, ist ganz unsicher.

*kalyigeyena*¹ 207; *kalyita* 701; *kalyisa* 666; *kilyigamciyana* 164; *koljige* 93; *koljisa*, *koljisa* 8, 15, 29 usw., *koljisasa*, *koljisasa* 29, 110, 130 usw., *koljisasya* 159, *koljisena* 20, 53; *tsuljita* 74; *maljigeya*² 237, *maljigeyasa* 93, 277; *molyina* 131, 482, 581; *şulyita* 17; *aralyi*, *aralyiyasa* 573; *palyiya* 596; *pişaljiyami* 122; *alalyie* oder *amalyie* 406. Dieses massenhafte Auftreten des Zeichens vor dem *i*-Vokal liefert, wie mir scheint, die Bestätigung, dass es ein palatalisiertes *l* ausdrückt, und wenn das *lyi* gerade in den Fremdnamen so häufig ist, so dürfen wir daraus den Schluss ziehen, dass diese Neigung zur Palatalisierung in der Fremdsprache, was immer sie gewesen sein mag, ihren Ursprung hatte.

In den auf das Sanskrit zurückgehenden Wörtern wird im allgemeinen vor *i* das gewöhnliche *l* geschrieben, so in den zahlreichen Formen von *likh* (im Index von *likhami* bis *likhidu* und von *lihati* bis *lihyati*, in den abgeleiteten Formen von *nişkal*, *saṃkal* und *paripālay*, in denen auf die Stammsilbe ein *i* folgt (im Index *nikalitavo*, *nikalişyati* und von *nikhalita* bis *nikhalişyati*, von *saṃgalitağa* bis *saṃgalidavya*, von *paripalitavo* bis *paripalidavya*), ferner in *kaṃculi* 149, 318, *kaṃjulyiyasa* 343, *pipali* 702, *şilipataṃ* 511, *priyasali*³ 83, 140, *kaṃzavaliyana* 725,⁴ ebenso vor dem epenthetischen *i* in *muli*, *mulyami*, *mulyaṃmi*, *mulyena* (Index). Sicherlich stammt aus dem Sanskrit auch *vyālidavo* mit den Nebenformen *vyalidavo*, *vyalidavya*, *vyalitavya*, *vyalidato*, *vyalitavo*, *vyalidavya* (Index), ferner mit mehr oder minder Wahrscheinlichkeit *lişita* 52, *avalika* 575, *phalitağa* 214, *mahuli*⁵ 528, *chağali paşu* 613, *khulini* 349, und der Name *vişaliac*, *vişaliyae* 722.⁶ Auch in Lehnwörtern aus dem Iranischen wird immer *li* geschrieben, so in dem schon zur Aśoka-Zeit ins Indische aufgenommenen *livi* in *livivistarena*, *livistarena*, *livistaraṃmi* (Index), in *milima* (Index), das auf *μέλιμος* zurückgeht,⁷ aber ebenso wie *satera*, *drakhma* über das Iranische hinüber

¹ Text *k.lpije vini*.

² Text *malpiğeyo*.

³ Offenbar sk. *priyasyāla*; warum ist hier *i* im Auslaut eingetreten?

⁴ Der erste Bestandteil des Wortes ist natürlich iranisch.

⁵ *Mahuli* kann aber nicht, wie im Index angegeben, = sk. *mahilā* sein, da dies ein aus *ḍ* entstandenes *l* hat, das in der Sprache der Dokumente als *ḍ* erscheinen müsste; siehe Festschrift Wackernagel S. 306. Auch die Identifizierung mit pali *mahallikā* ist den Lauten und der Bedeutung nach nicht befriedigend.

⁶ *Dalimi* 496 ist, wie im Index vermutet wird, wohl Schreibfehler für *milimi*, ebenso *dilikā* 510 = sk. *titikā* für *didikā*. Unklar ist *halī* 83, *liveğa* 109, *paliyarnaga* (†) 318.

⁷ Thomas, Index.

übernommen ist, und wohl auch in *kalihari* 709, *kālihari* 399.¹ Es lässt sich natürlich nicht entscheiden, wie weit die Schreibungen in den echt indischen Wörtern die wirkliche Aussprache wiedergeben, wie weit sie historisch sind. Wenn aber, wie wir gesehen, die Neigung zur Palatalisierung des *l* vor *i* in der Fremdsprache bestand, so kann es nicht auffallen, wenn gelegentlich einmal ein *ljihida* erscheint.

Ein zweites Beispiel für *lji* anstatt *li* in einem Prakritworte liefert 162: *ghrita khi 3 atrami prehidama parupararivarṣi ghrita nasti śeṣa yo śeṣa hoati ahuṃno paṃcama varṣa sarva galyiti sarva gīḍa*. *Galyiti* ist unverständlich. Ziehen wir in Betracht, dass der Schreiber noch an zwei andern Stellen Silben ausgelassen hat — er schreibt *namake gya* für *namakero arogya* und *taṃkami* für *taṃkalammi* — so dürfen wir wohl annehmen, dass *galyiti* für *saṃgalyiti*, das Gerundium² von *saṃgal* (sk. *saṃkal*) verschrieben ist. *Samgal* wird häufig von dem Einsammeln von Korn und Wein, die als Steuer abzuliefern sind, gebraucht. Die Ausdrucksweise ist in dem ganzen Briefe nachlässig und unbeholfen; was der Schreiber sagen wollte, ist wohl: „3 *khi* Schmelzbutter haben wir dorthin (zu euch) geschickt. Von der vorjährigen und der vorvorjährigen Schmelzbutter ist nichts rückständig. Was rückständig gewesen ist, das ist jetzt im fünften Jahre alles eingesammelt und alles empfangen.“

Ebenso begreiflich wie das Auftreten des *lji* für *li* in indischen Wörtern ist umgekehrt aber auch die gelegentliche Schreibung *li* für *lji* in Fremdnamen; so in *lipe* 754 gegenüber dem ungemein häufigen *ljipe*, *ljipeya*; *livarazma* 43 neben *ljiparasma* 102, *ljivrasmaṣa* 83; *lipu* 80, 558; *malina*³ 409; *yalina* 754; *lalik*. 701; *tsuḡeli* 642; *tsuḡaliya* 170, *tsuḡaliyaṣa* 93; *suḡeli* 650; *yili* 62, 259, 288, 701, *yilika* 642, *yiliyaṣa* 288⁴; *ṣimoliya* 185; *koliyaṃmi* 152; *piṣaliyade* 64, 341, *piṣaliyaṃmi* 291, *piṣali* . . . 351 neben *piṣaljiyami* 122.⁵

Das *lji* findet sich nun aber nicht nur in Eigennamen, sondern

¹ Das Wort ist sicherlich im letzten Grunde eine Ableitung von sk. *kalahakāra* „Streit machend“, das als *kalahāraa* auch ins Sakische übernommen ist (Konow, *Saka Studies* 149). *Kalihari* könnte wieder aus dem Sakischen zurückentlehnt sein; das Auftreten des *i* bleibt in jedem Falle unerklärt. *Suliga* 661 „aus Suli stammend“ ist als Fremdwort anzusehen.

² Vgl. *vajiti* „gelesen habend“ in 152, 725, und 376, wo der Text *vajiti* bietet, *ṣruniti* 341.

³ Nicht ganz sicher, vielleicht *malena*; vgl. aber *molḡina* 131, 482, 581.

⁴ Ein anderer Versuch, den Namen zu schreiben, ist offenbar *yilga* 80.

⁵ Dass das *i* in dem mit *lji* beginnenden Namen sehr flüchtig gesprochen wurde, zeigt die schon erwähnte Schreibung *lpaṃga* 415 neben dem gewöhnlichen *ljipāṃga* 571 usw.

auch in Appellativen, von denen wenigstens eins seiner Bedeutung nach hinreichend klar ist, das ist *palji*. Die Überschrift des Täfelchens 207 lautet: [ajhi]yama aṅanaṃmi ś(e)ṣa palji, „der restliche *palji* in dem Dorfe Ajiyama.“¹ Es folgt eine allerdings nur sehr unvollständig erhaltene Liste von Personennamen im Genitiv, hinter denen die verschiedenartigsten Gegenstände genannt sind; offenbar sind es die Sachen, die jene Leute abzuliefern haben. Dann heisst es am Schluss zusammenfassend: p(i)ṃḍa śeṣa huda yaṃ ca navaḡa yaṃ ca poranaḡa ghrīda khi 10 4 4 asaṃ[kha] raḡiya² 1 koṣava 4 2 akiṣḍha 1 thavaṃnae 4 1 kamuṃta 10 4 2 goni 3 peḍa 3 paṣu 1 masu milima 1 khi 4 1 poṅgoṇena³ aṃna milima 10 4 go 1, „in summa ist der Rückstand gewesen, sowohl der neue als auch der alte: 18 khi Schmelzbutter, 1 asaṃkharajiya (?), 6 langhaarige Decken, 1 akiṣḍha-Decke, 5 Stück Tuch, 16 kamuṃta, 3 Säcke, 3 Körbe, 1 Schaf, 1 milima 5 khi Wein mit poṅgoṇa, 15 milima Korn, 1 Kuh.“ Mir scheint sich daraus deutlich zu ergeben, dass *palji* die Steuer ist, die das Dorf an das königliche Finanzamt abzuliefern hat. Dazu stimmen die Angaben in 714, einem Briefe des coḡbo Takra an vasa Opḡeya und Ngaca: ahuno eṣa tsuḡeta atra viṣajidemi ajiyama aṅanaṃmi palji dhaṃṣa praceya yahi adehi purviḡa ajiyama aṅanaṃmi palji ciṃtīdaḡa ghrīda paṣava koṣava arnavaḡi thavastae raḡi naṃmatae cāṃdri kaṃmamtaṃa aṃṇa maḡa oḡana croṇa aṃṇa suḷae kamaṃta⁴ yaṃ ca aṃṇa palji ṣarva ṣpura aḡeta ljiḡeya tsuḡetaṣa ca hastammi cavala iṣa viṣajidavo „jetzt habe ich Tsuḡeta dorthin (zu euch) geschickt wegen der gesetzlichen Steuer in dem Dorfe Ajiyama. Wie von dort früher die auf dem Dorf Ajiyama (liegende) Steuer festgesetzt ist, Schmelzbutter, Schafe, langhaarige Decken, arnavaḡi-Decken, Teppiche, raḡi, Filzdecken,

¹ Im Text steht [ajhi]yama und ś.ṣa. Ajiyama ist wahrscheinlich falsche Lesung, vielleicht Schreibfehler für ajiyama, das sechsmal in den Texten erscheint.

² So nach dem Index zu lesen.

³ Da die Zeichen für 1 und na sich sehr ähnlich sehen, ist sicherlich statt des im Texte stehenden poṅgoṇe 1 poṅgoṇena zu lesen; vgl. poṅgoṇena milima 1 masu in 574 (dreimal), masu poṅgoṇena parvatammi milima 1 khi 4, masu khi 4 poṅgoṇena, khi 4 masu giḷa poṅgoṇena, masu prahuḷa preṣidavya khi 3 poṅgoṇena, masu poṅgoṇena khi 3 prahuḷa anitama, masu nikhastā milima 1 khi 4 poṅgoṇena, masu poṅgoṇena khi 10 2 anitamti in 637. Poṅgoṇa ist offenbar eine Weiterbildung von poṅḡa, das in 225, wiederum in Verbindung mit masu erscheint; iṣa pir.ci ginidemi masu poṅḡa 2. Der in der Ausgabe S. 314, Anm. 2 vermutete Zusammenhang von poṅḡa mit dem Namen poṇiḡa besteht auf keinen Fall, auch mit poṅka (oder proṭsa) in 317 hängt das Wort kaum zusammen. Poṅḡa scheint ein bestimmter Behälter für Wein zu sein, poṅgoṇa ist vielleicht alles was zur Aufbewahrung des Weins in einem solchen gehört; das Suffix erinnert auffällig an das sakische Suffix -aṇa, -auṇa.

⁴ Ausgabe: suḷa ekamaṃta.

cāṃdri kaṃmaṃtana,¹ ferner *maḱa, oḡana, croṃa*, ferner *suḱae kaṃaṃta*, und was es sonst an Steuern gibt, alles das ist vollständig in der Obhut des *aḡeta Lȳipeya* und des *Tsuḡeta* schleunigst hierher zu schicken.“ Auf diese Steuerabgabe von *Ajiyama* geht ferner 275: *yahi purvika adehi ajiyama āvanammi samvatsari palȳi cīmtitaḡa viṣati matra varṣa hutamti eda palȳi atremi achimnidetha yahi eda kilamudra atra eṣati praṭha eda palȳi imade pravaṃnaḡa prahidama tena pravaṃnaḡena eda palȳi cavala lepata yatma aḡetaṣa ca cavala sarva sṡara — iṣa viṣajidavo*, „wie früher vor dort (bei euch) die jährliche auf dem Dorf *Ajiyama* (liegende) Steuer vor zwanzig Jahren² festgesetzt ist, diese Steuer habt ihr gerade dort ausgesetzt. Wenn dieser Keilbrief dort ankommen wird, . . . diese Steuer.³ Wir haben von hier eine Anweisung geschickt. Auf diese Anweisung hin ist diese Steuer schleunigst (in der Obhut)⁴ von *Lepata* und des *yatma aḡeta* schleunigst ganz und vollständig hierher zu senden.“

Eine Reihe von Dokumenten betrifft den *palȳi* in dem Dorfe *Peta*. 165 ist ein Brief des *oḡu Kirtiṣaṃa* an den *cozbo Kranaya* und den *ṣoṭhaṃḡa Lȳipeya*. Nach den einleitenden Floskeln schreibt er: *avi peta āvanammi palȳi paruvārṣi ṣeṣa yaṃ ca imavarṣi palȳi taha sarva sṡora toṃmihi ṣadha iṣa viṣajidavo yati tade purima paḱima viṣajīṣyatu paṃṭhaṃmi paraṣa bhaviṣyati tuo ṣoṭhaṃḡa lȳipeya tanu goṭhade vyōṣiṣaṣi*, „weiter: der Rest der vorjährigen auf dem Dorfe *Peta* (liegenden) Steuer und was die diesjährige Steuer ist, sind ganz und vollständig sofort zusammen hierher zu schicken. Wenn davon (etwas) vorher (und etwas) nachher geschickt werden sollte (und) es unterwegs geraubt werden wird, so wirst du, der *ṣoṭhaṃḡa Lȳipeya*, (es) aus der eigenen Farm bezahlen.“ Es folgen Bemerkungen über den Ankauf von Schmelzbutter und die Mahnung, den *palȳi* der *veḡa kilmi* Frauen, der in Korn besteht,⁵ vollständig zu schicken. Dann

¹ *Cāṃdri kaṃaṃta* auch 272, vielleicht Silber-Arbeiten. Das *na* hinter *kaṃmaṃta* weis ich nicht zu erklären.

² Die Worte *viṣatimatra varṣa hutamti* sind doch eher zu *cīmtitaḡa* zu ziehen als zu *achimnidetha*, da nicht anzunehmen ist, dass das Dorf zwanzig Jahre lang keine Steuer entrichtet haben sollte.

³ Hinter *palȳi* scheint etwas ausgelassen zu sein.

⁴ Hinter *aḡetaṣa ca* ist wohl *hastammi* weggefallen. Auch die Wiederholung von *cavala* beweist, dass der Brief nachlässig geschrieben ist.

⁵ Von dem *veḡa kilmi striyana palȳi* wird auch in 211 gesprochen: *beḡa kilme striyana palȳi na anīṣyamti*, und weiter in 714: *avi beḡa kilme striyana palȳi sṡura pruchidavo*. Von dem *veḡa kilme dhāna*, von dem auch die Entrichtung des *palȳi* abhängt, ist in 481 die Rede. Der Ausdruck *veḡa kilme* erfordert eine besondere Untersuchung.

fährt der Schreiber fort: *avi palji uta teneva sadha isa visajitavo ma inci tomgana paride uta vithisyatu tassa uta praceya raya saksi lihidaḡa kridaḡa livistarammi anatilekha atra gada tahi cozbo kranayaḡa lihami eda karyami tuo cita kartavya eṣa lyipeya na cita kareti*, „auch das Steuer-Kamel ist mit diesem zusammen hierher zu schicken. Auf keinen Fall soll seitens der *tomgas* (die Sendung des) Kamel(s) verzögert werden. In betreff dieses Kamels ist ein Königszeugen-Dokument angefertigt worden. In ausführlicher Darstellung ist ein Befehlsschreiben dorthin (zu euch) abgegangen. Ich schreibe dir, dem *cozbo* Kranaya. Um diese Angelegenheit mußt du dich kümmern. Dieser *Lyipeya* kümmert sich nicht (darum).“ Das Steuer-Kamel ist offenbar eine Zusatzsteuer für das Dorf Peta. Die Angabe, dass in betreff dieses Kamels ein *raya saksi lihidaḡa* gemacht ist, lässt darauf schliessen, dass über die Verpflichtung, dieses Kamel zu liefern, zwischen der königlichen Regierung und den örtlichen Behörden Meinungsverschiedenheiten bestanden. Das „Königszeugen-Dokument“ wird doch wahrscheinlich ein Dokument sein, in dem die Aussagen von Zeugen zu gunsten der königlichen Ansprüche protokolliert waren.

Wenn uns auch der in 165 erwähnte *anatilekha* nicht erhalten ist, so haben wir doch in 42 einen *kilamudra*, in dem praktisch dieselbe Forderung gestellt wird: *yahi purvika adehi peta avanammi samvatsari palji cinditaḡa paravarṣi palji sugnutana anada picavida yahi eda kilamudra atra eṣati pratha eda palji[ya] praceya vasu lyipeya [pra]. .davo sarca spara cavala agita samgapeyaḡa hastami isa visajidavo yahi purvika adehi peta avanammi samvatsari palji uta cinditaḡa se uta na vrdhaḡa na krisaḡa siyati teneva paljiyena sadha uta isa visajidavo seṣa palji syati spara visajidavo grida palji purva cavala prahadavo*, „wie früher von dort (bei euch) die jährliche auf dem Dorfe Peta liegende Steuer festgesetzt ist, (in der Höhe) ist die vorjährige Steuer dem *Sugnuta* . . .¹ zu übergeben. Wenn dieser Keilbrief dort (bei euch) ankommen wird, . . . ist wegen dieser Steuer der *vasu Lyipeya* zu befragen (?).² Sie ist ganz und vollständig schleunigst in der Obhut des *agita Samgapeya* hierher zu schicken. Wie früher ist von dort (bei euch) als eine jährliche auf dem Dorfe Peta (liegende) Steuer ein Kamel festgesetzt. Sollte dies Kamel nicht alt (und) nicht mager

¹ Der Plural *sugnutana* ist auffällig. *Anada* verstehe ich in diesem Zusammenhange nicht.

² Die in der Ausgabe vorgeschlagene Ergänzung zu *prochidavo* ist nicht ganz sicher.

sein, so ist das Kamel zusammen mit jener Steuer hierher zu schicken. Sollte ein Steuerrest sein, so ist er vollständig zu schicken. Die Schmelzbuttersteuer ist schleunigst zuerst zu senden.“

Wahrscheinlich bestand die Verpflichtung jährlich ein Kamel als Steuer zu liefern auch für andere Dörfer. In dem königlichen Briefe 70, der nach der Aufschrift *traṣa āvanammi* eine Angelegenheit des Dorfes Trasa betrifft, lesen wir: *yahi purvika adehi malbhayaṣa vaṃti*¹ *cauravarṣi paḷi viṭhidaḡa vuḡacaṣa*² *vaṃti caura uṭa viṭhidaḡa yahi eḍa kilamudra atra eṣati praṭha eḍa paḷi keti viṭhidaḡa syati dhaciyaṣa hastami iṣa viṣajidavo* „die wie früher von dort (bei euch festgesetzte) Steuer ist vier Jahre lang bei Malbhaya zurückgehalten worden. Bei Vuḡaca sind vier Kamele zurückgehalten worden. Wenn dieser Keilbrief dort (bei euch) ankommen wird, . . . ist diese Steuer, soviel (davon) zurückgehalten sein sollte, in der Obhut Dhaciyas hierher zu schicken.“ Es liegt jedenfalls die Vermutung nahe, dass die Zurückhaltung der vier Kamele mit der vier Jahre langen Zurückhaltung der Steuer in Zusammenhang steht.

Ich habe *paḷijidhama* oben in 714 durch „gesetzliche Steuer“ wiedergegeben; der Ausdruck scheint dem *deyyādhama* nachgebildet zu sein, das im Pali im Sinne von religiöser Gabe verwendet wird. Dass *paḷijidhama* jedenfalls die konkrete Steuer bezeichnet, geht deutlich aus 164 hervor, einem Privatbriefe des Līmsu an seinen Vater, den *cozbo Līipeya*, wo von der Einsammlung und Absendung des *paḷijidhama* die Rede ist: *avi ca ahono iṣa peta āvanemciye paḷijidhama prace sutha viheḍemti paravarṣi paḡo pake paḷi kiḍa avi kilīgaṃciyana paḷi prace viheḍemti yati eṭa lekha atra eṣati cavala paḷijidhama iṣa visarjīdavya yo puna aṃṇa adehi rajade samarena tsamghina kvemaṃdhina paḷijidhama iṣa mama prochaṃti avaṣa cavala samghalīdavya iṣa prahadavya avi ca avaṣa paḡo iṣa visarjīdavya*, „und ferner: Jetzt drängen sie hier³ die Einwohner des Dorfes Peta sehr wegen der gesetzlichen Steuer. Für das vorige Jahr hat Paḡo die *pake*-Steuer entrichtet. Auch wegen der Steuer der Kilīgaṃciyas drängen sie. Wenn dieser Brief dort (bei euch) eintreffen wird, ist schleunigst die gesetzliche Steuer hierher zu schicken. Da sie hier ferner die andere von dort, von der Provinz (zu entrichtende) gesetzliche *samarena*-, *tsamghina*-, *kvemaṃdhina*-Steuer von mir fordern, so ist sie auf jeden Fall

¹ Text hier und nachher *aṃti*.

² Text *vaḡacasa*.

³ Der Brief scheint aus der Hauptstadt geschrieben zu sein.

schleunigst einzusammeln (und) hierher zu senden. Auch ist auf jeden Fall Puḡo hierher zu schicken.“ Auch in 211, einem Privatbrief, kann *paljīdhaṃa* nur etwas wie „gesetzliche Steuer“ bedeuten: *tanu goṭhade paljīdhaṃa achinaṣi amñeṣa paljī na praḡaḷa nikhaleṣi — tuo atra triti mahatva ṣi avaḡaḷena imade hemaṃtammi paljī praceya lekha viṣaji(de)mi triti bhagade eka bhaga na paljī iṣa viṣajideṣi yati ahuno bhuya eda paljī na spora iṣa aniṣyamti nacirena tuo ima varṣa vasammi iṣa agamiṣyaṣi*, „die gesetzliche Steuer von dem eigenen Gute enthältst du vor, die Steuer der andern gibst du nicht offen heraus. . . . Du bist dort der dritte hohe Beamte. Bei Gelegenheit habe ich von hier im Winter wegen der Steuer einen Brief geschickt; du hast die Steuer auch nicht zu einem Teil vom dritten Teil ¹ hierher geschickt. Wenn sie jetzt fernerhin diese Steuer nicht schleunigst hierher bringen, wirst du in kurzem in diesem *varṣavasa* hierher kommen.“ Dass zwischen *paljīdhaṃa* und dem einfachen *paljī* kaum zu scheiden ist, zeigt auch der Vergleich von 714 *paljīdhamāṣa pricha hoti*, „es findet Einforderung der gesetzlichen Steuer statt“, mit 725 *avi kamzavaliyana paljīyasa anada pricha ganana kartavo spura iṣa viṣajidāvo*, „auch ist die . . . Einforderung und Zählung der Steuer von Dingen, die an die Schatzbeamten zu liefern sind, zu machen (und sie) ist vollständig hierher zu schicken“.

Von *paljī* ist in den Dokumenten noch öfter die Rede, ich kann hier aber nicht auf die verschiedenen Arten des *paljī* eingehen, da dafür zunächst die Bedeutung von Ausdrücken wie *kilmeciya*, *samarena* (?), *tsaṃgina*, *koyimaṃdhina* usw. klargestellt werden müsste. Auch das Verhältnis, von *paljī* zu *harga* und *ṣuka* soll hier nicht behandelt werden. Schon aus dem Angeführten scheint mir zur Genüge hervorzugehen, dass *paljī* die von einzelnen Personen wie von der Provinz, dem Dorf und anderen staatlichen Verbänden an die königliche Regierung in Naturalien zu entrichtende Steuer ist. Höchstens in 450 könnte an eine Abgabe an eine Privatperson gedacht werden. Da schreibt Lyipana an ein Ehepaar, Kroae und Luḡaya, nach den einleitenden Floskeln: *avi ca vasamtammi atra kriṣivatra karaṃmae ma imci avakāṣa kariṣyatu ahuno caturtha varṣa huda mahi paljī achinaṣi yo tahi atra goṭha bhumakṣitra taha vikrinamṃae parihara*

¹ *Triti bhagade eka bhaga* scheint ein idiomatischer Ausdruck für „wenig“ zu sein. Ein ähnlicher Ausdruck findet sich in dem gleichen Zusammenhang in 315: *yatha purvika adehi tsaṃgina paljī cindidaḡa taha ardḡade ardha na aneṃti iṣa bahu dharaṃnaḡa huanṭi*, „Wie früher ist von dort die *tsaṃgina*-Steuer festgesetzt. Sie bringen nicht die Hälfte von der Hälfte. Sie sind hier viel schuldig.“

*oḍidemi tahi samadue bharyae putra dhidarehi iśa agamḍavo iśa kriṣivatra kartavo mahi palji sudha rotamṇa avi curamā ṣa*¹ *iśa anidavo amṇa palji mahi na kicamaḡa*, „und ferner: im Frühjahr soll keineswegs Erlaubnis gegeben werden, dort (bei euch) das Land zu bestellen. Jetzt ist es das vierte Jahr gewesen, dass du mir die Steuer (oder meine Steuer) vorenthältst. (Was) die Kuhfarm (betrifft und) das Ackerland, die du dort hast, so habe ich (dir) freigestellt (sie) zu verkaufen. Du musst mit deiner Mutter, deiner Frau und deinen Söhnen und Töchtern hierher kommen. Hier ist das Land zu bestellen. Mir ist als Steuer nur Krapp² und auch *curamā* hierher zu schicken, andere Steuer brauche ich nicht.“ Es ist aber sehr wohl möglich, dass auch hier *palji* in dem gewöhnlichen Sinne gemeint ist, indem *Lýipana* die zu liefernden Dinge als *palji* bezeichnet, weil er sie selbst an das königliche Steueramt abzuliefern hat; jedenfalls haben Krapp und *curamā*, öfter *curoṃa*, *croṃa*, einen Platz in den königlichen Steuerlisten; siehe 357, 387, 714 usw.

Mit der richtigen Lesung und der Feststellung der Bedeutung scheint mir auch die Ableitung von *palji* gegeben zu sein: es wird nichts weiter sein als sk. *bali*, „Steuer, Abgabe“. Da in den Dokumenten öfter eine anlautende Media durch die Tenuis wiedergegeben wird,³ macht die Identifizierung von *palji* und *bali* im Grunde keine Schwierigkeit. Jene Schreibungen treten aber doch immer nur sporadisch auf, während in *palji* das *p* ebenso ausnahmslos erscheint wie das *lj*. Das lässt doch darauf schliessen, dass man sich des indischen Ursprungs des Wortes nicht mehr bewusst war, und ich möchte es nicht für unmöglich halten, dass *bali* in der bereits zu *palji* veränderten Gestalt aus einer Sprache wie etwa dem Tocharischen, wo *b* zu *p* werden musste und wahrscheinlich auch das *l* vor *i* palatalisiert wurde, entlehnt worden ist.

Das zweite Wort, in dem ein *lj* vor *i* erscheint, ist *vyalji*, das offenbar mit *vyala* oder *viyala* zusammenhängt, da beide Beiwörter von *uṭa* „Kamel“, sind.⁴ In 437 wird beurkundet, dass Koppala und sein Sohn Suḡiya ein *kuḷi* Mädchen für 45 verkauft haben. Die

¹ Text *curamāḡa*.

² So nach Burrow, *BSOS.* 7, 787.

³ Z.B. *kañi draṃḡammi, tamḡa, tita, tivage, tivira, toṣa, trakhma, tramḡhami, triṭha, poḡa* usw.

⁴ In 703 wird *viyala* ohne deutliche Beziehung auf ein Kamel gebraucht: *iśa śramamṇa anamḡasenasya viyala krita atra gachanae*, es hindert aber nichts auch hier zu übersetzen: „hier hat er ein *viyala*-Kamel des *śramana* Anamḡasena gekauft, um dorthin zu gehen“.

Käufer haben aber nicht die ganze Summe gezahlt: *taha eta kōmpala suḡiya ṣa ca ducapariṣa muliyami viyala uta 1 paḍichitaṃti tade ṣeṣa muli 3 viṭhitaḡa huati*, „dieser Kōmpala und Suḡiya haben ein *viyala*-Kamel im Werte von 42 erhalten; der von dieser (Kaufsumme verbleibende) Rest im Werte von 3 ist vorläufig nicht bezahlt worden.“ 590 ist ein Kaufvertrag über eine Frau *Lýipaae*. Ein gewisser *Śāṃcā* hat sie an den Schreiber *Ramṣoṅka* verkauft: *tivira ramṣoṅkasa paride stri lýipaae muli śāṃcā ḡiḷa eka uta viyala capariṣa muliyena paḍichita bhiti uta akra triṣa muliyena tavastaḡa 1 hasta 10 2 bhiti tavastaḡa hasta 10 1 aṃṇa sutra muli ḡiḷa 4 4 ṣarva piṃḍa muli hoti 20 20 20 20 10 4 4*, „von dem Schreiber *Ramṣoṅka* hat *Śāṃcā* als Preis der Frau *Lýipaae* erhalten: ein *viyala*-Kamel im Werte von 40, ein zweites Kamel, (nämlich ein) *akra* (!), im Werte von 30, einen 12 Ellen langen Teppich, einen zweiten 11 Ellen langen Teppich. Ferner hat er als *sutra*-Preis 8 erhalten. Der ganze Kaufpreis beträgt in summa 98.“ Ich bin überzeugt, dass das unverständliche *akra* nur ein Schreiberversehen für *akratsa* oder *aṃkratsa* ist, das in den Dokumenten öfter als Beiwort von *uta* auftritt. In 569 wird als Zahlung für ein Ziehkind ein *akratsa*-Kamel angegeben (*kuṭṭhakṣiraṣa uta akratsa dītaḡa*). Nach 195 haben eine Anzahl von Leuten, die gemeinsam ein Opfer veranstaltet haben, von *vasu Opḡeya* ein *aṃkratsa*-Kamel für dieses Opfer geholt (*vasu opḡeyaṣa paride uta 1 aṃkratsa yaṃṇami nitaṃti*). 330 ist eine Urkunde in betreff von *akratsa*-Kamelen (*akratsa utaṇa prace*), in 383, einer Aufstellung der lebenden und der toten Kamele der königlichen Stuterei, wird auch ein *aṃkratsa* erwähnt, ebenso in der durch Bruch verstümmelten Tafel 428 (*uta akra . . .*) und in 163, wo der Zusammenhang nicht klar ist. Den Beweis für die Richtigkeit der Verbesserung von *akra* zu *akratsa* scheint mir vor allem 592 zu liefern. Es ist ein Vertrag zwischen *Pulnaṃto* und dem Schreiber *Ramṣoṅka* über den Kauf eines *kuṭṭi*-Mädchens. Der Preis, den *Pulnaṃto* empfängt, ist auf ein *akratsa*-Kamel und eine *Khotan*-Decke festgesetzt, wobei das *akratsa*-Kamel genau so wie in 590 mit 30 bewertet wird (*muli uta 1 akratsa triṣa muliyena pulnaṃto paḍichida aṃṇa aṅḡa muli khotani koḡava 1*). Vergleicht man die Preisangaben in 437, 590 und 592, so ergibt sich, dass ein *viyala*-Kamel um ein Drittel teurer war als ein *aṃkratsa*-Kamel und zum teil noch höher bewertet wurde.

Anderseits ist ein *viyala*-Kamel etwas weniger wert als eine vierjährige Kamelstute, wie 420 zeigt: *korara kaṃḡaka ari-ṣaraspaṣa viyala uta 1 dharanaḡa huati yaṃ kala ari-ṣaraspa ichita maramṇaya*

*taṃ kalammi ari-śaraspa kamjake śvasu śariyae hastammi krita uta pruchaṇṇae ahuno kamjaka uthita śariya śrivaṇṇaśa ca catuvarṣi uti 1 vyosita tena kamraṇṇa utvaravarṣi dītaḡa prace puṇḡetsa*¹ 1 arohaḡa muli 4 2 kamjaka patama nita, „korara Kamjaka war Ehrwürden Śaraspa ein *vyala*-Kamel schuldig. Als Ehrwürden Śaraspa sterben wollte, da hat Ehrwürden Śaraspa es in die Hand (seiner) Schwester Śariyae gelegt, das Kamel bei Kamjaka einzufordern. Jetzt ist Kamjaka vor Gericht erschienen. Er hat eine vierjährige Kamelstute an Śariyae und Śrivaṇṇa ausgeliefert. Aus diesem Grunde, weil er ein im besseren² Alter stehendes (Tier) gegeben hat, hat Kamjaka ein *puṇḡetsa* als den übersteigenden Preis von 6 wieder herausbekommen.“

Ein *puṇḡetsa* muss wiederum eine Art von Kamel sein. In 561 heisst es, dass nach dem Urteilsspruch des Richters in einer Diebstahlsangelegenheit: *jimoyasa dazasya paride amkratsa puṇḡetsa odarasya ca nidavya huati*. Ich kann dem Text einen Sinn allerdings nur abgewinnen, wenn statt *odarasya ca* vielmehr *odara sa ca* zu lesen ist: „von dem Sklaven Jimoya waren ein *amkratsa*, ein *puṇḡetsa* (und) ein *odara* wegzuholen.“ Das ist nicht geschehen: *puṇḡetsa odara atremi vithidaē*, „der *puṇḡetsa* (und) der *odara* sind dort (bei euch) zurückgehalten worden“. Um einen ähnlichen Fall handelt es sich in 359. Da klagt eine Person, deren Name verloren ist, dass ihm im königlichen Gerichte durch Gerichtsbeschluss zwei *puṇḡetsa*-Kamele als Busse von seiten des Pḡina zugesprochen seien. Von denen sei ein Kamel gegeben worden, das zweite Kamel sei nicht gegeben worden: *pḡinaśa paride puṇḡetsa uta 2 vyochimnidae tade eka uta dīta bitī uta na denati*. In 401 handelt es sich um einen Streit um die Miete für ein Kamel; als Miete für dieses Kamel war ein *puṇḡetsa* zu liefern: *eda utaśa parikre puṇḡetsa nidavo*. 526 berichtet von der Aussage eines gewissen Suḡnuta: *suḡnuta viṃṇāveti yatha edaśa kuhaniyaṃmi kalu kuṇaya aṃṇa ḡiḡa puṇḡetsa uṇa eda uta na viśajesi*, „Suḡnuta zeigt an, dass *kalu Kuṇaya* in *Kuhaniya* von ihm Korn für ein *puṇḡetsa*-Kamel gekauft hat. Dieses Kamel schickst du nicht.³ Mit derselben Sache beschäftigt sich noch ausführlicher der Brief 530: *ahuno iśa suḡnuta viṃṇāveti yatha edaśa kuṇayena aṃṇa ḡiḡa*

¹ Text hier und stets *puṇḡebha* mit *puṇḡetsa* in der Note. Ich halte *puṇḡetsa* im Hinblick auf *amkratsa* für die wahrscheinlichere Lesung.

² Ich nehme an, dass *utvara* für *uttara* steht.

³ Es ist nicht klar, wer der Angeredete ist. Hinter *na* ist ein Stück von der Tafel abgebrochen und daher vielleicht etwas von dem Texte weggefallen.

iśa kuhaniyaṃmi milima 3 puṇḡetsa uṭa muli abhisamitaṃti tade uvadae bahu varṣa hutamti na denati, „jetzt zeigt Sugnuta hier an, dass Kuṇaya hier in Kuhaniya von ihm 3 *milima* Korn gekauft hat. Sie haben sich über ein *puṇḡetsa*-Kamel als Preis geeinigt. Seitdem sind viele Jahre vergangen, es ist nicht gegeben worden“. Es muss auffallen, dass ein so geringer Wert wie 3 *milima* Korn hier einem Kamel gleichgesetzt sind, aber es steht damit im Einklang, dass in 420 ein *puṇḡetsa*-Kamel auch nur mit 6 bewertet ist. Wir können daraus den Schluss ziehen, dass *puṇḡetsa* der Ausdruck für ein ganz junges Kamel ist, und dafür spricht auch eine weitere Bemerkung in 530. Nachdem dort befohlen ist, die Sache zu untersuchen, heisst es: *bhudartha eva haṅṣati uṭa varṣaḡa naciṃti dadavo*¹ *athava aṃṇa ayoḡena dadavo*, „sollte es sich in Wahrheit so verhalten, so ist ein jähriges Kamel . . . zu geben² oder es ist Korn mit Zinsen zu geben.“ Da das jährige Kamel bestimmt ist, auch den Schaden zu ersetzen, der durch die jahrelange Nichtbezahlung des *puṇḡetsa* entstanden ist, so muss es mehr wert sein als ein *puṇḡetsa*.³

Wir können also gewissermassen eine Preisliste für Kamele aufstellen: 1) *catuvarṣi uṭi* 46–48; 2) *viyala* 40–42; 3) *aṃkratsa* 30; 4) *varṣaḡa*; 5) *puṇḡetsa* 3 *milima*–6.⁴ Da ferner gesagt ist, dass ein *viyala*-Kamel an Jahren hinter einer vierjährigen Stute und ebenso ein *puṇḡetsa* hinter einem jährigen Kamel zurückstehe, so wird es wahrscheinlich, dass die drei unbekannten Ausdrücke *viyala*, *aṃkratsa* und *puṇḡetsa* sich auf verschiedene Altersklassen beziehen. Ich möchte auch annehmen, dass *viyala* ebenso wie sicherlich *aṃkratsa* und *puṇḡetsa* aus der Fremdsprache stammen, über deren Natur wir vorläufig nichts wissen. Jedenfalls kann ich der S. 318 geäusserten Ansicht der Herausgeber, dass *vyala*, *viyala* mit sk. *vyāḍa*, *vyāla*, zusammenhänge, nicht beipflichten. Dagegen spricht die Bedeutung, denn das Sanskrit Wort dient im allgemeinen nur zur Bezeichnung von Raubtieren und Schlangen, und wenn es im Sinne von „tückisch, boshaft“ auch von einem Elefanten gebraucht wird, so kann, wie der Zusammenhang zeigt, in den Dokumenten doch unmöglich von

¹ Text *varṣaḡana cīṃtidadavo*, mit der Bemerkung, dass für *cīṃ* auch *rei*, *dhiṃ* oder *rdhi* gelesen werden kann.

² *Naciṃti* oder, wie die Silben sonst zu lesen sind, verstehe ich nicht. Möglich ist es natürlich auch, dass *varṣaḡana* zusammengehört und ein *cīṃti* (?) von den jährigen gemeint ist.

³ Die in 383 dreimal wiederkehrenden Worte *taya* (*tayā*) *dhitu puṇḡetsa* verstehe ich nicht.

⁴ Es kommen aber auch abweichende Preisangaben vor. So wird in 571 von einem zweijährigen Kamel, das 50 wert war, gesprochen (*uṭa 1 duvarṣaḡa paṃcaśa muliyena*).

„tückischen“ Kamelen die Rede sein. Ausserdem könnte *vyāḍa*, *vyāla* in dem Prakrit der Dokumente nur als **vyāḍa*, **viyāḍa* erscheinen, da hier altes *ḍ* niemals als *l* auftritt.

Zu *vyala* gehört nun als Femininum *vyalyī*, das sich in 594 und 546 findet. Der Text von 594 ist ganz fragmentarisch. Nach dem Satze *avi vasaṃtaṃmi uṭaṣa karaṃna tahi vaṃti jalpita*, „ferner: im Frühjahr hat er mit dir wegen des Kameles gesprochen“, sind nur noch die Worte erhalten: *avaṣa ah(u)no i[cha] vuta viyalyī*, aus denen sich nicht viel entnehmen lässt, zumal anstatt *icha* auch *iṣa* oder *iḍha* gelesen werden kann. Nur soviel ist klar, dass *vyalyī* sich auf ein Kamel bezieht. Leider ergibt sich auch aus 546 nicht viel mehr. Der *śramaṇa* Dhaṃapriya schreibt: *mahi uṭi dvi vyalyī 1 vuḍeyasa goṭhadarana paride niyidavo huati*, „ich hatte von den Leuten auf der Kuhfarm des Vuḍeya zwei Kamele, eine *vyalyī* zu holen.“ Im folgenden ist aber immer nur von einer Kamelstute (*uṭi*), die Dhaṃapriya von dem Sohne des Vuḍeya erhalten hat, die Rede, und es lässt sich nicht entscheiden, ob damit eine der beiden nicht näher bezeichneten Stuten oder die *vyalyī* gemeint ist. Wahrscheinlich findet sich *vyalyī* ein drittes Mal in 341: *avi ca atra rayaka khula uṭa yo trevarṣa yaṃ ca tade a[thavarṣ.] . . [ḡa] ede uṭa ṣoṭhaṃga kolīsa calmasaṣa ca hastami iṣa viṣajidavo ekadaṣi masasya daṣaṃmi pisali-(yaṃmi) saṃḡa(hidavo)*¹ — *hotu yo [nu da vyalyā vyala] uṭae na*² *iṃci iṣa viṣajidavo pisaliyade prathama [. .] iṣa viṃṇatilekha prahadavo ede śruniti pisaliyade iṣa viṣaji(da)vo*.³ Statt *vyalyā vyala* wird *vyalyī vyala* zu lesen sein: „und ferner: Die Kamele des königlichen Gestütes dort (bei euch), die dreijährigen und die in höheren Jahren sind (?)“³ als diese, diese Kamele sind in der Obhut des *ṣoṭhaṃga* Kolīsa und des Calmasa hierher zu schicken. Sie sind am zehnten des elften Monats in Pisaliya zu sammeln.⁴ . . . die *vyalyī* und *vyala* Kamele sind keineswegs hierher zu schicken. Von Pisaliya ist zuerst ein Brief mit der Anzeige hierher zu senden. Diese (Kamele) sind (erst), nachdem man (die Antwort) gehört hat, von Pisaliya hierher zu schicken.“ Bei der Unsicherheit der Textüberlieferung lässt sich vorläufig auch aus dieser Stelle kaum etwas Genaueres über *vyalyī* erschliessen.

Das Auftreten des *ly* ist nicht auf die Stellung vor *i* beschränkt;

¹ Die Ergänzungen stammen von mir.

² Text *uṭa e na*.

³ *Athavarṣ* . . . *ḡa* ist unsicher. Das *tade* lässt darauf schliessen, dass ein Wort mit komparativer Bedeutung wie etwa **ajhivarṣaḡa* oder **utaravarṣaḡa* folgte.

⁴ Die auf eine Lücke folgenden Worte *hotu yo nu da* verstehe ich nicht.

lŷ findet sich auch vor *a*, *e* und *o*, und zwar wiederum am häufigsten in Fremdnamen: *alyaya* 9, 370, 575, 709, *alyayaṣa*, *alyayena* 214; *alyaṣena* 684; *kilyaḡi* 348, *kilyaḡiya* 322, *kilyaḡiyaṣa* 216, 322, 348, *kilyaḡiṣa* 36; *kilyama* 246; *kolyaya*¹ 701; *kolyaraṣa* 701; *pulya* 37; *lyaka* 701; *lyakḍha* 701; *ṣṣalyayaṣa*² 579; *ṣṣalyaya*³ 709, *ṣṣalyaya* 506; *solýaka*⁴ 701; *calýeya* 596; *kalyotsa*⁵ 585. Ein paarmal erscheint *lŷ* vor *a* und *o* auch in Appellativen, aber abgesehen von dem oben behandelten *kalyana* nur in Wörtern, die nicht oder wenigstens nicht direkt aus dem Indischen stammen.

In 151 findet sich fünfmal *ḡilyamyaya*, *ḡilyamyaya* oder *ḡilyamya*, *ḡilyamya paṣava* (oder *paṣu*). Da der Ausdruck mit *ghritaṣa* oder *ghrita paṣava* (oder *paṣu*), *ghriti paṣava* (oder *paṣu*), *palyi paṣava* (oder *paṣu*) in derselben Tafel auf einer Stufe steht, scheint er eine besondere Art von Schafen zu bezeichnen.

In 318 wird in einer Liste von gestohlenen Dingen zweimal ein *lyokmana* genannt: *ṣamimna citraḡa lyokmana* und *suḡina kirta lyokmana*. Von den Beiwörtern ist vorläufig nur *citraḡa* klar, da aber *lyokmana* zwischen *kaṃculi* „Jacke“ und *prahuni* „Gewand“ eingeordnet ist, wird es vermutlich ein Kleidungsstück bezeichnen.

Völlig unklar ist *ṣulyaḡamḍha* in dem Satze *avaṣa ṣulyaḡamḍha prahadavo*, mit dem der Brief 127 schliesst. Der eigentliche Inhalt des Briefes ist verloren, und es bietet sich daher kein Anhaltspunkt für die Bestimmung der Bedeutung des Wortes dar.

Besser steht es in dieser Beziehung um *ṣilyoka*, *ṣilyoḡa*, das in den Dokumenten öfter erscheint. In dem zum teil schon oben behandelten königlichen Schreiben 359 heisst es: *avi garahati yatha eḍaṣa iṣa rayadvarammi ṣilyoka lihitaga pḡinaṣa paride punḡetsa uṭa 2 vyochimnidae tade eka uṭa dita biti uṭa na denati atra (sa)muha anada pruchidavo yatha ṣilyoḡammi lihidaḡa imṭhuami ahono yatha dhamena vibhaṣivo*⁶ *na (im)ci tatra amṇatha kartavo* „ferner klagt er, dass ihm hier im königlichen Gerichte ein *ṣilyoka* geschrieben ist: es sind (ihm) zwei *punḡetsa*-Kamele (als Busse) von seiten des *Pḡina* zugesprochen worden. Von diesen ist ein Kamel gegeben worden, das andere wird nicht gegeben. Dort (bei euch) ist in Anwesenheit die Sache zu untersuchen. Wie in dem *ṣilyoḡa* geschrieben ist, genau so ist jetzt nach dem Gesetze zu entscheiden, nichts ist in dieser

¹ Text *kolayya* (Druckfehler).

² Im Index *ṣvalpaya*.

³ Oder *kalyata*.

⁴ Vielleicht *ṣpalḡiyaṣa*.

⁵ Oder *soluka*, wie im Text.

⁶ Schreibfehler für *vibhaṣidavo*.

Sache abzuändern.“ Hier ist *ṣilyoka*, *ṣilyoḡa* deutlich ein Schriftstück, das das Urteil des Gerichtshofes enthält. Dieselbe Bedeutung hat *ṣilyoka* in 312: *ahuno iṣa jihmaya garahati yatha eḍaṣa catata ayaṣa ca paride maṃnuṣa kaṃki parikraya vyochimnidaḡa ṣilyoka lihidaḡa kiḡae*, „jetzt klagt hier Jihmaya, dass ihm der Lohn für den Mann Kaṃki von seiten des Catata und des Aya zugesprochen worden ist. Es ist ein geschriebenes *ṣilyoka* gemacht worden“. Es folgen die gleichen Weisungen für die weitere Behandlung der Angelegenheit wie in 359. Auch in 561 bezieht sich die Bemerkung *ṣilyoka lihidaḡa kiḡae* auf das Urteil, das der *kitsayitsa* Luṭhu und der *cozbo* Kaṃci in dem Prozess des Sunaṃda wegen gewisser gestohlener Sachen gesprochen haben, und auch hier wieder wird für die weitere Behandlung der Sache bestimmt, die Entscheidung nach dem früheren Spruche, wie das *ṣilyoka* geschrieben ist, zu treffen: *yatha kitsayitsa luṭhu cozbo kaṃci ṣa ca hastama vyochimnidaḡa ṣilyoka lihidaḡa syati tena vidhanena ya(tha) dhaṃ(e)na nice kartavo*. In 729, wo nur der Schluss des königlichen Schreibens erhalten ist, ist in die Phrase noch *hasta lekha*, offenbar „handschriftlich“ eingefügt: *yatha ṣilyoḡa hasta lekha lihidaḡa syati tena vidhanena nice kartavo*.

Dass das *ṣilyoḡa* aber nicht unbedingt den Urteilsspruch enthalten muss, geht aus 492 hervor: *ṣavathena sakṣiyena rayakadhaṃena pruchidavo atra na paribujṣatu sakṣiyena ṣavathena matralekhami lihidavo ṣa ca ṣilyoḡena hastagada iṣa viṣajidavo*, „(die Sache) ist mit Eid und Zeugenvernehmung nach dem königlichen Recht zu untersuchen. Sollte sie dort (bei euch) nicht klar gestellt werden, ist es mit der Zeugenvernehmung und dem Eid in einen *matra*-Brief¹ zu schreiben und dieser mit dem *ṣilyoḡa* in Obhut hierher zu schicken“. Da es sich hier um den Fall handelt, dass kein Urteil gefällt wird, so kann *ṣilyoḡa* hier wohl nur das Protokoll der Verhandlung sein. Und das Gleiche gilt auch für 471, wo die Auseinandersetzung eines Streitfalls, von der nur die Hälfte erhalten und die daher schwer verständlich ist, mit den Worten schliesst: *eḍa prace vistarena ṣilyoḡa lihidaḡa rayadvarammi prahadavo eḍe vevatuḡa hastagada rayadvarammi viṣajidavo*, „wegen dieser Sache ist ein ausführlich geschriebenes *ṣilyoḡa* an den königlichen Gerichtshof zu senden. Diese Prozessierenden sind in Obhut an den königlichen Gerichtshof zu senden“.

¹ *Matra* ist wohl so viel wie *mantra*; ein *matralekha* wäre also ein benachrichtigender Brief. Die Lesung ist aber nicht sicher; es kann auch *maha* gelesen werden.

Ṣilyoḡa hat aber eine noch allgemeinere Bedeutung. In 140 handelt es sich um Korn, das Kupṣimta, dem Schreiber des Briefes, gehört und sich zum teil in andern Händen befindet: *yo tade amnade nikhastaḡa amñeṣa ditaya sarva ṣilyoḡammi kritaḡa*, „was von diesem Korn abgeliefert, andern gegeben ist, das ist alles in ein *ṣilyoḡa* gemacht“. Der Ausdruck *ṣilyoḡammi kritaḡa* kann hier kaum etwas anderes bedeuten als „in einer Liste urkundlich aufgezeichnet“. Im Sinne einer urkundlichen Liste wird *ṣilyoḡa* auch in 470 gebraucht, wo aber im Einzelnen Unklarheiten bleiben: *ahuno iṣa yapgu viṃñāveti yatha paruvarṣami eṣa uṭa nikhālida aṣya ima varṣami ganana katvetha ṣilyoḡa lihitaḡa katvetha eḍa ṣilyoḡa iṣa a[nida huda]*, „jetzt zeigt Yapgu hier an, dass er im vorigen Jahr ein Kamel herausgegeben hat. Dieses habt ihr in diesem Jahre mitgezählt.¹ Ihr habt ein geschriebenes *ṣilyoḡa* gemacht. Dies *ṣilyoḡa* ist hierher gebracht worden“.²

Neben *ṣilyoḡa*, *ṣilyoka* findet sich einmal, in 582, auch *ṣulḡa*. Die Tafel enthält einen Kaufvertrag über einen Acker. Wegen dieses Ackers ist später ein Streit entstanden, und die Entscheidung in dem deswegen geführten Prozesse ist als Nachschrift dem Verträge angefügt. In dieser Nachschrift steht der Satz: *eṭa ṣulḡa lihidaḡa pramana huda*, „dieses geschriebene *ṣulḡa* ist gültig gewesen“. Mit dem *ṣulḡa* ist offenbar die Kaufurkunde gemeint, und *ṣulḡa* kann daher nur als eine nachlässige Schreibung für *ṣilyoḡa* angesehen werden.

Die Bedeutung von *ṣilyoḡa* ist somit „urkundliches Schriftstück“, und ich möchte glauben, dass das Wort nichts weiter als sk. *śloka* ist. Das mag in anbetracht der Bedeutungsverschiedenheit sehr kühn erscheinen, wenn auch innerhalb des Sanskrit die Bedeutungen von *śloka* „Schall, Geräusch, Ruf, Ruhm, Strophe“ recht weit auseinander gehen. Formell würde der Einschub des Teilvokals ohne weiteres begreiflich sein, da wir im Pali *siloka*, im Prakrit *siloga*, *siloa* haben. Auch im Sakischen erscheint *śloka* als *śilo*. Aber auch das auffallende linguale *ṣ* und die Palatalisierung des *l* hat ihre Parallele in der Ārśi-Sprache. Toch. Gramm. S. 60 wird angegeben, dass sk. *śloka* sieben mal als *ślok*, acht mal als *ślyok* erscheint, allerdings immer in der Bedeutung „Strophe“. Dass zwischen diesem *ślyok* und unserm *ṣilyoka* ein Zusammenhang besteht, scheint mir unverkennbar.

¹ Die Übersetzung ist unsicher. Statt *aṣya* kann *ana* gelesen werden. *Katvetha* das nur hier vorkommt, scheint 2. Plur. Praet. von *kṛ* zu sein.

² Die Lesung *anida huda* ist nicht sicher. Der Schluss des Briefes fehlt.

Der Palatalisierung des *l* vor *i* steht eine Palatalisierung des *n* vor *i* in den Fremdnamen zur Seite, so in *aṃcuñi*, *acuñiya*, *acuñiyaṣa*¹; *apñighade*, *apñiya*, *apñiyani*, *apñiyaṣa*²; *kuñita*, *kuñitaṣa*, *koñita*, *koñitaṣa*; *kuñisae*; *kriñilaṣa*; *ñimeyaṣa*; *señima*, *señimma*; *mañigeya*. Dass das *i* sehr flüchtig gesprochen wurde, beweisen Nebenformen wie *mañgeya*, *mañgeyani*. In Wörtern indischen Ursprungs und in iranischen Lehnwörtern, auch in dem Ortsnamen *nina*, bleibt das *n* vor *i* unverändert,³ und auch in Fremdnamen wird öfter *ni* geschrieben; siehe *aniṣiṣge*; *kenika*, *kenikaṣa*, *keniga*, *kenigani*; *cinika*, *cinikani*, *cinikaṣa*, *ciniga*, *ciniya*; *naṃmaṣaniṣa*; *nivaṣaṣa*; *paṃniyaṣa*; *paṃimcaade*, *paṃicanade*; *puṃniyade*; *ponigana*, *poniganaṣa*, *ponigani*; *ponicga*; *buṃni*, *buṃnimci*, *buṃniyammi*; *maniḡi*. Die Verteilung von *ñi* und *ni* ist also eine ganz ähnliche wie die von *lyi* und *li*.

Zu der Palatalisierung von *l* und *n* vor *i* stimmt schliesslich auch der Vorschlag eines *y* vor anlautendem *i*, der, wie aus dem Index zu ersehen, in den Fremdnamen ausnahmslos zu Tage tritt und gelegentlich auch auf indische Wörter übertragen wird, so in *yima* 237 neben dem gewöhnlichen *ima*, *yiyo pravaṃnaḡa* 348, 416 neben *iyo pravaṃnaḡa* 655 usw. Der Ansatz eines palatalisierten *l* (*lyi*) scheint mir danach nach allen Seiten gesichert zu sein.

[Das Manuskript dieser Arbeit war vor Erscheinen des Aufsatzes von T. Burrow, "Tokharian Elements in the Kharoṣṭhī Documents from Chinese Turkestan," *JRAS.*, 1935, S. 667 ff. abgeschlossen.]

¹ In 327 in der Schreibung *acuñayaga*.

² In 251 einmal auch *apñeyaga*.

³ Der Name *dhaṃṇiḡila* in 678 ist offenbar von *dhānya* abgeleitet; ein Bruder des *Dhaṃṇiḡila* heisst ebenda *Dhaṃṇapāla*. Unklar ist vorläufig *kriṣaga noñi* in 383.

Iranian Elements in Khowar

By G. MORGENSTIERNE

KHOWAR, the predominant language of Chitral and of the adjacent parts of the Gilgit district, is characterized on the one hand by a tenacious preservation of ancient IA. sounds, forms, and words, and on the other hand by the existence of a remarkably large number of foreign elements. According to Sir George Grierson, Khowar "in some essential particulars agrees rather with the Ghalcha languages to the north".¹ And, drawing attention to the fact that the Chitral valley² was formerly inhabited by Kalashas, he expresses the opinion that the originally homogeneous Dardic population of Kafirstan, Chitral, and Gilgit "was subsequently split into two by a wedge of Khō invasion, representing members of a different, but related, tribe coming from the north [of the Hindukush]". In whatever way one may be inclined to interpret the position there can be no doubt that Kho., when compared with the neighbouring Dardic dialects, presents many peculiarities which deserve our attention.

Among the words included in the list given by Sir George³ in order to exemplify the difference between Kho. and other Dard and Kafir languages some may be of IA. origin. But it is none the less remarkable that Kho. should differ so widely from its neighbours, even as regards a number of the most common words, e.g. such as denote parts of the body. Thus, corresponding in most cases to words of IA. origin in Shina and Kalasha, Kho. has *yeč* 'eye', *a'paq* 'mouth', *li'gini* 'tongue', *ri'giš* 'beard', *ča'moŋ* 'finger', *do'γūr* 'nail', *krəm*, *arqa* 'back', *as'qār* 'lung', *qhol* 'bone', *is'ki* (*q*?) 'heel', *is'qi* 'jaw', *bliq* 'pupil', *zānū* 'knee', *bāzu* 'arm'. Some of these words come from Ir., others are of unknown origin.⁴

The Ir. loanwords in Kho. which form the subject of this article are very numerous. They may roughly be divided into the following groups, which, as will be seen, cannot always be clearly distinguished:

- I. Loanwords from (Modern) Pers.
- II. Loanwords from some Middle Ir. language.
- III. Loanwords from the Pamir dialects.
- IV. Loanwords from some undefinable or unknown Ir. source.

¹ *LSI.*, viii, 2, p. 133.

² Or, at any rate, Lower Chitral.

³ *Loc. cit.*

⁴ Cf. also, for instance, *rēn* 'wine', *rēni* 'dog', *is'kim* 'silk', etc.

I

The first group is by far the largest one, but also the least interesting from the linguistic point of view. Most of the Prs., or Ar.-Prs., loan-words in Kho. belong to that well-known host of "Islamic" words which has swept victoriously over half of Asia. They need not detain us here. But there are a few which present phonetic or semantic peculiarities of some sort and which call for some brief remarks.

It is noteworthy that in some words Prs. voiceless plosives have been rendered by Kho. aspirates. Thus: *phōst* 'skin', *khām* 'palate', *ba'than* 'native country'.¹ A secondary aspiration appears also in some Kho. words of IA. origin, for instance in *phān* 'palm of the hand'. But in Badakhshi Prs. there is a tendency towards the aspiration of voiceless plosives, and it is possible that this is the reason why Kho. has chosen the aspirate in some cases. We may compare the situation in Ossetic, which possesses two series of voiceless plosives, and may employ either of them to present foreign ones.

Ba'than is remarkable also on account of its *b* corresponding to Prs. *w*. This word cannot have been borrowed before the Kho. change of *v* > *b*-, and I can find no reason why the *w*- was not retained, just as in *waxt*, *wazīr*, etc.

A curious form is *ṣablī'kī* 'a kind of horse fodder, lucerne'. It is evidently borrowed from Prs. cf. *ṣaftal*, *ṣautal* 'lucerne'; but the exact form from which it is derived is unknown.² But there must be some connection between the Kho. form and 'Sanskrit' *sai-pi-li-k'ie* (< *sak-b'ji-liṣṣ-ka*) given by Li Shi Chen.³

gurzen 'garden', which from Kho. has penetrated into Kal. and Pal., is possibly a cross between **gurzēl*, **gulzēr* < Prs. *gulzār* and Prs. *gulšan*.

The "*imāla*",⁴ which has been assumed for the hypothetical Prs. dialect-form **gulzēr*, appears also in other Kho. words. Thus we find *ke'lēč* (Kal. *ku'l'āč*) 'fathom' < Prs. *qūlāč*, *pe'lēsk* 'rug' < Prs. *palās*, *nā'wēs* 'grandchild' < Prs. *nawāsa*, *kiteb*, *kitep* (Werchikwar *kitēp*, Yidgha *ketiū*), but also *kitāb* 'book' < Prs. *kitāb*, *šērik*

¹ In *phī'rān* 'shirt' < Prs. *pīrahan* the aspiration has been transposed. The origin of *phīrēāl*, *pīrēāl* 'trousers' is unknown to me. It rhymes with Prs. *šarēāl* < *šahwār*.

² Palola (Dardic dial. in Chitral) *ṣabṛīki* probably comes from Kho. Another kind of lucerne is called *ṣau'thāl* in Pal., *ṣau'tal* in Gawar-Bati, and *ṣax'thal* in Kalasha.

³ Vide Laufer, *Sino-Iranica*, p. 214.

⁴ Cf. Horn, *Gr. Ir. Ph.*, i, 2, 33.

(O'Brien) 'powder horn' < Prs. *šāx(ak)*. Cf. also Munji *rikēb* 'stirrup' < Prs. *rikēb* = *rikāb*.

Kho. *nivēšik* 'to write' agrees with the common E. Prs. form which has introduced the *š* of the preterite into the present stem. But I am unable to trace the exact source of such forms as *riwōš* 'rhubarb': Prs. *rīwās*, Psht. *rawāš*; *naxoi* 'pea': Prs. *nuxūd*; *ḡahcanj* 'kite': Prs. *ḡalēwāj*, etc.; *angāh* 'awake': Prs. *āgāh* 'aware'; *ḡuzār* 'footstep, trace': Prs. *guḡār* 'passage'. *krenj* (Kal. *kṛīn*) 'wrinkle' corresponds to Prs. *gurinj*, but a *k* is attested in Bal. *kirišk*, Kurd. *kurišk* < **kurinč*.

A further form peculiar to Kho. (and the adjoining Werchikwar) is *tu'vek* 'gun, musket': Prs. *tufang*, *tufak*.¹

Finally it may be mentioned that Kho. has borrowed from Prs. a few words which I have not come across in any of the neighbouring languages. Thus, e.g.: *gudāz* 'trouble, grief' and *iškālī* 'excuse', probably from Prs. *šikāl* 'cunning, deceit', cf. *šikālīš* 'care, roguery'.

Iškālī also exemplifies the tendency to render Prs. *si-*, *su-* + a consonant by Kho. *iš-*. Thus: *iske'na* 'awl', *iškama* 'belly', *išpēl* 'whistling',² *istōr* 'horse', *istiyān* 'sprouts' (Psht. *tēyūna*), if from Prs. *sitēy* 'straight'. The same tendency prevails in the development of IA. words in Kho. and it is impossible to decide whether the initial *ist-*, etc., in the loanwords is of Kho. or of dialectical Prs. origin.

As regards *istōr* it is possible that it has not been borrowed from Modern Prs., where the word is hardly ever used, but from middle Ir., cf. e.g. N.W. Turfan Phl. *stwr*.

This leads us on to the next group of loanwords.

II

In an earlier publication³ I have tried to show that Kho. contains a number of other "Middle-Ir." loanwords. It is, however, impossible to draw a clear line between words of Middle E.Ir. origin and such as may have been borrowed from one of the Pamir dialects at an earlier stage of development. But, at any rate, some of the Kho. words of

¹ The distribution of the words for 'gun': *multiq*, *bandūq*, and the various forms assumed by *tufang* in Ir. and IA. would require a special study. Here it suffices to note that *tuvek* must have come from the north-west. The Dard dialects of the Kunar valley have forms borrowed through Psht. *t/lōpak*. Most Pamir dialects (and Ormuri) have the Turki word *multiq*, or they employ the old local word for 'bow' with a new meaning.

² But Kal. *išpēl* 'whistling'; *išpēl'fi*, Kati *špā* 'flute' are genuine.

³ Report on a linguistic mission to Afghanistan, p. 75 f.

"Middle-Ir." appearance probably come from a language of civilization and not from a neighbouring local dialect.

Among the most important of the words dealt with are *harēn* 'mirror' < **ādēn*; *čaxur* 'spinning-wheel': Sogd. *čaxr* 'wheel', etc.; *nimēž* (Kati *nəmoč*) 'prayer': Phl. *namāč*, Kurd. *nimēž*, etc.; *žār* 'poison': N.W. Phl. *žahr*, Kurd. *žār*; *duwarth*¹ 'door': Old Pers. *duvarθi-* 'portico'; *γrānu* 'pregnant'²: Sogd. *γirān* 'heavy'. Also *zatan* 'house, room' must be an early loanword from Ir., cf. Gabri *zada* 'house', and Slav. *xata* 'hut' which is probably also borrowed from Ir.³

On the other hand, it is very doubtful if *čhat*, *čat* (Kal. *čhat*) 'lake' can have been borrowed from Ir. (Av. *čāt-* 'well'), as suggested loc. cit.

But there are some other words which are certainly of early (W. or E.) Ir. origin. Thus we find *ro'či* 'a fast': Prs. *rōza*, Psht. *rōža*, Brahui loanword *rōča*; *anič* 'forehead': cf. Bal. *anīšay* < **ānīčaka*⁴; *ča'tir* 'tent' (borr. from Kho. into Kal. and Yd.): Prs. *čādar*, -ir; *girwa'lōy* 'peach' from an earlier form of Prs. *gurdālū* with substitution of *rw* for **rδ*⁵; -*žeri* (in *puši-žeri* 'kitten') < **čidriya-*, cf. Av. *aži-čidra-*, *vəhrkō-č*⁶ 'descended from a snake, a wolf'; *təpərzīng* 'battle-axe': Prs. *tabar-zīn(g)*, Wkh. *təpār*, etc.; **božik* 'to play (chess, etc.)'⁶: Prs. *bāzam*, *bāxtan*; -*γōn* 'like, resembling': Sogd. *γōn* 'manner, kind', cf. Pashai *gōni* 'like', Hürkin (N.E. Caucasian) -*γuna* 'like'. Also the interesting word *'droxum* 'silver' must have passed through Middle Ir. on its way from Greek to Kho.

It is also tempting to derive Kho. *pax'turi* 'the sunny side of a valley or a hill' from Av., Phl. *apāxtar(a-)* 'northern' with *u* from unstressed *a* (cf. *asur* 'he is' < **āsati*) and a secondary suffix. In Upper Chitral the earliest known home of the Khōs, the sunny side of the valley would be the north-western, in Mastuj the northern one.

¹ Kal. *durucəf*, *durgač* may be adaptations of the Kho. word.

² It is noteworthy that the native IA. word *gar'b'in* is used about animals, while the foreign and nobler one is reserved for human beings.

³ This derivation is rejected by Meillet (*BSL.*, 28, p. 133), who does not, of course, know the Kho. and Gabri forms. It is not necessary to assume, with Jokl. (*WuS.*, 12, p. 66) that *zata* has passed through an Ugrian language with *x* < *k*. Cf. also Yidgha-Munji *zeyo* 'wall'?

⁴ Vide *NTS.*, 5, p. 40.

⁵ Ir. *δ* becomes *r* in Kho. But in the group **rδ* this treatment was excluded.

⁶ Pres. 1 pl. *bāfisi*, pret. 3 pl. *bōžitani*, etc. A different word is *božik* 'to divide' of IA. origin.

A much more doubtful case is *toxmiran* which O'Brien and also my Kalasha informant give as the Kho word for daughter-in-law. It has a decidedly Ir. appearance, and one could easily imagine a Middle Ir. **tōxmē-dān* denoting the daughter-in-law as the continuer of the family lineage, the "receptaculum seminis".

But Colonel Lorimer, who has kindly undertaken to ascertain the exact meaning of the word for me in Gilgit, informs me that it does *not* mean daughter-in-law, but "is a term used of two sets of parents-in-law *vis-à-vis* each other, and is used by them as a term of address to each other". This seems to upset the otherwise plausible derivation of *toxmiran*.

It is perhaps conceivable that the meaning given by Lorimer is, after all, a secondary one. If the word did originally denote the daughter-in-law, it may have got its sphere of meaning extended so as to include her parents, and subsequently have lost its primary signification and have been restricted to its present use.

We do not know from which Middle Ir. dialect or dialects Kho. may have borrowed. There exists, however, possibly one indication regarding the source of some of the words mentioned above. The Kalasha name for the Khōs is *Pātu*, which can be derived from **Pārtaw* and may originally have been applied to a group of Parthians who found their way to Chitral and established their rule among the native tribes of the country.

III

From early times down to the present day the inhabitants of Chitral have been in constant and close contact with the Ir. tribes to the north and west, and their dialects have been influenced by Kho. This is especially the case with Yidgha, which has been spoken in Chitral for many generations. But Wakhi also, although being separated from Chitral¹ by a high range of mountains, has submitted to the influence of Kho. to the extent of borrowing even some personal pronouns from this language.²

But Kho., on its side, has not been averse to adopting a number of words from these numerically and culturally unimportant Ir. border tribes. We do not know *how* the process of borrowing has taken place,

¹ The existence of recent Wakhi settlers in the Yarkhun valley does not alter the situation in this respect.

² Cf. Rep. Afgh., p. 79.

but we must remember that the circumstances favour an extensive linguistic exchange. Small groups of settlers are constantly emigrating from one valley to another, peasants cross the passes to trade in the nearest bazaar or in search of temporary employment as labourers, shepherds meet in a friendly or unfriendly way on the grazing grounds in the mountains. The village communities are small, and the local dialects have no great prestige. The result is a lack of backbone, a linguistic lability which offers little resistance towards the introduction of foreign elements.

But, even so, it is remarkable that Kho. should have borrowed from Wakhi, or from an earlier form of that language, some of the most common words.¹ Thus we find:—

Kho. *dō'γūr* 'finger-nail' < Wkh. *dager*, *dā'γar*, etc. < **n(a)g-* (cf.

Capus Wkh. 'hindiger') < **nak-* with Wkh. *k* < *x*.

Kho. *ri'giš* 'beard' < Wkh. *regiš*, *rə'γiš* < **fra-gaiša-* (acc. to Sköld).

Kho. *isprū* 'fruit-blossom' < **sprūγ*: Wkh. *spray*, *sprəγ*. Cf. also

Kho. *iš'prenžik*, *ispreñžik* 'to blossom' < Ir. **spreñja(ya)-*, cf. Sogd. *'sprγ-* 'to blossom', Sak. *hašpaljs-* (caus.).

Kho. *isprāsk*, *isprāzg* 'ceiling' < **spārsk* (?), Wkh. *si'pask*, Shgh. *s'pāšc* 'rafter'.

Kho. *sonthu* 'raven' < Wkh. *šōnd*, cf. Oss. *sunt*.

Kho. *pāz* 'breast' < Wkh. *pūz*, Sar. *puz*, etc.

Kho. *roznī* 'embers' < Wkh. *rəznī(g)* 'fire'.

Kho. *γarik*, *γerik* 'to turn (into)', etc. < Wkh. *γīr-* 'to turn round'.

Kho. *pot* 'polo-ball' < Wkh. *tup* 'playing ball'.

Kho. *sa'puk* 'hoof' (Werch. *sapa*). Wkh. has the Prs. loanword *sum*, but there may have existed an earlier genuine Wkh. form with the characteristic Wkh. change of *f* > *p* (cf. Av. *safa-*).

Kho. *wāru* 'rain', *zomēik* 'to yawn', *sarēik* 'to appear, seem' correspond to Wkh. *wūr zim* 'yawn'; *südüy-* 'to appear', but these words may have been borrowed by Kho. from some other Ir. dialect (cf. Oss. *zāmbīn* 'to yawn').

And in the case of Kho. *xēl* (Kal. *khel*) 'perspiration', *an'dāu* 'fever', *wāγ* 'price, money': Wkh. *šāl*, *andav*, *way*, which can scarcely be genuine Wkh. forms, it is equally possible that both languages have borrowed from a common Ir. source. Nor is it certain that Wkh. *kižepčē*, *kižipči* 'magpie' is the form from which Kho. *kišipi* has been borrowed. Cf. Shgh. *kižēpc*, Werchikwar *γašep*, etc.

¹ Cf. Report on a linguistic mission to Afghanistan, p. 76.

The following words, which are common to Kho. and Wkh., have an Ir. appearance, but they have not been traced in any other Ir. language and their origin is therefore uncertain: Kho. *u'xār*: Wkh. *wa'xār* 'ladder'; Kho. *biz'bār* 'eagle, kite': Wkh. *bispūr* (**biz* (?) + *par* ?); Kho. *šan'gūr* (Kal. *šāngr'ūr'i*) 'guts, entrails': Wkh. *šəngər*; Kho. *jox*, *zox* 'thorn, bramble': Wkh. *zax*, *zax̌*.

On the other hand, the vocalism and also the isolated position of the Wkh. word render it probable that Wkh. *tūrt* 'ford' is borrowed from Kho. *thūrt*. Kho. *našk* 'beak' corresponds to Wkh. *nüčk*, Sar. *nüsk*, but can scarcely be separated from Gawar-Bati *našuk*, Dameli *naš*, Pashai *nošuk*, *nāšuk*.

It is surprising that Kho. should have borrowed any words from Yidgha, the dialect of a small and unimportant border-community. Yet this seems to be the case, although the situation is considerably obscured by the circumstance that Yd. has evidently borrowed many words of Ir. origin from Kho., and it is often difficult to distinguish such words from those which may have been adopted into Kho. from Yd.

The following are the most probable examples of Kho. borrowing from Yd., or an older form of that dialect:—

Kho. *hs'dām* 'limb, body': Yd. *hadamē* < Av. *handāman-*, with regular change of *nd* < *d*. *h-* appears in Yd. without any regard to etymology.

Kho. *γēik*, *γēm* 'to spin': Yd. *γūm*, with regular loss of intervocalic *v/w*. Cf. Munji *γūwum*, Wkh. *žūp*, Sgl. *yiv-*, *yēv-* < **gaip-*.

Kho. *wraznī* (also Pal.) 'pillow': Yd. *virzanē* < **varznai* < **barznika-*. But Kho. *warzidīni* 'bolster' < **varz(d)nī* is an earlier loanword and is probably in its turn the source of Yd. *vrazi'dinē*.

Kho. *xu'rī* 'wild rose': Yd. *axrīo* < **ā-xarītā-* (?), cf. Prs. *xār*, etc.

Kho. *pežemik* 'to entrust': Yd. *pižam-*, Munji *požōn-* < **pati-jaṃaya-*.

Kho. *šūnf* 'needle': Yd. *šinfo*, *šunfo* < **šūžno*, cf. Mj. *šižno*. The Kho. word can scarcely be connected with Kal. *suš*, *sužik*, etc.

Kho. *frōš* 'muzzle, lip of an animal': Yd. *frušē* < Av. *fraša-* 'forwards' + *-ka-*. It is not certain that the Kho. word is borrowed from Yd.

Kho. *drēik* 'to pour out, sow, throw, shave': Yd. *drī-* with the same varieties of meaning. The word is also found in Munji and must be Ir. (**han-drāwaya-*?).

Kho. *vrenjēik* 'to fry': Yd. *vroč-* (for *-vrəj-* < **vrinj-*?). Cf. Bal. *brījag*.

Kho. *ju-saxa* 'a period of two years'. Only given by a Yidgha as the translation of his own *loh-saxa*. If correct °*saxa* < **saxw* may be connected with Ir. *sak-* to pass the time, *vide* Alphab. List, s.v. *šoxč-*.

Kho. *trišpōy* 'dandelion': cf. Yd. *trišp* 'sour'.

Kho. *ro'mēn* (O'Brien *ro'mēnhū*) 'aspen': Yd. *ra'meno*. Also in Mj. and therefore scarcely of Kho. origin.

Kho. *ušturik* 'to flee, run, jump': Yd. *ustušc-* 'to jump'. Apparently the original Yd. present stem was **ustur-*, **ustur-*, or **uštur-*, *ustušc-* being the ancient past stem.

Kho. *au'zetu* 'heifer (two years old)': Probably < early Yd. **avzēθo* < **abi-* (or **upa-*)-*zqthyā-*; cf. *vəzāčō* 'pregnant animal' < **upa-*(?) *zqthyā-*, *pəzēcī* 'male sheep one to two years old' < **patizqthyaka-*.

Kho. *cərax* 'spark' corresponds to Yd. *cərox*, but similar forms are found also in other Ir. languages. Yd. *γernānu* 'whirlpool, eddy' is borrowed from Kho. *γernānu*, *γerdānu* (Kal. *ger'dhan* fr. Kho.), in its turn a loanword from Ir., cf. Prs. *girdāb*, Sgl. *γərdāv* and especially Waziri Psht. *γrīmbai* < **gartāna-*?

The nature of the relationship between Kho. *iwīs* 'bridle', *žirjēik* 'to lament, cry', *sayūrj* 'large hawk',¹ *wāy* 'price', and Yd. *yuviz*, *žirj-*, *šayūrš*, *hūy*² is unknown. Kho. *truš'ni* 'thirsty' is probably a loanword from Ir., but Yd. *trušnē*³ is borrowed from, and not the source of, the Kho. word. I do not know whether Kho. *trešna'yuli* 'thyme' is of Ir. origin. Also Yd. *tanou* 'rope' (Biddulph) is probably borrowed from Kho. *tanau* < Ir., cf. Prs. *tanūdan* 'to twist'.

Finally we may mention that Kho. *nōl* 'rushes' is derived from Skr. *naḍa-* and not borrowed from Munji *nəl*.

The third Ir. Pamir language bordering upon Chitral is Sanglechi-Ishkashmi. The strongest evidence of its influence upon Kho. is Kho. *wārz* 'above': Sgl. *vəwāz* (< **varz-* < **barz-*). Kho. *u'sanu* 'whetstone', *dumik* 'to card wool', *γərdik* 'to turn round' remind us of Sgl. *vəsīn* (< **avəsān*), *dəmb-*, *γort-* 'to walk about' (early loanword from Phl.). But it is by no means certain that the Kho. words

¹ Palola loanword *šayūrš*.

² Cf. above, p. 662.

³ Also Yd. *tišno*, etc., of Prs. origin.

come from Sgl. Cf. e.g. Yd. *afsəno*, Prs. *afsān* 'whetstone'; Yd. *lib* < **dumb* 'to card', etc.

If Kho. *a'drax* 'hillside, forest' is connected with Ishk. *alax*, *ḏlax* 'hill' (< **ardaxa*-) the borrowing must have taken place at an early date. Kal *adrakh*, Pal. *adrax* 'hillside' may easily be loanwords from Kho., from which these languages have borrowed very freely.

Kho. *čid'in* 'brass kettle' (> Kal. *čidhin*) recalls Ishk. *čudan*; but both words are probably of Prs. origin, cf. *čaudan*, *čū*° 'cast metal'. *čə'dān* 'kettle' is found also in Yazghulami. Finally may be mentioned the very remote possibility of the curious Kho. word *γō'ī* 'hare' having been borrowed from a lost (or not recorded) Sgl. **γō'ī* < **gaušiya*- ' (long-) eared '. But what about Kal. *g'āva'rīak*, *gāva'rīak* 'hare'?

IV

While the Dardic languages south of Kho. contain a number of loanwords from Psht., such words are extremely rare in Kho. It is not till quite recently that the two languages have come into contact, Kho. expanding towards the south and Psht. towards the north in the Kunar valley and Dir.

But there are many words in Kho. which have a general E.Ir. appearance, or which agree more or less with forms found in several Pamir dialects. Such words will be found in the following Alphabetical List (cf. s.vv. *copik*, *lašt*, *menū*, *murγulūm*, *pālum*, *rošt*, *šoxčik*, *šā*, *šapik*, *wōr*, *veerkhū*, *wrazun*, *xāl*, (*a*)*xomik*, *xora*, *zāγ*, *zērē*) which includes also, for the sake of reference, all the words mentioned above, and a number of doubtful loanwords, or such as could not easily be fitted into the groups dealt with above. There are many other Kho. words which contain un-Indian sounds, but which have not been found either in Iranian, Turkish, or Burushaski. But there is always the possibility of new words having been created within Kho. itself at a time when foreign sounds had already been adopted into the phonetic system of the language. Cf. e.g. *γoʔ* 'dumb' and *daq* 'boy', which at the same time contain cerebrals and the un-Indian sounds *γ* and *q*. In Psht. and Bal. words of a similar mixed type are quite numerous.

At any rate, I hope that the list, in spite of its shortcomings and its inconclusiveness, may give some impression of the extent to which Kho. has been subject to Ir. influence, and that other scholars may be able to trace the source and history of many words which I have had

to leave unexplained. I need not add that my Kho. material is by no means exhaustive.

ALPHABETICAL LIST OF IRANIAN WORDS IN KHOWAR

ārā'rōy 'eructation'. With a kind of reduplication from Prs. *ārōy*?

Yd. *ara'rōy* is borrowed from Kho.

anič 'forehead', v. p. 660.

andāu 'fever', v. p. 662.

angā(h) 'awake', v. p. 659.

anzēik 'to send', < Ir. **han-zaya-*, cf. Av. *zā(y)-* 'mittere'?

anzōxt (Lor.) 'waste, desolate'. Of Ir. appearance, but without any known connection. Sgl. *zēnz-*: *zūyθ* 'to lift, seize', etc., cannot be compared.

is'kīm 'silk', v. p. 657.

is'kena 'awl', v. p. 659.

u'sanu 'whetstone', v. p. 664.

iskūrdi 'short'. Cf. Kurd. *kūrd* (v. Bartholomae *ZDMG.*, 50, 702)?

isprū 'blossom', *isprenjik*, *išp°* 'to blossom', v. p. 662.

isprāsk 'ceiling', v. p. 662.

as'gār 'lungs', cf. Prs. *šaxār*.

istāri 'star'. Prob. IA., cf. Ashkun *is'ta*, etc.

istōr 'horse', v. p. 659.

iškāli 'excuse', v. p. 659.

iškama 'belly' v. p. 659.

išmārēik 'to count'.

išpēl 'whistling', v. p. 659.

ušturik 'to flee, spring' v. p. 664.

awērīk, *aurīk* 'to ride'. Cf. Av. *bar-*, Yaghn. *vorīāki* 'to ride'.

iwīs 'bridle', v. p. 664.

u'xār 'ladder', v. p. 663.

a'xrānu 'stable', < **āxur-dān-*?

'āyukun 'egg', < **ā(w)yak*, cf. Prs. *xāya*, etc. But *-un*?

au'zetu 'heifer', v. p. 664.

bo'γūzu 'frog'. Cf. Prs. *baray*, *va°*, etc., Av. *vazaya-*. With transposition, cf. Munji *wuyzaya*.

brōnsk, *bron* 'meadow', Kal. *brunz*, Pal. *brhūnzv*, Dam. *brās*. Poss.

< **mranz* < Ir. **marza-*. But Av. *maraza-* 'border country'.

bōsk 'thick'. Cf. Wkh. *bāš*, Sgl. *vəzōk*, etc.?

bašōy, *bāš* 'stream divided into many rivulets'. Yd. (*yāduyo*) *baxšīyo* id.

ba'than 'country', v. p. 658.

biz'bār 'eagle', v. p. 663.

**božik* 'to play', v. p. 660.

copik 'to gather, pick': Wkh. *čüp*-, Sar. *cev*-, Yd. *čūv*-.

cəɾəx 'spark', v. p. 664.

čōik, *čhōik* 'to be frozen'. Pres. **č(h)āiman*. Prob. from Pres. *čā(h)īdan* 'to feel cold', cf. Munji *čīy*-.

čī'dhīn 'brass pot', v. p. 665.

čārweļu 'headman of several villages', *čārbū* 'village headman':

Pres. *čarbū* 'fatness' (cf. Oss. *bāstī-soi* 'the fat of the land, a prominent man').

čhat 'lake', v. p. 660.

ča'tīr 'tent', v. p. 660.

čazur 'spinning wheel', v. p. 660.

do'γūr 'finger nail', v. p. 662.

dumik 'to card wool', v. p. 664.

drēik 'to pour out', etc., v. p. 663.

droxum 'silver', v. p. 660.

drazēik 'to load up' (> Kal. of Urtsun *drāz*-). Ir. *darz*- 'to wrap up, to load', cf. Sar. *šerz*- 'to load' and Et. Voc. Psht. s.v. *lēžal*.

duwarth 'door', v. p. 660.

frosk 'right, true'. Ir. ?

frōš 'muzzle', v. p. 663.

frižēik 'to sniff'. Cf. Wkh. *ferx*- 'to sneeze' ?

gu'dāz 'trouble', v. p. 659.

gīrvalōy 'peach', v. p. 660.

gurzen 'garden', v. p. 658.

γēik 'to spin', v. p. 663.

γəcū 'leather'. Ir. ? But cf. Gawar-Bati *guci*, Dam. *gōči*, Waig. *guči*, Kal. (Leitner) *gao*.

γāl 'polo' (Kal. *gāl*). Pres. *γāl* 'rolling', *γālūk* 'playing ball'. Dialect form < **gart*- ?

γələik 'to curl'. Pres. *γulāla* 'curls', but no corresponding verb.

γalwanf 'kite', v. p. 659.

γōlī 'hare', v. p. 665.

γān 'wooden trough', Ir. ?

γōn 'like', v. p. 660.

γarik 'to turn (into)', v. p. 662.

γāri 'upland pasture'. Av. *gairi*- 'mountain', etc. ?

γruc 'a bunch of grapes'. Prob. IA. in spite of the γ-. Cf. Gawar-Bati *urūs*, Pal. *grūc*, Dam. *gu'rus*, *g'ruc*, Psht. of Dir *gurūr* 'strawberry'. Kal. *ruc* 'bunch of grapes' < Kho.

- γerdik* 'to turn round', v. p. 664.
γrānu 'pregnant', v. p. 660.
yer'nānu 'eddy', v. p. 664.
γuzār 'footsteps', v. p. 659.
hā'dām 'limbs, body', v. p. 663.
ha'rēn 'mirror', v. p. 660.
horsk 'straight, true' (Dam. *ōska* 'truth') < Ir. **urzk*, cf. Yd. *urzuy*, etc. Kal. *'ūfuk* is IA.
ke'leč 'fathom', v. p. 658.
krenj 'wrinkle', v. p. 659.
kar'vas 'cotton' (Kal. *kra'vas*). Borrowed from Prs. *karvās*, *°wās* (in its turn from Ind.), and again borrowed from Kho. into Yd.
kušk(omūl) 'armpit'. Cf. Prs. *kaš*?
kišipi 'magpie', v. p. 662.
kitep 'book', v. p. 658.
ko'vōr 'pigeon'. Prob. IA., cf. Kal. *ko'hōl*- (Kal. u. *ko'hōr*). But Waig. *kupto*, Gawar-Bati *kōpota* are perhaps early Ir. loanwords.
khām 'palate', v. p. 658.
khon'gor 'sword': Prs. *azangal*, Sogd. *xnyr*, Yd. *xu'gor*, Ar. *xanjar* (< Prs.).
lašt 'plain, steppe', Kal. *lhašt*, Pal. *l°hāšt* 'plain, flat'. From an Ir. *l*-dialect, cf. Prs. *dašt*?
me'nū 'guest'. < **mēnn*-, cf. Prs. *mihmān*, etc.?
murγulūm 'down of birds', 'wool of ibex'. Wkh. *margilam* 'goat's wool'.
nīmēž 'prayer', v. p. 660.
našk 'beak', v. p. 663.
nā'wes 'grandchild', v. p. 658.
nivēšik 'to write', v. p. 659.
naxoi 'pea', v. p. 659.
*pālv*m (Kal. *pāl'im*) 'soft, smooth'. Wkh. *pal(a)m* 'soft, smooth, fine powder', Yd. *polam* 'soft, smooth, fine', Sgl. *pādm*. Also Prs. *palm* 'dust' from an *l*-dialect?
pe'lēsk 'rug', v. p. 658. Cf. Shughni *pa'lās*.
pulunguštu 'finger-ring'. Wkh. *plōngōšt*, but Yd. *parguščē* (< **parangušti*?). Not found in Prs.
pošp 'wool'. Probably an early loanword from Ir. *pašm*. Found in most Dardic dialects; Kal. *paš*, Bashk. *pam*, Gawar-Bati *pōm*, etc.
pot 'polo ball', v. p. 662.
paxturi 'sunny side', v. p. 660.

pāz 'breast', v. p. 662.

pežemik 'to entrust', v. p. 663.

phir'ran 'shirt', v. p. 658.

phirwāl 'trousers', v. p. 658.

phōst 'skin', v. p. 658.

roči 'fast', v. p. 660.

ri'giš 'beard', v. p. 662.

rūm 'tail'. Acc. to Turner (*Nep. Dict.*, s.v. *dumsi*) early loanword from Prs. In that case the only Kho. word with *r* < Ir. *ḡ*. The long *ū* would be difficult to explain. Probably IA. = Skr. *lūma*-.
lūma-.

ro'men 'aspen', v. p. 664.

ronzik, *ranzuman* 'to shiver' (Kal. *ronz*-, Dam. *rāz*-). Probably Ir. *ranz*- < **ra-rz*-, cf. Prs. *larzīdan*, Psht. *rēždēdāl*, etc. Welsh Gypsy *rizer*- < **rirz*-?

rošt 'daylight'. Wkh. *rāšt* 'day', Sgl. *rašt* 'dawn'.

riwiš 'rhubarb', v. p. 659.

roxcik 'to leave behind'. Ir.?

roxnī 'embers', v. p. 662.

sa'puk 'hoof', v. p. 662.

sor 'head'. The *o* indicates a rather early borrowing. Yd. *soro* 'ear of corn' from Kho.

sarēik 'to appear', v. p. 662.

srūng 'horn'. Cross between **śring* (< *śrngá*-) and Av. *srū*-. The modern Pamir dialects all have *š* < *sr*, for instance Yd. *šū*.

-*saza*, v. p. 664.

sauzēik 'to sew, prepare'. Ir.?

sa'yūrj 'hawk', v. p. 664.

šūnj 'needle', v. p. 663.

šinjūr 'jujube-tree'. Prs. *sinfid* Yd. *səzīyo*, Munji *sifiā*. Anc. loanword from Ir. (with *s-f* > *š-f*) or vice versa?

šēzē (O'Brien) 'stumbling'. Cf. Prs. *šaxīdan*, Yd. *s"xuy*- 'to stumble'.

šēzik 'horn', v. p. 658.

šoxcik, *šaxčumān*, *šoxs*- (O'Brien, Ganj-i-Pukhto) 'to pass, cross a pass, to forgive', in the G.-i.-P. 'to pass' (about the time). Kal. *šaxsim* from Kho., Sgl. *šoxs*-, Wkh. *šōxs*- 'to pass'. Probably < **saxša*- from Ir. *sak*- 'to pass (the time)'.

šā 'black'. Wkh. *šū* Sgl. *šūi*. Ir.?

šablīki 'lucerne', v. p. 658.

šangūr 'guts', v. p. 663.

šonthu 'raven', v. p. 662.

ša'pik 'bread'. Wkh. *xapik*, Shgh. *šapik*, etc., v. Rep. Lingu. Miss. Afgh., p. 77.

tanau 'rope', v. p. 664.

tonk 'shallow': Prs. *tunuk*, etc. Also Kho. *tonuk* 'thin, delicate', etc.

ta'pār-zīng 'battle-axe', v. p. 660.

truš'ni 'thirsty', v. p. 664.

trišpōy 'dandelion', v. p. 664.

tu'vek 'gun', v. p. 659.

tozmiran 'daughter-in-law' (??), v. p. 661.

wā 'again, Prs. *bāz*'. Prs. *wā* is used only as a verbal prefix.

we- 'without' < Ir. **(a)βē-*, Prs. *bē*. *we-tatu* 'fatherless'; *we-xāl* 'tasteless', *wē-soru* 'widow'.

wāy 'price', v. pp. 662, 664.

wāru 'rain', v. p. 662.

wōr 'smell' (> Pal. *ōr*). < **βōδ*, cf. Wkh. *vūl*, Werchikw. loan-word *vēri*.

werkhū 'lamb'; *werkhālu* 'ram, three years old'. Scarcely borrowed from Ir., Wkh. *wūrkh*, etc.

warūm 'felt, numda'; *warānk* 'posteen'; *ša waruni* 'siāh-pōš'. Ir. ?

wrenjēik 'to fry', v. p. 664.

wārz 'above', v. p. 664.

warzidīni 'bolster', v. p. 663.

wraznī 'pillow', v. p. 663.

wrazun 'wing' (Kal. *bazūr-guṇḍi*); *warāznēn lo* (Kal. *wrazan-lōu*) 'flying squirrel'; *postwrazun*, *poz'wāzur*, *postw°* (Kal. *pōzwrazan*) 'bat'. Cf. Yd. *vārzeγo*, Munji *vozergo*, Psht. *wazar*, etc.

we-soru 'widow' (> Yd. *wāsərwo*). Ir. **βē-sar* 'headless', cf. Kal. *a-šiša* 'widow, *bē-sar*'.

wezen 'evening' < **uz-ayana-*, cf. Av. *uzayara-*, *uzayeirina-*, Yd. *izianē*.

xacum 'owner'. Ir. ? ?

xāl (Kal. *khal'*, Yd. *xāl* from Kho.) 'taste'. < Ir. **xwāl* < *xwāδ*, Prs. *xiwāl*.

xēl 'sweat', v. p. 662 (Pash. of Kuṛangal *hē'lē* from Psht.).

xomik, *axomik*, *xwamik* 'to descend'. Wkh. *šam-*, cf. Sar. *šāvs-*, Yd. *xafs-*, Prs. *xambānīdan* 'to bend', etc.

xēr 'stench'. Ir. ?

xora 'mill'. Cf. Sgl. *xuḍāri*. Yd. *xīryo*, etc.

xūr 'other'. Ir. ?

xu'rī 'wild rose', v. p. 663.

xēšēik 'to entreat'. Ir. ?

xašk 'soft'. Ir. ?

xošp 'dream'. Prs. *xusp* 'asleep'. But *š* ?

xatan 'house', v. p. 660.

xausik, *xowsik* 'to request'. Ir., cf. Arm. *zawsim* 'I say' ? ?

xu'sān 'happy' (Kal. *xo'sān*, Dam. *kho'sān*, Bashgali *ku'sān* from Kho.).

Cf. Sogd. *°xwašant* (γwš'nt) ? Or Prs. *xušnān* ?

xo'yānu 'belly'. Ir. ?

xažgūm 'carrot', Kati (Chitral) *gažgūm*. **gaʃ(a)k* (+ *ūm*) of IA. origin, but perhaps influenced in the ending by Sgl., Prs. *šalyām* 'turnip'.

yōrmān 'woe, armān' (in poetic formula). Early loanword from Prs.

ērman with Kho. *ē* > *yo*- (cf. *yo'mun* 'winter').

yūrān Bidd., *yurān* O'Brien 'year', *yerwān* Bidd. 'solstice'.

Connection with Av. *yār* 'year' is very improbable.

yozun(u) 'yoke'. < Middle Ir. **yōzan* = Skr. *yojana*- ?

zōik 'to agree to'. Ir. ?

zāy 'fat, grease'. Yazghulami *zēy* 'liquid fat', Psht. *γōz* 'fat of the kidneys' (and Oss. *qa(n)z* 'marrow' ?).

zo'mēik 'to yawn', v. p. 662.

zāru 'old'. Prs. *zar* 'old man', Yd. *zōr*.

zērc 'yellow'. Ir. **zērt* + *č*, cf. Seistani *zerča* or *zardi* 'rust disease of wheat'. Shgh. *zereč* 'rust'. Kho. *zērbali* 'yellow rose' < **zērd-wali* ?

žār 'poison', v. p. 660.

-žeri 'young animal', v. p. 660.

žiryēik 'to lament', v. p. 664.¹

¹ Also the other Dardic languages contain some early Ir. loanwords. I have mentioned Shina, etc., *gušpūr* 'prince', Rep., p. 76. Others are e.g. Kal. *parēč* (Dam. *parēči*) 'sieve'; Parachi *paričōn*; Kal. *sa'vū*, *°ēlas* 'small flat basket', *sohōla* 'big, deep basket' < **sapat*:- Prs. *sapad*, etc.; *zhāntyak* 'child-bearing': Av. *zāθya*:- Gawar-Bari *zātak*, Bashkarik *jātak* 'boy(s)': Phl. *zātak*; Dameli *rōpak* 'fox' (or IA ?); Ashkun *buto'mi* 'almond': Prs. *bādām*, etc.; Palola *bētingala* 'tomato, egg-plant', Kohistani Shina *bhatīngar*: Prs. *badīngān* < IA. (through Ir. ?).

The History of *p* in Kanarese

By A. N. NARASIMHIA

THE change of *p*, initial and intervocalic, to *h* in Kanarese was noticed by Western scholars early. Caldwell¹ says "the initial *p* of nearly all the words—whether they are pure Dravidian or Sanskrit derivatives—changes to *h*". A more careful study of this change of *p* to *h* was made by Kittel in his Grammar.² He points out that initial *p* was changed to *h* in Kēśirāja's time (1260) optionally. But he has not given evidence from the inscriptions to show when *p* changed to *h*.

Below are summarized the results of an analysis of the inscriptional forms given in the appendix to this article.

INITIAL *p*-

Initial *p*- was maintained till the end of the ninth century. In the sixth and seventh centuries the following words appear :—

paḷi (= NK. *haḷi*), *pārvarumān* (*hāruvarannu*), *pālum* (*hālū*), *pāvu* (*hāvu*), *pin* (*himde*), *pirigum* (*hiri*), *pulla* (*hullannu*), *pulu* (*hulu*), *pūni* (*hūṇu*), *peran* (*hera*, *hora*), *perjediya* (*hejjeḍe*), *peḷcuge* (*heccu*), *periyā* (*hiriya*), *pēḷda* (*heḷida*), *pokka* (*hokka*), *pogevōgi* (*hogahōgi*), *pomgoḷ-* (*homgoḷ-*), *podeḍa* (*hodeḍa*), *poragu* (*horagu*).

So, too, in the eighth and ninth centuries (see Appendix).

Forms with *h*- < *p*- appear first in the tenth century. The *h*-forms are more common in prose, especially where the boundaries of lands granted to *maṭhas* and temples are described ; in verse very few *h*- forms occur.

¹ CDG., pp. 156 and 157.

[The following abbreviations are used in this article :—

CDG. = R. Caldwell : *Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages*.

EC. = *Epigraphia Carnatica*.

EL. = *Epigraphia Indica*.

KBB. = *Karṇāṭaka Bhāṣā Bhūṣaṇa*.

KG. = F. Kittel : *Grammar of the Kanarese Language*.

KSS. = *Karṇāṭaka Śabdānuśāsana*.

KVV. = *Karṇāṭaka Kavyavalōkana*.

MK. = Middle or Mediaeval Kannaḍa.

NK. = New (Modern) Kannaḍa.

OK. = Old Kannaḍa.

S. = *Sūtra*.]

² KG., Sections 64, 184, 223, 224, 370.

In the eleventh to the fourteenth centuries *h*- forms are more frequent than *p*- even in verse; they are even more numerous in prose.

In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries very few forms with *p*- are found; and in the seventeenth century *p*- occurs only in verse.

Already in the thirteenth century this *h*- < *p*- was itself beginning to disappear: in A.D. 1219 we find *ogu* (= *hogu*), *odar* (= *hodar*), EI., v, p. 261.

To-day in the colloquial speech of the uneducated, *h*- < *p*- has practically disappeared before vowels of all qualities. The uneducated, trying to speak well, often insert an *h*- when it is not etymologically required.

INTERVOCALIC -*p*-

Primitive Kanarese possessed no -*p*-, only -*pp*-. Dravidian *-*p*- had already become -*v*-. This is seen even where -*p*- was the initial of the second member of a compound as early as the seventh century: *eḍevidiyal*, *Eḍevolaṇṇāḍu*, *pogevōgi*, *mūvetmūra*, *mamjuvōl*, *biṭṭavōl*, *salvavōl*.

This -*pp*- was, like other double consonants, shortened to -*p*- after a long vowel, or in the terminational element of polysyllabic words or even in dissyllabic forms of certain auxiliary verbs and pronouns.

In the seventh century the causative suffix appears with -*p*- (< -*pp*-) in *kaḷupe*, and as an auxiliary verb *apār* appears beside *āppār*.

This -*p*-, like initial *p*-, became *h* in the tenth century: *hōhan* (A.D. 910). After a short vowel in a termination: *naḍahidar* (A.D. 1004).

The change affects -*p*- of Sanskrit loanwords: *nṛham* (A.D. 1382) < *nṛpam*.

The inscriptions have the following examples of -*h*- < -*p*- < -*pp*- : 1004 *naḍahidar* sattarendu, EC. i, 46; 1172 *uḷihim*, EI. xv, Maḍagihāl; 1175 *aḷihidade*, EC. i, 65; 1182 *hōha* (48), EI. xiv, Kurugoḍ; 1218 *hōharu appa*, EC. iv, Hg. 23; 1223 *hōharu* (6), EC. vii, Sk. 175; 1229 *aḷuhidava* (12), EC. iv, Gu. 19; 1282 *appa* (19), EC. ii, 334; 1295 *kondamtaha* (11), EC. iv, Yl. 44; 1300 *baharu* (37), EC. iii, TN. 98; *iḷihikoṭṭu* (27), *baha* (35); 1317 *aḷihida* (26), *hōharu* (30), EC. iv, Ch. 116; 1368 *hōharu* (31), *baheu* (25), *uḷḷamtaha* (19), EC. ii, 344; *bahevu* (16), EC. iii, Nj. 117; 1370 *iharu* (15), *hōharu* (16), EC. iv, Ch. 97; 1376 *hōhāga* (8), EC. vii, Sk. 57; 1390 *hōharu*, EC. i, 39; 1391 *hōharu*, EC. iv, Yd. 1; 1932 *appudakke*

(21), EC. vii, Sh. 11 ; 1406 alupidavam, EC. iii, Sr. 105 ; 1409 bahevu (79), antaha, EC. ii, 255 ; aha, EC. vii, Sh. 70 ; 1431 bahiri (53), EC. vii, Sh. 71 ; 1437 hōharu, EC. iii, Ml. 4 ; 1444 hōhanu (11, 12, 13), EC. iv, Yd. 7 ; 1477 hōharu (28), bahiri (20), EC. iii, Md. 77 ; 1484 hōharu (18), baheu (21), EC. iv, Ng. 59 ; 1500 hōharu, EC. ii, 395 ; 1500 hōguvaru, EC. ii, 340 ; 1517 hōharu (10, 11), EC. iii, My. 5 ; 1539 bahevu (7), EC. ii, 225 ; bahenu (13), EC. ii, 224 ; 1544 appa (12), hōvaru (35), EC. i, 10 ; 1550 bahadu (15), hōharu (19), EC. iii, My. 50 ; 1557 hōha (38), EC. vii, Hg. 9 ; 1564 kaḷuhi (8), yihan (14), EC. iv, Yl. 29 ; 1576 bahiri, EC. iv, Yd. 59 ; 1620 alupidavanu (13), EC. iii, My. 17 ; 1645 yiha, EC. iv, Ch. 124 ; 1663 bahiri (53), EC. iii, My. 13 ; 1670 bahiri (20), EC. iv, 1 and 9, 119 ; 1672 bahudu, EC. vii, Sk. 215 ; 1678 baha (25), EC. iii, Sr. 94 ; 1593 Yihadu, EC. i, 11 ; 1753 yiha, EC. iv, Ch. 128.

Further, the pronominal forms of OK. *antappa*, *intappa*, *entappa* have become *antaha*, *intaha*, *entaha* in MK. ; in NK. *anthā*, *inthā*, *enthā*.

SURVIVAL OF *p*- FORMS

Many words are still used both in literary composition and colloquial speech with an initial *p*-. A few of them are loanwords : *pakka* 'a side', *pagadi* 'tribute, tax', *paccadi* 'a kind of pickle', *patti* 'a squared rafter', *paṭṭu* 'hold, seizure', *paṭṭe* 'the rind or bark of trees', *paḍuvalu* 'the west', *paḍḍe* 'maturity', *paḷaka* 'practice, habit', *padu* 'experiencing', *pāpa* 'a small child', *pālu* 'a share', *peḍasu* 'hardness', *poṭṭare* 'a hole in the trunk of a tree', *pōkari* 'a profligate', *pōṭi* 'joining', *pōṇisu* 'to string together', *pōlu* 'wasting'.

In some cases *p*- and *h*- forms are both found in use, but differentiated in meaning :—

A. From the same Root

pālu s.n. 'ruined place' used in proverbs which retain archaic forms ; *hālu* vb. 'to be spoiled, to ruin'.

peṭṭu s.n. 'a blow' ; vb. 'to beat as with a hammer' ; *hetṭu* vb. 'to thrust (with the penis)', perhaps to avoid the use of the expression which had acquired a vulgar meaning, *peṭṭu* was borrowed from the literary language in the meaning of 'a blow' and 'to beat'.

B. From different Roots

hāl 'milk', *pāl* 'a share' ; *hāḍu* 'to sing' and 'a song', *pāḍu* 'difficulty experienced' ; *huruḍu* 'rivalry', *puruḍu* 'the pollution after the birth of a child' ; *hōlu* 'to resemble', *pōlu* 'waste'.

EVIDENCE FROM LITERATURE

Grammars : There are four grammars of the ancient Kanarese language. But in a book on rhetoric, A.D. 877, *Kavirājamārga*, the portion relating to grammar is comparatively small. In the part on rhetoric we find no *h*-initial or otherwise in the pure Kanarese word.

I, 1045. *Karṇāṭakakāvyaśāloka* is in verse. There is no *h*- at all.

II, 1045. *Karṇāṭakabhāṣābhūṣaṇa* by Nāgavarmma includes *h*- in the alphabet (KBB. 6). In Sūtra 115, he says “*pē hōva*”—that *p* > *h* often initially and intervocalically, as the examples he gives prove ; *palage* > *halage* ; *kāpu* > *kāhu*.

III, 1260. *Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa* by Kēśirāja. He includes *h*- in his account of the alphabet (SMD., S. 33). In S. 159, he states that single *p* of pure Kanarese words often changes to *h* and that such a change is beautiful (*sundaram*), but he definitely points out that long *p* (-*pp*-) does not become *-h*- and says that it is *dustara* or difficult. Examples given are *upparam*, *kappuram*, *tappu*, *bippaṇḍam*, *muppu*, *muppurī*, *soppu*, *heppu*. But in S. 150 *-pp*- of the pronominal *antappa*, *intappa*, *entappa* are changed into a single *-h*-, i.e. *antaha*, *intaha*, and *entaha*.

Further, in sūtras 254, 258, and 292 he points out how Sanskrit loanwords with *p*- change to *h*- in Kanarese ; *pisuṇam* > *hisuṇam*, *pāsa* > *hāsa*.

The disappearance of *h*- initially is not unknown to him. In S. 271 he gives *hiṅgu* > *iṅgu*, *hamsapiṇḍa* > *anceviṇḍu* ; *hamsa* > *aṁce*, *hiṅguḷikam* > *iṅguḷikam*.

Use of unnecessary *h*- was known to Kēśirāja (Smd. 269) : *agni* > *haggi*.

IV, 1604. *Karṇāṭakaśabdānuśāsana* by Bhaṭṭākalaṁka.

In S. 6 he includes *h* in the Kanarese alphabet : in S. 145 *p* > *h* often, e.g. *pattike* > *hattige* ; *pīvara* > *hīvara*, *gōpura* > *gōhura*. In S. 296, *Tihurāntakan* and *Gōhuraṁ* with *-h*- are referred to as being correct. In S. 497, *appam* > *aham*, *appudu* > *ahudu*. In S. 576 he states that *hu* (< *pu*) is to be affixed to *bā* ‘to come’ to form verbal nouns.

APPENDIX

Eighth Century.—726 punṇame, EC. iii, Tn. 1 ; 740 puṭṭade (21), EC. iii, My. 55 ; pōppandu (16), EC. iii, My. 55 ; 750 pin, EC. ii, 79 ; pannīrvvarpārvvar, pattu, EC. iv, 149 ; 4 pervallame, EC. iv, Hg. 4 ;

776 paḷeya (66), EC. Ng. 85 ; 800 pōḷdu, pōgi, periya ; ii, 35, 4 ; 800 perbaḷa, EC. iv, Sr. 160.

Ninth Century.—810 pūsuvaṇ (7), EC. iii, Nj. 26 ; 830 puṭṭida (5), EC. vii, SK. 283 ; 870 palaram (9), EC. iii, Nj. 75 ; 870 pārvvarumaṇ (10), EC. iii, Nj. 76 ; 884 padinayduvarisadandu, EC. ii, 394 ; 888 padineṇṭaneya (5), EC. i, 2 ; peddoregareya (6), ponnum (14) ; 890 pattugadyāṇada (8), EC. i, 3, 8 ; 890 pervvayala (71), pēṛṇie (73), paḷḷame (74) ; perolve (65), pervaḷṭiya (75), perggolliya (76), EC. iv, Yd. 80 ; 898 Elecāga paḷliya (3), EC. iii, Nj. 98.

Tenth Century.—900 puṭṭegu (6), EC. iii, TM. 115 ; 907 Poḷalasetṭi (6), padinaydupaṇanum (11), pattondiya (8), EC. iii, ND. 14 ; 910 lōkake hōhan, EC. iii, Sr. 134 ; 930 perggeḍeḷaḷum (6), paṛidava (14), EC. iv, 149, 116 ; 950 pandiyum (11), piriya (12), EC. iii, Md. 41 ; 972 puṇṇameyum (7), piriya Hoḷma (5), EC. iii, Nj. 183 ; 978 piridu (18), Perggadūrum (11), Peddoregare (13), EC. i, 4 ; 960 puṭṭidom (15), puṭṭidar (6), EC. iii, Tn. 69 ; 982 peṇarorbbarum (41), pāṛuvalli (61), podisuva (6), pogalīsu (3), EC. ii, 134 ; 982 pogalīsal (113), pēḷdapem (31), poṛage (80), pusivude (45), piriḍiva, EC. ii, 133 ; 985 perggeḍe (2), poḷe, EI. xvii, p. 170 ; 995 pogale, EC. ii, 121 ; 1000 puṇṇame (7), Bihagāmuṇḍana (9), Haṇcadarmasetṭi (11), Bōkahallī (13), Hakādivaḍi (14), Gōrahallī (15), EC. i, 5.

Eleventh Century.—1004 naḍahidaresattarendu (6), EC. i, 46 ; 1007 ponnol (14), peṇadoṭṭi, palaram (22), EC. iii, Tn. 44 ; 1012 eraḍuhottina (30), pāyisidaṇ (11), EC. iii, Sr. 140 ; 1019 parbbi (14), haḷḷadi (29, 30), holakke (29), holada (31), hūḍōṛṇṭa (32), pūḍōṛṇṭa (40), puḍuke (16), EC. vii, Sk. 125 ; 1021 padineydu koḷaga (18), puṇusevaram (20), pūmbolanum (21), EC. iv, HG. 16 ; 1021, 1036 hadineṇṭu (22), pūḍōṛṇṭa (23), EC. vii, Sk. 126 ; 1049 Hosanāḍa (28), ponnaṇarakoṭṭu (31), EC. iv, Gu. 93 ; 1050 panneṇṭam (9), EC. i, 30 ; 1050, 1057 pervvayal (18), pōlipare (16), pōgi (26), pogale negaḷutum (27), EC. iv, 149, 18 ; 1058 Hāruvanahallī, Arakanahallī (12), Hennel-lūnabhūmi (21), kāṇḡonda hallihamgalabāni (26), huṇise (29), EC. i, 35 ; 1060 Huliyaḷeṇṭe (11), Hegga nāleya (14), haḍuvaṇakoḷada (15), Heggerege (19), haḷḷiya (21), hiriya (23), EC. vii, Sh. 6 ; 1063 paṛekāra (24), haṛekāra (25), hiriyaḷeṇṭe (27), horavarige (24), EC. vii, Ci. 18 ; 1070 Mūḍaṇahaḍuvaṇa (6), Hosavallī (8), EC. i, 49 ; 1070 Hosavallīsidhḥēṣvara mahāḍēvargge, posavallī (6), EC. i, 50 ; 1071 heggeḍe (57), hesar (94), EI. xv, p. 337 ; 1075 haḷḷa (46-51), haḍada (52), hannerāḍu (54) ; 1 hadināṛu (55), haḷḷa (55), pūḍōṛṇṭa (53, 55), EI. xv, p. 96e ; 1076 perggeḍe (33), paḍuvarggam (24),

panneraḍu (30) ; Kōṭehālasāvanta (35), hesara (38), EC. vii, HE. 14 ; 1079 baraha (49), posavoḷala (33), EC. iv, Ng. 56 ; perggadeḡala (29) ; 1085 poḷtirkkum (48), pēḷdu (59), poydam (59), harige (47), harige (51), Hennavurada (51), pere (44), EC. vii, Sh. 10 ; 1087 hōda (24), EC. iv, Yd. 2 ; 1089 Hosavura (3), posavura (4), pēroṭṭimge (5), palaram (5), Hosavūra (6), EC. vii, Sk. 298 ; 1095 hasuvum hāruvanam konda (58), EC. i, 57 ; Būvanahalliyam (9), EC. iv, Kp. 49 ; 1097 horege (55), hērimge (55), honnam (56), paṇa, paḍuvalu, EI. xvii, p. 182 ; 1099 Panasōgenivāsi, EC. iv, Yd. 24 ; 1100 pesarvvaḍedar (23), EC. ii, 69.

Twelfth Century.—1104 puṭṭi (20), hermmagaḷ (39), EC. vii, Sk. 131 ; 1107 Hosavoḷal (4), Posavoḷala (5), Sōgepaḷli (5), EC. iv, HG. 107 ; 1107 hērimge (14), honna (15), hēr (17), Pānumgall (9), paṇav (15), pērin (17), EI. xiii, p. 12 ; 1110 hattū (33), and all the rest begin with *p*-, EI. xv, 26 (Muṭgi inscription) ; 1112 paḍuvalu (80), pom, ponna (83), paṇa (83), hōda (77), hola (77), haḷḷa (78), hattū (78), EI. xiii, p. 36 (Ittagi) ; 1113 pogaḷvudujanam (26), EC. ii, 126 ; 1115 perggade (44), Hoyasaḷamahārāja (156), EC. ii, 127 ; 1118 hārubageyam, EC. ii, 125 ; 1120 hesariṭṭu (11), haḷḷi (11), Hoysaḷa (5), EC. iii, 32, 43 ; 1123 hadimūru kaṁcina hoḷavigeya (54), polvavarār (17), Poysaḷadēvara piriyaṛasi (42), EC. ii, 132 ; 1124 Hermadigāvuṇḍana (3), EC. iii, Nj. 194 ; 1125 Halasige and palasige, EI. xiii, p. 298 ; 1135 hūvinatōṭamum, EC. ii, 384 ; 1144 hamdiyan (6), EC. iii, Md. 22 ; 1145 pō pō vādi pōgendu (148), EC. ii, 140 ; 1147 hore, himgidudu, hāl, hoṁ, pannirpuliḡere, paḍedu, hattār, hola, hāḷa, horeya, haḷḷa, EI. xvi, p. 44 ; 1148 honnaḷakoṭṭu (18), baraha (2), EC. iii, Nj. 110 ; 1150 haṇavinalekka (20), hermmagaḷ (39), EC. vii, Sk. 131 ; 1152 Tailaha, Hānumgall, pānumgall, EI. xvi, p. 36 ; 1159 haḍuvalu (62), huṇiseya (62), hiriyaṛu (62), EC. ii, 345 ; 1162 halgaḷam (31), hōheyam (32), hūn (33), and the rest are all *p*-, EI. xviii, p. 212 ; 1163 Huḷḷarājam (108), Heggadekōrayyanum (103), EC. ii, 64 ; 1172 Hemmaḍi (12), Uḷihim (32), hiridum (82, 94) (in verse), both *p* and *h* in prose, EI. xv, Maḍagihāl ; 1175 Hoysaṇa (4), Biluhunāḍu (7), aḷihidaḍe (16), hōharu (19), EC. i, 65 ; 1175 Hūvinapaḍage (3), himdegade (3), honnabeddaleya (4), EC. ii, 242 ; 1179 hōdabaṭṭeya (43), hulumāḍiya (43), Hiriyaḍēvarabēṭṭakkam (44), haḍuvalu, hiriya, haḷḷa (44), EC. ii, 397 ; Hoysaḷana (32), Tōrahanam (33), Tōrapa (63), hiriya (67, 71, 73), hola (73), paḍuva (71), EI. xix, p. 226 ; 1180 poy, pesaran (4), Hānamgallu (17), Hoysaḷavīra-baḷḷāḷa (19), Kāluhaḷḷi (22), EC. iii, Tn. 106 ; 1182 piriya (36), paḍuval

(40, 47, 48), *pū* (40), *hāhe* (40), *hiriya* (44), *hōha* (48), EI. xiv (Kurugōd); 1184 *pāsuge*, *pēriṅge*, *hāla*, *hāsuge*, *haṇa*, EI. xvii, p. 189; 1195 *puṭṭidam* (7), *piḍidam* (16), *piṅguguṇi* (32), *haṇamūru* (56), EC. ii, 335; 1199 *haṭṭigālegadol* (14), EC. iv, Ng. 47; *peṇar*; 1200 *hōgalu* (11), *haḷli* (11), *hiṇde* (11), EC. iv, Kp. 47.

Thirteenth Century.—1203 *hoṇe* (46), *hasuṇbe* (47), *Hoṭṭeyya* (43), *pergḡere* (41), *hola* (48), *huṭṭida* (48), EC. vii, Sh. 88; 1204 *pēriḍoḍam* (52), *pēriṇ* (54), otherwise all *h-*, EI. xiii, p. 16; 1206 *haṇa* (16), *hiriya* (13), *hokkaḍe* (28), EC. ii, 333; 1210 *Huligere* (13), *hiṭu* (13), *paḍuva*, *paḍeda* (40), EI. xix, 194; 1213 *Harahondanamaga* (3), *Koṇḍahōhali* (4), EC. iii, Ml. 37; 1214 *pergḡade* (12), *heggade* (14), EC. vii, Sk. 243; 1217 *haḍuvaṇahuniṣeya*, EC. ii, 170; 1218 *rāhuta*, *hōharu*, *appa* (20), EC. iv, Hg. 23; 1218 *hesara* (49), *Haḍavaḷagoggi* (21), *pusi* (9), EC. vii, Sh. 5; 1223 *hadināraṇeya* (2), *haḷli* (4), *hōhāga* (6), *halaram* (6), EC. vii, Sk. 175; 1229 *hōdaru* (13), *Heriyanāḍa* (8), *aḷuhidava* (12), EC. iv, Gu. 19; 1235 *hesariṇḍam* (37), *hōda* (41), *pesarvetta*, *pokkaḍe* (17), EC. iii, Md. 121; 1246 *Hiriyabettadi* (2), EC. ii, 165; 1255 *hōgi huṭṭida*, EC. i, 6; *Hoysaṇa*, *appa*, *aha*; 1276 *samanvitavaha* (for *appa*) (13), EC. iii, Md. 70; *Sthāvaravaha* (15), EC. iii, Md. 70; 1282 *hoṇagāgi* (26), *appa* (19), EC. ii, 334; 1285 *baluhiṇde* (12), *Hoyisaḷa* (8), *Haradayya* (26), EC. iii, Md. 62; 1290 *haḷḷada* (20), *hērobbe* (22), EC. iii, Tn. 27; 1295 *Homma* (11), *Kondaṇṭaha* (11), EC. iv, Yl. 44 (for *appa*); 1300 *baharu* (37), EC. iii, Tn. 98; *iḷihikoṭṭu* (27), *baha* (35) (for *barppa*), *honnonu*, EC. iii, Tn. 98.

Fourteenth Century.—1317 *aḷihida* (26), *hōharu* (30), EC. iv, Ch. 116; 1325 *hattu* (10), *Hosaḷli* (10), *hadinaidu* (22); 1348 *Hānagallirṅge* (4), EC. i, 63; 1360 *hōgi* (3), *Hulukōḍa Chikkaṇṇayya* (3), EC. i, 67; 1368 *hōharu* (31), *honnirṅge* (25), *baheu* (20), *uḷḷaṇṭaha* (19) (for *appa*), *hadineṇṭu* (13), EC. ii, 344; *bahevu* (26), EC. iii, Nj. 117; 1370 *iharu* (15), *hōharu* (16), EC. iv, Ch. 97; 1376 *hāyidu* (8), *hōhāga* (8), EC. vii, Sk. 57; 1377 *biṇṇaham* (20), EC. vii, Sk. 35, for *vijñāpana*; 1382 *nṛpam* and *nṛham* (king), *pogaḷgu* (14), EC. iii, Nj. 21; 1382, 1390 *haḷḷa* (7), *haḷli* (8), *hariva* (8), *pesaraṇiṭṭu* (23), *huṇisedaḷu* (25), *hōharu*, *haṇḍiya* (31), EC. i, 39; 1391 *hottina* (6), *hōharu*, EC. iv, Yd. 1; 1392 excepting *appudakke*, every *p-* and *-p-* is *h-* and *-h-*, EC. iii, Ml. 47; 1400 *ahudu* (21), EC. vii, Sh. 11.

Fifteenth Century.—1406 *haḷli* (7), *aḷupidavam* (13), EC. iii, Sr. 105; 1409 *bahevu* (79), *hoṇna* (78), *aśādhāraṇavamtaha*, EC. ii, 253; *abhivṛddhigaḷ aha hāge* (27), EC. vii, Sh. 70; 1431 *anubhaviṣi*, *bahiri*

(53), EC. vii, Sh. 71 ; 1437 hōharu, EC. iii, Ml. 4 ; 1444 hōhanu (11, 12, 13), EC. iv, Yd. 7 ; 1477 hōharu (26), bahiri (20), EC. iii, Md. 77 ; 1484 hōharu (18), baheu (21), EC. iv, Ng. 59 ; 1500 hōharu, EC. ii, 395 ; 1500 hōguvaru, EC. ii, 340 ; all *h*- and *-h*- except in verse.

Sixteenth Century.—1509 sahōdararaha (10), EC. ii, 228 ; 1513 hāge (25), EC. iii, Gu. 3 ; 1517 hōharu (10 and 11), EC. iii, My. 5 ; 1539 bahevu (7), EC. ii, 225 ; 1539 bahenu (13), EC. ii, 224 ; 1539 aḍahāgiralāgi (7), aḍahanu (8), EC. ii, 224 ; 1544 hoṁnu (28), Hanasōge (27), halaru (33), Hosahaḷli (27), appa (12), Hosagadde (54), hōvaru (35), EC. i, 10 ; 1550 bahadu (15), hōharu (19), EC. iii, My. 50 ; 1557 yī haṭṭanada (10) (for paṭṭanada), hosa (38), EC. vii, Hl. 9 ; 1564 birnaha (8), kaḷuhi (8), yihari (14), EC. iv, Yl. 29 ; 1569 aḍahu (10), EC. iv, Hg. 41 ; 1576 bahiri (30), EC. iv, Yd. 59.

Seventeenth Century.—1620 aḷupidavan (13), EC. iii, My. 17 ; 1634 aḍahu (18), aḍavakoṭamtavaru (40), hōharu (49), EC. ii, 352 ; aḍahina (23), aḍava (24), EC. ii, 250 ; 1645 Haradanahaḷliyalu yiha, EC. iv, Ch. 124 ; 1650 hākiyiruvadu, EC. iv, Yd. 40 ; 1654 Verse portion : pasivaṁte (11), pesaran (15), posatu (14), irppudu (13), pēḷdan (35) ; Prose portion : hūvāḍiganige (77), hola (90), Hosahaḷli (80), EC. iv, Yl. 1 ; 1663 bahari (53) and all *h*-, EC. iii, My. 13 ; 1670 bahiri (20), EC. iv, Hb. 119 ; 1672 uṇḍu bahudu, EC. vii, Sk. 213 ; 1673 nityotsaha (4), EC. ii, 390 ; 1678 naḍedubaha (25) and all *h*-, EC. iii, Sr. 94 ; 1693 yihadu, EC. i, 11.

Eighteenth Century.—1753 samudradalliyiha (5), EC. iv, Ch. 128 ; 1775 pra-u-da pratāpa, EC. iv, Yl. 4 ; 1782 prahuda pratāpa, EC. i, 12, 13, 14 ; 1800 praudapratāpa, EC. iii, Sr. 8, and all *h*- in pure Kanarese words.

Grammairiens tardifs et dialectes du prākṛit

By LUIGIA NITTI

SIR GEORGE GRIERSON, en reprenant après Lassen l'étude de l'unique MS du *Prākṛitakalpataru* de Rāmaśarman Tarkavāgīśa (No 1106 de la Bibliothèque de l'India Office) et en le comparant au *Prākṛitasarvasva* de Mārkaṇḍeya, a reconnu l'existence d'un groupe de grammairiens prākṛits, fidèles à l'enseignement de Vararuci pour ce qui concerne le prākṛit principal, mais caractérisés en outre par le nombre beaucoup plus grand de dialectes qu'ils traitent. Il les a nommés "grammairiens orientaux" et s'est efforcé pendant de longues années de divulguer leur doctrine et d'utiliser leurs données.¹

Mais l'intérêt éveillé par ces textes n'a pas été grand, les savants ont montré une certaine hostilité à l'égard des nouveaux venus. D'après eux l'essentiel de la grammaire prākṛite se trouve en germe dans Vararuci et est pleinement développé par Hemacandra, l'un et l'autre bien connus et magnifiquement édités. Mārkaṇḍeya et Rāmaśarman ne peuvent pas être antérieurs au XV^e siècle et le foisonnement des dialectes n'est que la preuve de leur époque tardive. Leur témoignage n'a donc aucune valeur et ne sert qu'à embrouiller davantage la question déjà si compliquée du prākṛit et de ses subdivisions.

Que Mārkaṇḍeya et Rāmaśarman soient récents, c'est un fait indiscutable, mais comme remarque Grierson : "A still later writer than Mārkaṇḍeya was Professor Pischel, and the same opponent who objects to the one will quote the other as infallible. It is not a question of date but of sources and of critical acumen."²

Le prākṛit n'était pas davantage parlé au temps de Hemacandra qu'à celui de Rāmaśarman et de Mārkaṇḍeya. On peut donc admettre, en raisonnant *a priori*, c'est vrai, mais en se basant sur l'analogie de nombreux cas dans l'histoire de l'Inde, que les grammairiens plus récents soient pour ainsi dire archaïsants et qu'ils nous transmettent le reflet d'une doctrine très ancienne, tandis que Hemacandra par exemple ait été de son temps un novateur.

¹ *The Eastern School of Prākṛit Grammarians and Paisāci Prākṛit*, Sir Asutosh Mukerjee Silver Jubilee Volumes, pp. 119-141; "The Prākṛit Vibhāsās," *JRAS.*, 1918, pp. 489-517; "The Apabhramsa Stabakas of Rāma Śarman (Tarkavāgīśa)," *IA.*, li, 1922, pp. 13-23, and 1923, pp. 1-8, 187-191; "The Prākṛit Dhātuvādesās according to the western and eastern schools of prakrit grammarians," *Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. viii, No. 2, pp. 77-170; "The Śaurasenī and Māgadhī Stabakas of Rāma-Śarman (Tarkavāgīśa)," *IA.*, lvi, 1927, and lvii, 1928, etc., etc.

² *The Eastern School of Prākṛit Grammarians*, etc., p. 122.

Il est heureux que des faits viennent maintenant étayer cette hypothèse.

La théorie que l'ancienneté d'un grammairien est inversement proportionnelle au nombre de dialectes qu'il traite, remonte, comme la plupart des idées qui ont cours dans la philologie prākrite, à Ch. Lassen : "Ita ut—ainsi qu'il conclut après un long raisonnement—inter Prākriticae loquelaē praeceptores is novissimus possit haberi, qui maximo dialectorum numero locum in commentariis suis concesserit."¹ Pischel a accepté cette doctrine sans discussion et s'en est même servi pour essayer de dater Kramadīśvara. Kramadīśvara ne peut à son avis être plus ancien que Hemacandra *parce que* il "nomme" un plus grand nombre de dialectes.²

Or cette théorie—généralisation hardie mais compréhensible à l'époque de Lassen—n'est plus guère acceptable.

De son dernier voyage au Népal, M. Sylvain Lévi a rapporté entre autres MSS, la photographie d'une grammaire prākrite écrite par Puruṣottama. J'ai été chargée d'en assurer l'édition qui est maintenant prête et qui sera, j'espère, bientôt imprimée. Le dernier colophon du MS nous donne une date et nous permet donc de tenter l'identification de son auteur : *iti puruṣottamadevasya paśācika-sūtram samāptam | sam 385 jepūlikhītam uttamaśrījñānena saptaṭivar-ṣādhikavayasā*.

L'an 385 de l'ère népalaise correspond au 1265 A.D.

Le grammairien et lexicographe sanskrit Puruṣottama pourrait donc être l'auteur de cette grammaire prākrite. Il vivait au Bengale, ce qui rend compréhensible l'existence de ce MS à la Bibliothèque de Khatmandou ; il était bouddhiste et le MS népalais débute par une invocation au Bouddha : *namo buddhāya*. La date de Puruṣottama est discutée. Dans l'introduction au *Nānārthasaṅgraha* il est expressément dit que Puruṣottama vivait au XIII^e siècle.³ Rajendralal Mitra ainsi que Haraprasad Shastri⁴ ont voulu situer Puruṣottama au X^e ou XI^e siècle, mais ceci semble impossible puisque un des ouvrages que Puruṣottama cite dans sa *Prayogaratnamālā* est le *Viśvaprakāśa* écrit en 1111 A.D.⁵

¹ *Institutiones linguae prākriticae*, Bonn, 1837, p. 4.

² "Für ein jüngerer Alter dagegen spricht, dass KI, wie die späteren Grammatiker, viel mehr Dialekte nennt als He.," *Grammatik der Prākrit-Sprachen*, p. 41.

³ Cf. la préface au *Trikāṇḍaśeṣa* de Puruṣottama édité par C. A. Seelakhandha, Bombay, 1916, p. 5.

⁴ *Sahitya Pariṣat Patrikā*, vol. 39, pp. 1-6 (en bengali).

⁵ Th. Zachariae, *Citate in Kramadīśvara's Saṃkshiptasāra*, BB, v, 1880, note à la p. 26.

Quelle que soit au juste l'identité de son auteur, il reste assuré que ce traité de grammaire prākrite écrit en 1265 connaît autant de dialectes qu'en connaît Mārkaṇḍeya et que, comme lui, il les répartit en quatre grands groupes : *bhāṣā*, *vibhāṣā*, *apabhraṃśa* et *paiśācika*. Voici réhabilité le témoignage de Mārkaṇḍeya.

Mais il y a de plus. Cette division en *bhāṣā* et *vibhāṣā* remonte plus loin, au *Nāṭyaśāstra*. La nouvelle édition de cet ouvrage, qui comprendra quatre volumes, mais dont les deux premiers ont seuls paru jusqu'à présent, nous donne le texte au moins tel que Abhinavagupta l'a connu (XI^e-X^e siècle), sinon tel que Bharata l'a rédigé.¹ Or les prākrits admis dans les drames au temps d'Abhinava étaient beaucoup plus nombreux que ne le permet Hemacandra (1088-1172) et se repartissaient en *bhāṣā* et *vibhāṣā*, exactement comme chez Mārkaṇḍeya, Rāmaśarman et Puruṣottama. Abhinava s'efforce même de définir ces deux termes (vol. ii, p. 376) : *bhāṣā saṃskṛtāpabhraṃśaḥ | bhāṣāpabhraṃśas tu vibhāṣā*. "Une *bhāṣā* est une corruption du sanskrit, une *vibhāṣā* la corruption d'une *bhāṣā*."

Les "grammairiens orientaux" en reprenant cette ancienne classification ont dû l'élargir, non pas—comme dit Jacobi²—"pour l'accorder avec les nouveaux systèmes de langues," mais simplement parce que leurs traités ne se bornaient plus à l'étude des prākrits dramatiques et que d'autres langues étaient nées à la littérature lyrique ou religieuse.

Car, il n'est peut être pas inutile d'insister sur ce point, ce n'est pas l'observation directe de langues vivantes que nous transmettent les grammairiens prākrits de toutes les écoles, mais les règles nécessaires et suffisantes pour écrire des langues conventionnelles sinon artificielles. La date de la rédaction d'un ouvrage grammatical n'a donc pas une grande importance et ne modifie pas nécessairement la valeur de son témoignage. La seule chronologie qui puisse nous intéresser est pour ainsi dire relative et "intérieure". Ce sont les écoles et les sources qu'il faut limiter et étudier. Un grammairien tardif comme Mārkaṇḍeya peut donc—ainsi que l'avait bien prévu Sir George Grierson—nous conserver le reflet d'une doctrine ancienne et traditionnelle.

¹ *Nāṭyaśāstra*, with the commentary of Abhinavagupta, ed. by M. Ramakrishna Kavi, in four volumes : Gaekwad's Oriental Series, Baroda.

² "Bhavisatta Kaha," von Dhanavala, *Abh. der Kais. Bayer. Akad. der Wiss. Philos.-philol. und histor. Klasse*, xxix Bd., 4 Abh., p. 70*.

The Expressions for "The year consists of twelve months" and the like in Vedic Prose

By HANN S OERTEL

§ 1. The sentence "The year consists of twenty-four half-months" may be rendered in Vedic prose in three different ways:—

A. The nominative type: *caturviṃsatir ardhmāsāḥ saṁvatsaraḥ* or, with resumptive pronoun (cf. my *Syntax of Cases in the Narrative and Descriptive Prose of the Brāhmaṇas*, i, § 3, p. 2, and §§ 8 f., pp. 10 ff.), *caturviṃsatir ardhmāsāḥ sa saṁvatsaraḥ*.¹

B. The genitive type: *caturviṃsatīḥ saṁvatsarasādhārdhamāsāḥ*.

C. The adjectival type: *caturviṃsatyārdhamāsāḥ saṁvatsaraḥ*.

NOTE.—A compositional expression *caturviṃsatīḥ saṁvatsarārdhamāsāḥ* does not occur though it would be theoretically possible in view of instances like *sahasraṁ haita ādityaraśmayāḥ* ² JUB. 2. 6. 10 parallel to *bahavo hy eta ādityasya raśmayāḥ* JUB. 2. 9. 10, *ṣaṣṭiś ca ha vai trīṇi ca śatāṇy ādityasya raśmayāḥ* ŚB. 10. 5. 4. 4.³

§ 2. I. THE NOMINATIVE TYPE

(a) *dvādaśa māsāḥ saṁvatsaraḥ*

dvādaśa māsāḥ saṁvatsaraḥ ŚB. 6. 2. 1. 28; 36; 6. 2. 2. 5; 12; 6. 6. 1. 5; 14; 7. 2. 2. 16; 7. 2. 4. 4; 9; 16; 22; 7. 3. 1. 47; 9. 2. 3. 6; 9. 3. 1. 1; 9. 3. 2. 8; 9. 3. 3. 13; 9. 5. 1. 38; 10. 1. 4. 8; 13. 1. 2. 1; 13. 3. 3. 8; 13. 4. 1. 5; 13. 5. 1. 4; 13. 5. 3. 11; TS. 2. 5. 11. 6; 5. 2. 5. 5; 5. 4. 7. 6; 5. 4. 8. 2; 6; 5. 6. 2. 2; 5. 6. 7. 1; 3; 5. 6. 10. 3; TB. 3. 8. 1. 1; 3. 8. 21. 1; 3. 9. 18. 2; TĀ. 2. 8. 1; 5. 4. 10; 5. 6. 2; MS. 1. 4. 14 (64, 5-6); 1. 5. 6 (74, 16); 1. 10. 5 (145, 14); 2. 5. 10 (61, 5-6); 3. 2. 2 (16, 13); 3. 2. 4 (21, 5-6); 3. 2. 5 (21, 13); 3. 3. 3 (35, 13-14); 3. 4. 1 (41, 8-9); 3. 4. 3 (48, 3); 3. 4. 6 (52, 15); 3. 4. 10 (57, 15); 3. 8. 10 (110, 15); 3. 10. 2 (131,

¹ This sentence is not quotable but formed by analogy to *dvādaśa māsāḥ sa saṁvatsaraḥ* (see below, § 2, g).

² The compound *ādityaraśmi-* is wanting in pw.

³ Cf. also the compositional *dee vai puruṣakapāle* (read so with the MS. O), KB. 30. 4 (143, 24 ed. Lindner).

14); 4. 1. 12 (15, 13); 4. 3. 2 (41, 4-5); 4. 4. 7 (58, 19); 4. 4. 9 (60, 17); 4. 5. 7 (73, 13-14 and 74, 8); 4. 6. 6 (88, 12); 4. 6. 7 (89, 5-6); K. 8. 8 (91, 13); 19. 11 (12, 20-21); 20. 3 (21, 2 and 14-15); 21. 5 (42, 2 and 43, 10); 21. 11 (51, 12); 21. 12 (52, 19); 23. 8 (84, 17); 26. 1 (122, 1); 28. 2 (154, 8); 29. 8 (177, 20); 33. 4 (29, 8-9); 34. 9 (43, 4); 35. 20 (67, 9); 36. 11 (77, 17); Kap. 7. 2 (73, 15); 31. 1 (147, 8); 31. 5 (152, 6 and 19); 31. 20 (168, 24-169, 1 and 169, 11-12); 40. 4 (228, 2-3); 44. 2 (256, 22-23); PB. 3. 12. 3; 4. 2. 12; 4. 4. 11; 6. 3. 3; 12. 4. 17; 14. 1. 10; 16. 4. 12; 13; 16. 6. 10; 18. 2. 4; 18. 9. 7; 21; 19. 5. 5; JB. 1. 27¹; 135 (Caland, § 31, p. 37, 5, from bottom); 137; 179 (Caland, § 63, p. 70, 3); 206; 2. 83 (Caland, § 130, p. 146, 6); 91; 92; 93; 97; 107; 162 (bis); 163; 177; 183 (Caland, § 144, p. 178, 4); 199; 225 (bis); 239; 364; 376; 380; 383; GB. 1. 4. 19 (108, 3 ed. Gaastra); Vādhūla S. (Caland, *Acta Orientalia*, vi, 183, 1-2; 196, 23; 216, 16; 233, 11; 234, 23).—*dvādaśa vai māsāḥ saṁvatsaraḥ* AB. 1. 13. 33; 1. 28. 41; 1. 29. 24; 2. 39. 7; 6. 19. 7; KB. 1. 1 (2, 3); 7. 10 (34, 9); 8. 1 (34, 16); 9. 2 (41, 21); 9. 4 (42, 16); 13. 9 (61, 1); 14. 1 (62, 3); 14. 2 (62, 17); 16. 11 (74, 5); 25. 15 (119, 21); JB. 2. 362 (bis).—*dvādaśa ha vai māsāḥ saṁvatsaraḥ* GB. 2. 1. 1 (144, 2); 2. 6. 1 (244, 1).

(b) *trayodaśa māsāḥ saṁvatsaraḥ*

trayodaśa māsāḥ saṁvatsaraḥ ŚB. 6. 6. 3. 16; 6. 7. 1. 28; 7. 1. 1. 32; 7. 2. 3. 9; 8. 6. 3. 12; 9. 1. 1. 16; 9. 3. 3. 9; 13. 5. 1. 15; 13. 8. 3. 7; TS. 5. 6. 7. 1; MS. 1. 11. 8 (170, 1); 3. 4. 2 (46, 19); K. 14. 8 (207, 11-12); 21. 5 (42, 11-43, 1); 34. 9 (43, 5); Kap. 31. 20 (169, 2); Vādhūla S. (Caland, *Acta Orient.*, vi, 183, 3; 234, 24).

(c) *pañca* (etc.) *ṛtavaḥ saṁvatsaraḥ*

pañca ṛtavaḥ saṁvatsaraḥ ŚB. 6. 3. 1. 25; 6. 5. 1. 12; 6. 8. 1. 15; 7. 1. 1. 32; 7. 2. 3. 4; 9; 7. 4. 1. 34; 8. 6. 3. 12; 8. 7. 4. 9; 9. 2. 1. 10; 9. 2. 3. 41; 9. 4. 2. 24; 26; 9. 4. 4. 14; JB. 2. 291; Vādhūla S. (Caland, *Acta Orient.*, vi, 233, 11-12).—*pañca vā ṛtavaḥ saṁvatsaraḥ* TB. 2. 7. 10. 2.

ṣaḍ ṛtavaḥ saṁvatsaraḥ ŚB. 6. 3. 2. 10; 6. 4. 2. 10; 6. 5. 4. 9; 6. 7. 1. 24; 27; 7. 3. 1. 35; 12. 2. 2. 18; 13. 1. 5. 6; 13. 5. 4. 28; 13. 8. 2. 6; TĀ. 2. 8. 1; PB. 19. 18. 5; JB. 2. 420 (Caland, § 168, p. 219, 1 from bottom).—*ṣaḍ vā ṛtavaḥ saṁvatsaraḥ* TS. 5. 2. 6. 1;

¹ Passages from JB. for which no references in parentheses are given are not yet published.

5. 4. 2. 2; 5. 6. 7. 1; MS. 1. 7. 3 (111, 19); 3. 4. 6 (52, 12-13); K. 9. 1 (104, 11); 20. 4 (21, 20); 21. 5 (42, 18; read so with the MSS. St. and W 1a and the Kap. parallel instead of von Schroeder's *ṣaḍ vā ṛtava ṛtavas saṁvatsarah*, cf. K. 22. 6 [62, 18] where the MS. Ch. wrongly reads *ṛtavas* twice); 22. 6 (62, 18); Kap. 8. 4 (83, 7); 31. 6 (152, 24); 31. 20 (168, 22); 34 (176, 17); KB. 15. 2 (66, 1); 19. 7 (87, 1); 23. 1 (102, 21); 26. 16 (128, 20); 30. 10 (146, 11); JB. 2. 142; 199; 431 (Caland, § 169, p. 229, 1-2); 3. 61; Vādhūla S. (Caland, *Acta Orient.*, vi, 196, 24).

sapta ṛtavaḥ saṁvatsarah ŚB. 6. 6. 1. 14; 6. 6. 2. 7; 6. 8. 2. 7; 7. 3. 2. 9; 9. 1. 1. 26; 9. 1. 2. 31; 9. 2. 3. 45.

(d) *caturviṁśatir ardhamāsāḥ saṁvatsarah*

caturviṁśatir ardhamāsāḥ saṁvatsarah TS. 5. 1. 8. 5; 5. 6. 7. 2; TĀ. 2. 8. 1; PB. 4. 4. 1; 6. 3. 4; 14. 1. 11; 15. 1. 10; ŚB. 3. 1. 21; Vādhūla S. (Caland, *Acta Orient.*, vi, 233, 15-16).—*caturviṁśatir vā ardhamāsāḥ saṁvatsarah* MS. 3. 4. 6 (52, 4, and 17).

(e) *dvau māsāv ṛtuḥ*

dvau hi māsāv ṛtuḥ ŚB. 7. 4. 2. 29; 8. 2. 1. 16; 8. 3. 2. 5; 6; 8. 4. 2. 14; 8. 7. 1. 6.—*dvau-dvau hi māsāv ṛtuḥ* PB. 10. 2. 8.

(f) *triṁśad rātrayo māsaḥ*

triṁśat-triṁśad vai rātrayo māso, yó māsaḥ sá saṁvatsarāḥ MS. 1. 10. 8 (148, 8); K. 36. 2 (70, 6-7 where . . . *yo vai māsaḥ* . . .); contrast K. 34. 9 (43, 13) *triṁśan māso rātrayaḥ*, below § 3, II (Genitival Type), f.

With resumptive demonstrative pronoun :—

(g) *dvādaśa māsāḥ sa saṁvatsarah*

dvādaśa māsāḥ pañca ṛtavaḥ sa saṁvatsarah TS. 5. 6. 7. 2; 6. 3. 7. 1.—*pañca ṛtavo dvādaśa māsū eṣa saṁvatsarah* MS. 1. 7. 3 (111, 14); 3. 7. 2 (79, 7-8); 4. 3. 2 (41, 6).—*dvādaśa māsāḥ pañca ṛtavaḥ sa vai saṁvatsarah* PB. 18. 2. 14; 18. 4. 11; 18. 9. 5.—*pañca ṛtavo dvādaśa māsū eṣa vāva sa saṁvatsarah* K. 9. 1 (104, 6); Kap. 8. 4 (83, 2).—Similarly *ṣaṣṭiś ca ha vai trīṇi ca śatāny etac chatarudriyam* ŚB. 9. 1. 1. 43 (s. below § 6 in fine).

With resumptive *tāvān* :—

(h) *dvādaśa māsās tāvān saṁvatsarah*

dvādaśa māsāḥ pañca ṛtavas tāvān saṁvatsarah AB. 1. 16. 44.

§ 3. II. THE GENITIVAL TYPE

(a) *dvādaśa māsāḥ saṁvatsarasya*

dvādaśa vai māsāḥ saṁvatsarasya ŚB. 1. 2. 5. 13 (= Kāṇva 2. 2. 3. 11); 1. 3. 5. 10; 11; 2. 2. 2. 4 (= Kāṇva 1. 2. 2. 3); 3. 4. 4. 19; 3. 6. 4. 23; 4. 3. 1. 5; 4. 6. 1. 11; 5. 2. 1. 2; 5. 2. 5. 15; 5. 3. 5. 5; 5. 4. 5. 14; 20; 5. 5. 2. 2; 5. 5. 5. 7; 11. 2. 6. 11; 11. 5. 4. 9; 12. 2. 1. 8; 12. 2. 2. 6; 12. 7. 2. 19; 14. 2. 2. 12.—*dvādaśa māsāḥ saṁvatsarasya* ŚB. 11. 6. 3. 8; 12. 2. 3. 6; 12. 3. 2. 2; GB. 1. 5. 5 (119, 5).—*tasya* (scil. *saṁvatsarasya*) *dvādaśa māsāḥ pañca ṛtavaḥ* ŚB. 8. 4. 1. 11–13.—*tasya* (scil. *saṁvatsarasya*) *dvādaśa māsāḥ ṣaḍ ṛtavaḥ* ŚB. 8. 4. 1. 14.—*tasya* (scil. *saṁvatsarasya*) *dvādaśa māsāḥ sapta ṛtavaḥ* ŚB. 8. 4. 1. 15; 16.

(b) *trayodaśa māsāḥ saṁvatsarasya*

trayodaśa vai māsāḥ saṁvatsarasya ŚB. 3. 6. 4. 24; 14. 1. 3. 27; 14. 3. 2. 16; GB. 1. 5. 5. (119, 6).—*tasya* (scil. *saṁvatsarasya*) *trayodaśa māsāḥ sapta ṛtavaḥ* ŚB. 8. 4. 1. 17.

A combination of II (a) and (b) in:—

dvādaśa vā vai trayodaśa vā saṁvatsarasya māsāḥ ŚB. 2. 2. 3. 27 (= Kāṇva, 1. 2. 3. 23); 5. 4. 5. 23; 5. 5. 5. 19.

(c) *pañca* (etc) *ṛtavaḥ saṁvatsarasya*

traya ṛtavaḥ saṁvatsarasya ŚB. 12. 3. 2. 1.—*trayo vā ṛtavaḥ saṁvatsarasya* ŚB. 3. 4. 4. 17; 11. 5. 4. 10; GB. 1. 5. 5 (119, 1).

pañca ṛtavaḥ saṁvatsarasya ŚB. 1. 5. 2. 16; 1. 7. 2. 8; 2. 1. 1. 12 (= Kāṇva 1. 1. 1. 8); 3. 1. 4. 20; 3. 6. 4. 18; 11. 7. 4. 4; 12. 2. 2. 19; 12. 3. 2. 1; 14. 1. 2. 14.—*pañca vā ṛtavaḥ saṁvatsarasya* ŚB. 3. 1. 3. 17; 3. 1. 4. 5; 3. 3. 3. 5; 3. 4. 1. 14; 3. 9. 4. 11; 4. 1. 1. 16; 4. 5. 5. 12; 5. 1. 2. 9; 14. 1. 1. 28.—*tasya* (scil. *saṁvatsarasya*) *dvādaśa māsāḥ pañca ṛtavaḥ* ŚB. 8. 4. 1. 11–13.

ṣaḍ ṛtavaḥ saṁvatsarasya ŚB. 3. 6. 4. 19; 12. 3. 2. 1.—*ṣaḍ vā ṛtavaḥ saṁvatsarasya* ŚB. 1. 2. 5. 12 (= Kāṇva 2. 2. 3. 11); 2. 2. 2. 3 (= Kāṇva 1. 2. 2. 2); 3. 4. 4. 18; 4. 2. 2. 7; 4. 4. 5. 18; 4. 5. 5. 12; 5. 2. 1. 4; 11. 5. 4. 7; 10; GB. 1. 5. 5 (119, 2–3).—*ṣaḍ eva ṛtavaḥ saṁvatsarasya* ŚB. 2. 1. 1. 13 (bis; the Kāṇva parallel 1. 1. 1. 9 *ṣaḍ vā ṛtavaḥ saṁvatsarasya* and *ṣaḍ ṛtavaḥ saṁvatsarasya*); 4. 5. 5. 12.—*tasya* (scil. *saṁvatsarasya*) *dvādaśa māsāḥ ṣaḍ ṛtavaḥ* ŚB. 8. 4. 1. 14.

sapta ṛtavaḥ saṁvatsarasya ŚB. 12. 3. 2. 1.—*sapta vā ṛtavaḥ saṁvatsarasya* GB. 1. 5. 5 (119, 4).—*tasya* (scil. *saṁvatsarasya*) *trayodaśa māsāḥ sapta ṛtavaḥ* ŚB. 8. 4. 1. 17.—*tasya* (scil. *saṁvatsarasya*) *dvādaśa māsāḥ sapta ṛtavaḥ* ŚB. 8. 4. 1. 15; 16.

(d) *caturviṃśatiḥ saṁvatsarasayārdhamāsāḥ*

caturviṃśatiḥ saṁvatsarasayārdhamāsāḥ K. 21. 5 (43, 4); 22. 1 (57, 16); 33. 2 (28, 3-4); 33. 3 (29, 8); Kap. 31. 20 (169, 5); PB. 16. 7. 5; 23. 21. 3.—*caturviṃśatir vai saṁvatsarasayārdhamāsāḥ* ŚB. 2. 2. 2. 5 (the Kāṇva parallel 1. 2. 2. 4 *caturviṃśatir vā ardhāmāsāḥ saṁvatsarasaya*); 4. 1. 1. 15; 4. 6. 1. 12; 5. 4. 5. 21; 11. 5. 4. 8; KB. 9. 6 (44, 7); 19. 8 (87, 7).—*caturviṃśatir ardhāmāsāḥ saṁvatsarasaya* GB. 1. 5. 5 (119, 7-8).—*caturviṃśatir vā ardhāmāsāḥ saṁvatsarasaya* ŚB. Kāṇva 1. 2. 2. 4 (the Mādhyandina parallel 2. 2. 2. 5 *caturviṃśatir vai saṁvatsarasayārdhamāsāḥ*).—*tasya* (scil. *saṁvatsarasaya*) *caturviṃśatir ardhāmāsāḥ* ŚB. 8. 4. 1. 18; 19; 21-24.
ṣaḍviṃśatir ardhāmāsāḥ saṁvatsarasaya GB. 1. 5. 5 (119, 9).—*tasya* (scil. *saṁvatsarasaya*) *ṣaḍviṃśatir ardhāmāsāḥ* ŚB. 8. 4. 1. 25.

(e) *viṃśatisatam ṛtor ahāni*

viṃśatisatam vā ṛtor ahāni K. 11. 7 (51, 23); 30, 10 (146, 4).

(f) *triṅśan māsasya rātrayaḥ*

triṅśan māsasya rātrayaḥ ŚB. 9. 1. 1. 43; 10. 4. 2. 23; 24; AB. 3. 41. 2; JB. 2. 109; 375; and so with *māsah* genitive sg. to *mās-* K. 34. 9 (43, 13) *triṅśan māso rātrayaḥ*. For *triṅśat-triṅśad vai rātrayo māsah* MS. 1. 10. 8 (148, 7); K. 36. 2 (70, 6-7) see above, § 2, I (Nominative Type), f.

(g) *dve saṁvatsarasayāhorātre*

dve vai saṁvatsarasayāhorātre ŚB. 12. 3. 2. 1.—*dve ahorātre saṁvatsarasaya* GB. 1. 5. 5 (118, 14).

(h) *pañcadaśārdhamāsasya rātrayaḥ*

pañcadaśārdhamāsasya rātrayaḥ MS. 1. 7. 3 (111, 17); K. 9. 1 (104, 9); 21. 5 (43, 2); 33. 8 (34, 22); 34. 9 (43, 6-7); Kap. 8. 4 (83, 4-5); 31. 20 (169, 3); PB. 4. 2. 8.—*pañcadaśa vā ardhāmāsasya rātrayaḥ* ŚB. 1. 3. 5. 8; TS. 2. 5. 8. 3; 5. 6. 7. 2; TB. 3. 3. 7. 1; 3. 9. 11. 2; JB. 1. 132; 2. 109; 375; Vādhūla S. (Caland, *Acta Orient.*, vi, 233, 10).—*pañcadaśāpūryamāṇasyārdhamāsasya rātrayaḥ* JB. 1. 251.—*pañcadaśāpochato*¹ (so and °*porchato*, °*pocato* the MSS.) *rdhamāsasya rātrayaḥ* JB. 1. 251.

¹ The use of the present participle of the root 1 *vas* + *apa* to designate the waning moon (= *apakṣīyamāṇa*; ŚB. 10. 4. 2. 17 *pañcadaśāpūryamāṇasya rūpāni pañcadaśāpakṣīyamāṇasya*) is noteworthy and does not appear to occur elsewhere. At Vādhūla S. (Caland, *Acta Orient.*, vi, 133, 4, and 134, 11), *avāchannāparapakṣa-* is used in this sense in contrast to *abhipūryamāṇa* [*pakṣa*].

- (i) *pañcadaśa pūrvapakṣāparapakṣayor ahāni*
pañcadaśa vai pūrvapakṣāparapayor ahāni KB. 3. 2. (9, 7-8).
- (j) *aṣṭāvinśatis ca śatāny aṣṭiś ca saṁvatsarasya pādāhās ca*
pādarātrayaś¹ ca
aṣṭāvinśatis ca ha vai śatāny aṣṭiś ca saṁvatsarasya pādāhās ca
pādarātrayaś ca GB. 1. 5. 5 (119, 17-120, 1).
- (k) *caturdaśa ca śatāni catvāriṁśac ca saṁvatsarasyārdhāhās*
cārdharātrayaś² ca
caturdaśa ca ha vai śatāni catvāriṁśac ca saṁvatsarasyārdhāhās
cārdharātrayaś ca GB. 1. 5. 5 (119, 14-15).
- (l) *pañcadaśānām varṣāṇām trīṇi ca śatāni ṣaṣṭiś ca paurṇamāsyās*
cāmāvāsyās ca
teṣām pañcadaśānām varṣāṇām trīṇi ca śatāni (11 trīṇi caiva śatāni)
ṣaṣṭiś ca paurṇamāsyās cāmāvāsyās ca ŚB. 11. 1. 2. 10; 11.
- (m) *daśa ca sahasrāṇy aṣṭau ca śatāni saṁvatsarasya muhūrtāḥ*
daśa ca vai (GB. *ca ha vai*) *sahasrāṇy aṣṭau ca śatāni saṁvatsa-*
rasya muhūrtāḥ ŚB. 12. 3. 2. 5; GB. 1. 5. 5 (120, 2-3).
- (n) *sapta ca śatāni viṁśatis ca saṁvatsarasyāhorātrāṇi*
sapta ca vai śatāni viṁśatis ca saṁvatsarasyāhorātrāṇi ŚB. 12. 3. 2.
 4.—*tasya vā etasya saṁvatsarasya prajāpateḥ sapta ca śatāni viṁśatis*
cāhorātrāṇi jyotiṁśi ŚB. 10. 4. 2. 2 (*prajāpateḥ* is apposition to *saṁ-*
vatsarasya and *jyotiṁśi* to *ahorātrāṇi*).—*sapta ca vai viṁśatisatāni*
ca saṁvatsarasyāhorātrāṇām KB. 11. 7 (52, 2).—*sapta ca ha vai*
śatāni viṁśatis ca saṁvatsarasyāhāni ca rātrayaś ca GB. 1. 5. 5 (119,
 12-13).—*sapta ca vai śatāni viṁśatis ca saṁvatsarasyāhorātrāḥ*
 AĀ. 3. 2. 1 (133, 6 ed. Keith).—*saptaviṁśatisatāni saṁvatsarasyā-*
horātrāṇām ŚA. 8. 1 (312, 13-14 in Keith's ed. of AĀ.).
- (o) *trīṇi ca śatāni ṣaṣṭiś ca saṁvatsarasya rātrayaḥ*
trīṇi ca vai śatāni ṣaṣṭiś ca saṁvatsarasya rātrayaḥ ŚB. 11. 1. 2.
 10; 12. 3. 2. 3.—*trīṇi ca vai śatāni ṣaṣṭiś ca saṁvatsarasyāhāni*
 ŚB. 1. 3. 5. 9; 11. 1. 2. 11; 12. 3. 2. 3.—*trīṇi ca ha vai śatāni ṣaṣṭiś*
ca saṁvatsarasyāhorātrāṇi GB. 1. 5. 5 (119, 10-11).—*ṣaṣṭiś ca ha*
vai trīṇi ca śatāni saṁvatsarasya rātrayaḥ ŚB. 10. 4. 3. 13; 10. 5.
 4. 10.—*ṣaṣṭiś ca ha vai trīṇi ca śatāni saṁvatsarasyāhāni* ŚB. 10. 4.
 3. 19; 10. 5. 4. 10.—*ṣaṣṭiś ca vai trīṇi ca śatāni saṁvatsarasyāhāni*

¹ The compounds *pādāha-* and *pādarātri-* are wanting in pw

² The compounds *ardhāha-* and *ardharātri-* are wanting in pw.

K. 33. 2 (28, 5-6).—*trīṇi vai śaṣṭiśatāni saṁvatsarasyāhnām* KB. 3. 2 (9, 11-12); 11. 7 (52, 1); 16. 9 (73, 13); 19. 8 (87, 8).

(p) *teṣāṁ* (scil. *saṁvatsarāṇām*) *ṣaṭtriṇśat pūrṇamāsāḥ*

ye vai trayāḥ saṁvatsarās teṣāṁ ṣaṭtriṇśat pūrṇamāsā, yau dvau tayoś caturviṇśatiḥ MS. 1. 10. 8 (148, 17-18); K. 36. 3 (70, 20-71, 1).

(q) *aparimitāḥ saṁvatsarasya rātrayaḥ*

aparimitās (MS. *aparimitā vai*) *saṁvatsarasya rātrayaḥ* MS. 1. 10. 7 (157, 3-4); K. 36. 11 (78, 10).

(r) *yāvanti (tāvanti) saṁvatsarasyāhāni*

tāvanti saṁvatsarasyāhāni ŚB. 9. 1. 1. 43; 9. 3. 3. 18; MS. 1. 7. 3 (111, 17-18); K. 9. 1 (104, 9-10); Kap. 8. 4 (83, 5-6); AB. 4. 12. 7; 9.—*tā yāvatīḥ saṁvatsarasya rātrayaḥ* K. 36. 2 (70, 9-10).—*tāvatīḥ saṁvatsarasya rātrayaḥ* TS. 2. 5. 8. 3; MS. 1. 10. 8 (148, 10-11).—*tāvatyaḥ saṁvatsarasya rātrayaḥ* PB. 4. 2. 7; 9. 3. 6.—*tāvatīs saṁvatsarasya rātrayaḥ* JB. 2. 163; 212; 375.—*tāvatīr ṛto rātrayaḥ* JB. 2. 212.—*etāvanti hi saṁvatsarasyāhorātrāṇi* ŚB. 7. 3. 1. 43.—*etāvanti vai saṁvatsarasyāhorātrāṇi* MS. 4. 5. 3 (67, 12-13).—*tāvanti saṁvatsarasyāhorātrāṇi* JB. 2. 238 (Caland, § 147, b; p. 185, 14 from bottom); 240.—*yāvanti vai saṁvatsarasyāhorātrāṇi* ŚB. 6. 2. 2. 29.—*yāvanti saṁvatsarasyāhorātrāṇi* K. 15. 10 (217, 2); PB. 18. 11. 6.—*tāvantas saṁvatsarasyāhorātrāḥ* JB. 2. 204.—*etāvanto hi saṁvatsarasya muhūrtāḥ* ŚB. 10. 4. 3. 20.—*tāvantaḥ sahasrasaṁvatsarasya muhūrtāḥ* ŚB. 10. 4. 4. 2.—*etāvanto vai pañcānām saṁvatsarāṇām ahorātrā yāvatīr etā iṣṭakā yāvān agniḥ saṁcītaḥ* Vādhūla S. (Caland, *Acta Orient.*, vi, 239, 25).

(s) *kati saṁvatsarasyāhāni*

kati saṁvatsarasyātīrātrāḥ ŚB. 12. 2. 1. 6.—*kati te pitā saṁvatsarasyāhāny amanyata* ŚB. 12. 2. 2. 13; GB. 1. 4. 24 (111, 14-112, 1); JB. 2. 431 (Caland, § 169, p. 228, 7 from bottom).—*kati saṁvatsarasyāhāni parāñci* ŚB. 12. 2. 3. 13; GB. 1. 4. 16 (106, 10-11).

§ 4. III. THE ADJECTIVAL TYPE

(a) *ṣaḍṛtuḥ*¹ *saṁvatsaraḥ* KB. 14. 1 (61, 12); 20. 3 (91, 1).

(b) *caturviṇśatyardhamāsaḥ*¹ *saṁvatsaraḥ* ŚB. 6. 2. 1. 21; 10. 4. 2. 18; JB. 1. 212; 2. 4; 91 (bis); 92 (bis); 93 (ter); 97; 107;

¹ The adjectives *ṣaḍṛtu-* and *caturviṇśatyardhamāsa-* are wanting in pw. Cf. *śataśārada-* in the Mantra TS. 5. 7. 2. 4 (etc.) *teṣāṁ ṛtūnām śataśāradaṇām*.

111; 119; 124 (Caland, § 137, p. 162, 12); 127; 162 (bis); 163; 176; 177; 225 (bis); 239 (bis); 282; 285; 308; 349; 359; 375; 3. 173; JUB. 3. 38. 9.—*caturviṃśatyardhamāso vai saṁvatsarah* JB. 2. 377; 380; 410 (Caland, § 167, p. 218, 10 from bottom); 412; 435.

§ 5. SUMMARY

(a) Outside of JB. the adjectival type¹ (above § 4) is very rare: *ṣaḍṛtu-* occurs twice in KB., *caturviṃśatyardhamāsa-* twice in ŚB. (once each in books vi and x). But in JB. the adjectival *caturviṃśatyardhamāsa saṁvatsarah* is the only expression for "The year consists of twenty-four half-months" (thirty-six times in JB., and once in JUB.).

(b) The nominative *dvādaśa māsāḥ saṁvatsarah* and *trayodaśa māsāḥ saṁvatsarah* (above, § 2, a and b) is in ŚB. confined to books vi-x and xiii (eight times each in books vi and vii, once in book viii, seven times in book ix, once in book x, and five times in book xiii). In the remaining books ŚB. uses the genitive (above, § 3, a and b) *dvādaśa māsāḥ saṁvatsarasya*, *trayodaśa māsāḥ saṁvatsarasya*, *dvādaśa vā trayodaśa vā saṁvatsarasya māsāḥ* (three times in book i, twice in book ii, three times in book iii, twice in book iv, nine times in book v, seven times in book viii, three times in book ix, five times in book xii, and three times in book xiv).² It is noteworthy that this genitive expression is not found in any of the other Brāhmaṇas; all of them, with the single exception of GB. 1. 5. 5 (119, 5 and 6), which depends on ŚB. 12. 3. 2. 1 ff., use the nominative expression (above, § 2, a and b); cf. below, § 5, c in fine.

(c) The nominative *pañca* (etc.) *rtavaḥ saṁvatsarah* (above, § 2, c) occurs in ŚB. in books vi-ix and xiii (eleven times in book vi, six times in book vii, twice in book viii, eight times in book ix, and three times in book xiii), and strangely enough also once in book xii, which elsewhere (four times) has the genitive expression. In the remaining books ŚB. uses the genitive (above, § 3, c) *pañca* (etc.) *rtavaḥ saṁvatsarasya* (three times in book i, four times in book ii,

¹ Cf. *dvikapālaḥ hi śiraḥ*, ŚB. 8. 4. 4. 4.

² Cf. for a distantly similar contrast of nominative and genitive, JB. 2. 77 (JAOS. xv. 240, 6), *katama ādityā iti, dvādaśa māsāḥ saṁvatsara* (so all the MSS.) *iti hovācāta ādityā, etc. hidaṁ sarvaṁ ādadānā yanti, tasmād ādityā iti*, but the parallels ŚB. 11. 6. 3. 8 and 14. 6. 9. 6, *dvādaśa māsāḥ saṁvatsarasya*: "'Who are the Ādityas?'" "The twelve months, the year (so JB.; the twelve months of the year ŚB.), these are the Ādityas."

nine times in book iii, six times in book iv, twice in book v, four times in book viii, three times in book xi, four times in book xii [but note once in this book the nominative expression], and twice in book xiv). This genitive expression is foreign to all the other Brāhmaṇas (cf. above, § 5, *b* in fine); all of them, with the single exception of GB. 1. 5. 5 (119, 2-3 and 4) which depends on ŚB. 12. 3. 2. 1 ff., use the nominative expression (above, § 2, *c*).

(*d*) For "The year consists of twenty-four half-months" ŚB. has only the genitive expression *caturviṃśatiḥ saṃvatsarasyārdhamāsāḥ* (once in book ii, twice in book iv, once in book v, seven times in book viii, and once in book xi). The absence of the nominative expression in ŚB. is due to the fact that books vi-x and xiii for which the nominative construction is characteristic (above, § 5, *b* and *c*) have no occasion to express the thought.

Of the other Brāhmaṇas K. (four times), Kap. (once), KB. (twice) and GB. (twice) show the genitive expression only, while TS. (twice), TĀ (once), MS. (twice), and ŚB. (once) know only the nominative construction. PB. uses the nominative expression once each in books iv, vi, xiv, and xv, but the genitive construction once each in books xvi and xxiii.

(*e*) For "A season consists of two months" ŚB. has the nominative *dvau māsāv ṛtuḥ* six times (once in book vii, five times in book viii, all books for which the nominative construction is characteristic, see above, § 5, *b* and *c*). PB. has it once (in book x). But K. has the genitive *viṃśatisatam ṛtor ahāni* (twice) "A season consists of 120 days".

(*f*) In general the genitive type (above, § 3, *a-s*) is far more frequent than the nominative type (above, § 2, *a-f*); the latter is confined to the expressions *dvādaśa māsāḥ saṃvatsaraḥ*, *trayodaśa māsāḥ saṃvatsaraḥ*, *pañca* (etc.) *rtavaḥ saṃvatsaraḥ*, *caturviṃśatiḥ ardhamāsāḥ saṃvatsaraḥ*, *dvau māsāv ṛtuḥ*, and (above, § 2, *f*) *triṅśad rātrayo māsāḥ*.

§ 6. The same variation between nominative and genitive is found in the expressions for "The Agniṣṭoma consists of twelve Stotras" and "The night(-rite) consists of twelve Stotras". We have, on the one hand, the genitive *dvādaśāgniṣṭomasya stotrāṇi* K. 26. 1 (122, 1); Kap. 40. 4 (228, 2); TB. 1. 2. 2. 1; JB. 1. 179 (Caland, § 63, p. 70, 3); 206; and *dvādaśa vā agniṣṭomasya stotrāṇi dvādaśa*

rātreḥ JB. 1. 206¹; on the other hand, the nominative *dvādaśa stotrāṇy agniṣṭomaḥ* PB. 4. 2. 12; 6. 3. 3; and *dvādaśa stotrāṇy agniṣṭomo dvādaśa stotrāṇi rātriḥ* PB. 9. 1. 24.² Cf. with resumptive pronoun, *ṣaṣṭiś ca ha vai trīṇi ca śatāṇy etac chatarudriyam* ŚB. 9. 1. 1. 43 "The Śatarudriya(-litany) consists of 360 (formulas)".

NOTE.—For the sake of completeness I add the following genitive examples: *pañcadaśānām u vai gāyatrīnām trīṇi ca śatāni ṣaṣṭiś cākṣarāṇi* ŚB. 1. 3. 5. 9; *teṣām* (scil. *chandasām*) *tisraś cāśītayo 'kṣarāṇi pañcatvāriṇśac ca* ŚB. 10. 1. 2. 9; *tricāni teṣām* (scil. *chandasām*) *sapta ca śatāni viṇśatiś cākṣarāṇi* ŚB. 10. 5. 4. 7; *tāsām vā etāsām pañcānām vyāhṛtīnām saptaśāśākṣarāṇi* ŚB. 12. 3. 3. 3; *tāsām* (scil. *vyāhṛtīnām*) *saptaśāśākṣarāṇi* ŚB. 1. 5. 2. 17; *yāvanti hi saptānām chandasām akṣarāṇi tāvanti etasya ṣaḍṛcasyākṣarāṇi* ŚB. 7. 3. 1. 41; *tāsām* (scil. *ṛcām*) *nava padāni* ŚB. 6. 4. 2. 5; *tasya* (scil. *sāmnah*) *trirvacana* ("when it is sung thrice") *ekaviṇśatiḥ padāni* ŚB. 3. 1. 20; *caturdaśa vā etāsām* (scil. *grīvāṇām*) *karūkarāṇi* ŚB. 12. 2. 4. 10; *dvātriṇśad vā etasya* (scil. *anūkasya*) *karūkarāṇi trayodaśāgneś citipurīṣāṇi* ŚB. 7. 1. 1. 32; 7. 2. 3. 9; 8. 6. 3. 12; 9. 3. 3. 9; *ṣaṣṭiś ca trīṇi ca śatāṇy anyatarasyeṣṭakā abhavan evam anyatarasya* ŚB. 10. 4. 2. 4; *tisraś-tisro 'śītaya ekaikasyeṣṭakā abhavan* ŚB. 10. 4. 2. 5; *catuṣcatvāriṇśam śatam ekaikasyeṣṭakā abhavan* ŚB. 10. 4. 2. 7.³

¹ Cf. for the genitive expression *tasya* (scil. *atirātrasya*) *ṣaṣṭiś ca trīṇi ca śatāni stotriyāḥ* K. 33. 2 (28, 5); *teṣām vā eteṣāṇi caturṇām ukthyānām sahasraṇi stotriyāḥ* KB. 21. 5 (95, 21); *pañcadaśa hy asya* (scil. *ukthyasya*) *stotrāṇi bhavanti pañcadaśa śastrāṇi* KB. 24. 9 (111, 12-13); *tayor etayoḥ pañcadaśasaptadaśayor dvātriṇśat stotriyāḥ* ŚB. 10. 1. 2. 8; *tasya* (scil. *stomasya*) *navatiśatam stotriyāḥ* PB. 16. 1. 8 *tasya* (scil. *ekāhasya*) *dviśatāḥ stotriyāḥ* PB. 16. 9. 3; *tasyai* (scil. *iṣṭeḥ*) *pañcadaśa sāmīdhenyo bhavanti* ŚB. 11. 4. 3. 18; 13. 4. 1. 13; 13. 4. 2. 7; *tasyai* (scil. *iṣṭeḥ*) *saptadaśa sāmīdhenyo bhavanti* ŚB. 13. 4. 1. 15; 13. 4. 2. 9; 13; *navatiśatam u ha vā agniṣṭomasya stotriyāḥ* Vādhūla S. (Caland, *Acta Orient.*, vi, 234, 27).

² The MS. has the locative: *dvādaśāgniṣṭome stotrāṇi* MS. 4. 5. 4 (68, 7-8, where the MSS. H and Bb read "gniṣṭome, the other MSS. "gniṣṭoma") in 4. 5. 7 (74, 9, where all MSS. read "gniṣṭome).

³ Examples like *ṣaṣṭiś ca ha vai trīṇi ca śatāni puruṣasyāsthini* and *ṣaṣṭiś ca ha trīṇi ca śatāni puruṣasya majjānaḥ* ŚB. 10. 5. 4. 2; *trīṇi ca śatāni ṣaṣṭiś ca puruṣasyāsthini* and *trīṇi ca śatāni ṣaṣṭiś ca puruṣasya majjānaḥ* ŚB. 12. 3. 2. 3; *sapta ca śatāni viṇśatiś ca puruṣasyāsthini ca majjānaś ca* ŚB. 12. 3. 2. 4 are logically different; for the human body consists (i.e. is wholly made up) not only of bones and marrow but of five elements (e.g. AB. 2. 14. 7 = 6. 29. 4 *pañkto 'yam puruṣaḥ pañcadhā vihito*: *lomāni traṇ māṇsam asthi majjā*); it can therefore properly be said to contain bones and marrow, but not to consist of them.

Syntax of the Past Tense in Old Rājasthānī

By B. S. PAṆḌIT

PROFESSOR J. BLOCH in *L'Indo-aryen du Veda aux temps modernes*, p. 271 f., has discussed the passage of the passive construction of the past tense of transitive verbs (based on the past participle of Sanskrit) into an active construction in which the verb agrees in number and gender with the logical subject. It is obvious that during the course of this evolution there were periods of fluctuation. An astonishing fluctuation is found in the Rājasthānī MS. *Nala kī bāta* (R.A.S. Todd Coll. No. 81), written at some date prior to A.D. 1806.

Construction I

The past participle (past tense) agrees with the logical object which is in the direct case; the logical subject is in the instrumental in the singular (-ai), general oblique in the plural (-ā). Sometimes the gen. obl. is used also in the singular for the instrumental; and when this is the same in form as the direct, the process of confusion begins. There will thus be found confusions between Constructions I and VII.

Subject in Instrumental.	Object in Direct.	Verb agrees with object.	
<i>bugalai</i>	<i>doho</i>	<i>kahyo</i>	3a 2
<i>tai</i>	<i>kaṁtha</i>	<i>lādhyau</i>	27b 4
<i>mhe</i>	<i>bikho</i>	<i>liyo</i>	16a 5
<i>ī</i>	<i>māga</i>	<i>byāhī</i>	44b 11
<i>telī</i> ¹	<i>ātamā</i>	<i>jānī</i>	29b 5
<i>Damatī</i> ¹	<i>dohā</i>	<i>kahyā</i>	43b 8
Oblique plural.			
<i>guvālā</i>	<i>doho</i>	<i>kahyo</i>	4a 7
<i>sagālā</i>	<i>bicāra</i>	<i>karyo</i>	6b 10

Construction II

The logical subject is in the instrumental, the logical object in the direct; the verb agrees in number and gender with the logical subject. This seems to have been the result of the construction with intransitive

¹ Direct, gen. oblique and instrumental are identical in form.

verbs together with the replacement of the use of the direct case by instrumental (originally in pronouns) and later by the coalescence in form of the direct and oblique. Thus *rāṇī* can be in origin either direct or instrumental. There are, therefore, confusions of Constructions II and VIII.

Subject in Instrumental.	Object in Direct.	Verb agrees with Subject.	
<i>rāṇī</i>	<i>usāsa</i>	<i>nākhī</i>	19b 4
<i>Damatī</i>	<i>nīsāsa</i>	<i>nākhī</i>	37a 8

Construction III

The subject is in the instrumental, the object in the oblique, usually with the postposition *nē* or *na*; the verb agrees in number and gender with the object. As has already been remarked, there is some difficulty in distinguishing whether the subject is in the instrumental or the direct. Thus there is confusion between Constructions III and IV. This construction has its origin in the loss of distinction between instrumental and general oblique. The general oblique without postposition might be ambiguous since it might be either the logical object or the logical subject.

Subject in Instrumental.	Object in Oblique + <i>nē</i> .	Verb agrees with Object.	
<i>mhe</i>	<i>tū nē</i>	<i>choḍiyo</i>	23b 6
<i>sahalyā</i>	<i>kaśīdā na</i>	<i>sarāyo</i>	26a 8
<i>rājā</i> ¹	<i>māṇasā nē</i>	<i>bhejyā</i>	4a 9
<i>rājā</i> ¹	<i>rāṇī nē</i>	<i>uṭhāī</i>	19b 7

Construction IV

The subject is in the direct, the object in the oblique with *nē* (*na*); the verb agrees in number and gender with the object.

Subject in Direct.	Object in Oblique + <i>nē</i> .	Verb agrees with Object.	
<i>so</i>	<i>caravādārā na</i>	<i>māryā</i>	41a 4
<i>so</i>	<i>ghoṛā na</i>	<i>lulā kiyā</i>	41a 5

Construction V

The subject is in the direct, the object in the oblique with *nē*; the verb agrees in number and gender with the subject. The old passive construction has here passed into the active.

¹ Direct, gen. oblique, and instrumental are identical in form.

Subject in	Object in	Verb agrees with	
Direct.	Oblique + <i>nē</i> .	Subject.	
<i>rājā</i>	<i>u na</i>	<i>bulāyo</i>	41a 6
<i>Nala</i>	<i>Dholājī na</i>	<i>khilāva chā</i>	47b 8
<i>rājā</i>	<i>rāṇī nē</i>	<i>kaḥyo</i>	26a 10
<i>Damaitī</i>	<i>Nala nē</i>	<i>pūchī</i>	14b 12

Construction VI

The Sanskrit type in which the subject is in the instrumental and the verb is the impersonal neuter singular survives in this. The subject is either in the instrumental proper or the general oblique ; the verb ends in *-ī* (< Skt. *-itam*). In an isolated case (*taḍako huṁī* 35a 3) this impersonal construction has been extended to an intransitive verb, the subject being in the direct and the verb (apparently not agreeing in gender) being derived from an analogical formation from the Skt. neuter impersonal past participle in *-itam*.

Subject in	Verb is	
Instrumental.	Old Neuter Singular.	
<i>mohe</i>	<i>jāṇī</i>	45a 7
<i>the</i>	<i>bicārī</i>	48b 8
<i>umarāvā</i>	<i>kaḥī</i>	41b 11
<i>sādhā</i>	<i>kaḥī</i>	5b 6
<i>Nala</i> ¹	<i>kaḥī</i>	48b 8
<i>Nala</i> ¹	<i>jāṇī</i>	6b 13

Construction VII

Both subject and object are in the direct ; the verb agrees in number and gender with the object.

Subject in	Object in	Verb agrees with	
Direct.	Direct.	Object.	
<i>badhika</i>	<i>jāla</i>	<i>nākhyo</i>	4b 11
<i>badhika</i>	<i>chala</i>	<i>karyo</i>	6a 7

Construction VIII

Both subject and object are in the direct, the verb agrees in number and gender with the subject.

Subject in	Object in	Verb agrees with	
Direct.	Direct.	Subject.	
<i>rājā</i>	<i>thārī sūratī</i>	<i>kaḥyo</i>	12b 3

¹ Direct, oblique, and instrumental are identical in form.

Construction IX

The subject is in the instrumental; the verb is in the masculine singular. This follows from the loss of the neuter gender. The masculine has replaced the neuter, which here (*-ī < -itam*) seemed to be feminine.

Subject in	Verb is	
Instrumental.	Masculine Singular.	
<i>Damaṭī</i>	<i>kahau</i>	27b 8
<i>rāṇī</i>	<i>kahyau</i>	28b 16

Vedico yúh "se ipsum"

By VITTORE PISANI

M. BLOOMFIELD, cerca, nella Miscellanea in onore di Ernst Kuhn (*Aufsätze zur Kultur- und Sprachgeschichte* . . . Monaco, 1916, p. 211 sgg.), di sostenere la sua proposta (*JAOS.*, xxvii, p. 72 sgg.), secondo cui *RV.*, viii, 18, 13 dovrebbe leggersi:

*yó nah kác cid ririkṣati rakṣastvéna mártyaḥ
svaīh śá évai ririṣṣṭáyur jánaḥ*

in luogo del tramandato *ririṣṣṭa yúr*; °*ṣṭā*° rappresenterebbe una contrazione di °*ṣṭa d*°, e il Bloomfield traduce in conseguenza:

"The mortal who with demonic practices desires to harm us:
may that person by his own doings injure his life!"

Non si può negar ragione al Bloomfield quando difende, per ragioni grammaticali (*ririṣṣṭa*, aoristo raddoppiato, è causativo) alle quali si possono aggiungere quelle testuali, la lezione tradizionale contro l'emendazione del Dizionario di Böhtlingk-Roth approvata da Oldenberg: *svaīh śá évai ririṣṣṭa dvayúr jánaḥ*; ma quanto egli dice a p. 213 non mi pare bastante per dimostrare che ragioni metriche, e cioè il bisogno d'avere una fine di verso — — —, fossero da tanto da ridurre ad *ā* l'*ā* che ci aspetteremmo come risultato dalla contrazione dell' *-a* finale di *ririṣṣṭa* con quello iniziale di *dyuḥ*. Anche ammesso che *purīva járyaḥ RV.*, vi, 2, 7 valga *purī iva ajuryáḥ*, qui si potrebbe trattare di una specie d'elisione; e forse il principio dell'elisione va applicato anche in qualche altro passo del *RV.*, ed esso appare di data indeuropea, accanto all' altro, generalizzatosi in ai., della contrazione e della formazione di dittonghi discendenti o ascendenti ($a + a = \bar{a}$, $a + i = e$, $i + a = ya$ ecc.) nel caso d'incontro di vocali nel sandhi. Nel più antico greco la elisione ha luogo nel sandhi sintattico (ma anche $\tau\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\alpha$ ecc.), laddove la contrazione si è affermata nell' incontro di vocali finale e iniziale dei due membri d'un composto ($\sigma\tau\rho\alpha\tau\bar{\alpha}\gamma\acute{o}\varsigma$ da $\sigma\tau\rho\alpha\tau\circ\bar{\alpha}\gamma\acute{o}\varsigma$); lascio impregiudicata la questione, se la elisione che anche ha luogo fra i membri d'un composto ($\acute{\alpha}\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\xi\text{-}\alpha\nu\delta\rho\omicron\varsigma$) sia continuazione di un fatto ie. o imitazione di quanto avveniva nel sandhi sintattico. In latino abbiamo la sinalefi in cui, si pronunziasse o non la finale della prima parola, il valore prosodico dell' unica sillaba risultante è quello della seconda vocale; accanto alla sinalefi abbiamo forse ancora in Plauto la

contrazione, là dove si usa parlare di iato prosodico: *ita me di ament* va letto — — — ecc. secondo Rau (*Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung*, lviii, 145 sgg.). Però, tanto in greco quanto in latino, la prosodia della sillaba risultante da elisione o sinalefi è quella della vocale iniziale della seconda parola; quindi, se è ammissibile che *iva ajuryáh* possa aver dato *iv'ă*, non mi pare altrettanto probabile che *ririṣīṣṭa dyuḥ* potesse dare *ririṣīṣṭ' āyúr*! Inoltre, il Bloomfield può sì citare a p. 212 esempi in cui *riṣ* è costruito con *dyuḥ*, ma *dyuḥ* significa di per sé — e quindi anche in tutti i casi addotti dallo scienziato americano — "la vita", ma non già "la propria vita". E infine è pur sempre da notare che l'accentuazione tramandata è *ririṣīṣṭa yúr* non *ṛá yur*.

Io ritengo che la tradizione indigena non vada toccata; quanto al significato, non vi è dubbio che si debba intendere "danneggi quell'uomo se stesso colle sue opere", : bisognerà quindi vedere in *yúr* una audace innovazione. E la cosa mi pare che si spieghi molto facilmente. Se il poeta avesse avuto a sua disposizione due sillabe e avesse potuto misurare lunga l'ultima sillaba di *ririṣīṣṭa*, egli avrebbe detto *ririṣīṣṭa tmánam jánaḥ*. In assenza di questa possibilità, egli è ricorso ad un'ardita formazione analogica: poichè *tmán-* pareva, pur non essendolo in realtà, una forma apocopata di *ātmán-* che significa "anima", e anche "principio vitale", (il significato "ipse", di *ātmán-*, ereditato dal quasi omofono *tmán-*, è secondario e seriore, vedi *Rivista degli Studi Orientali*, xv, 364 sg.), il poeta si è creduto in diritto di ricavarla da *dyuḥ* "vita, forza vitale", uno *yúḥ* "ipse". La speculazione grammaticale è antichissima in India, è noto come già nell'*Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* venga frequentemente esercitata l'etimologia (cfr. Liebich, *Zur Einführung in die indische einheimische Sprachwissenschaft*, ii), e casi come la creazione di un *dhava-* "marito", in seguito a una falsa divisione di *vidhāvā* "vedova", sono comuni a tutti i periodi dell'*ai.*, e non solo di questa lingua. In *yúḥ* "ipse", da *dyuḥ* secondo il rapporto di *tmán* "ipse", con *ātmán-* abbiamo una delle più antiche testimonianze del fenomeno in parola.

Neue Singhalesische Lautregel

Von WILHELM PRINTZ

WILHELM GEIGER stellt in *Litteratur und Sprache der Singhalesen* (1900) § 23, 3 fest: „In einer Anzahl von Fällen ist der Palatal *c* nicht zu *s*, sondern (durch *j*) zu *d* geworden.“ In der von Geiger und Sir D. B. Jayatilaka unterzeichneten Einleitung zu *A Dictionary of the Sinhalese language* (1935) wird das noch genauer bestimmt: dies *d* entsteht nur aus intervokalischem **c*, nie im Anlaut. Zur Erklärung heisst es ebenda: „... we may assume that a later wave of immigration brought to Ceylon a dialect in which *c* between vowels was softened to *j*... The exact date of that immigration is unknown...“ Aber es ist doch sehr bedenklich, einen einzelnen Lautwandel durch Sprachmischung zu erklären. Es lässt sich vielmehr eine einfachere Deutung finden, die den allermeisten Fällen gerecht wird.

Eine Musterung von Geiger's *Etymologie des Singhalesischen* (1897) ergibt 68 Wörter, in denen singh. -*s*- oder -*s*- auf älteres **c*- zurückgeht, wobei im Pāli gewöhnlich -*cc*- oder -*cch*-, seltener -*ñc*- oder -*c*- entspricht. Dagegen finden sich nur 11 Wörter, in denen -*d*- pāli -*c*- entspricht. Hiervon bilden 9 eine Gruppe für sich: *ādurā* (pā. *ācāriya*) „Lehrer“; *kada* (skr., pā. *kāca*, *kāja*) „Last“; *gōdura* (skr., pā. *gōcara*) „Beute, Nahrung“; *narada* (skr. *nārācā*, pā. *narācā*) „Pfeil“ usw.; *nīdu* (skr., pā. *nīca*) „Mann ohne Kaste; niedrig“; *pādum* (skr. *prācīna*, pā. *pācīna*) „Osten“, wozu laut Dictionary aaO. im 2. Jh.n.C. *pajina* „östlich“ inschriftlich belegt ist; *yadinavā* (*yāc*-) „bitten“; *mudanavā* (pā. *mōcēti*; nicht zu *muñcati*, wie Geiger angibt) „lösen, befreien“. Für diese Gruppe ergibt sich die Lautregel: hinter ursprünglichem Langvokal wird **c*- über -*j*- zu -*d*-.

Hieran schliesst sich die Konjunktion *da* (skr., pā. *ca*), für die ja die Zwischenform *ja* inschriftlich bezeugt ist. Wir müssen also annehmen, dass bei diesem enklitischen Wort die Stellung hinter ursprünglich langvokalischem Wortauslaut den Ausschlag gegeben hat.

Diese Lautregel gilt nicht, wenn der ursprüngliche Endvokal verstummt und *c* in den Auslaut gerät: *pisas* (pā. *pisāca*) „Dämon“.

Drei Wörter fügen sich dieser Lautregel nicht: *vasa* (skr. *vāc*, pā. *vācā*) „Wort“; andererseits mit -*ad*- aus -*ac*-: *kavada* (skr., pā.

kavaca) „Panzer“, woneben auch *kavasa* vorkommt, sowie *vaḷana* (skr., pā. *vacana*) „Wort“; vgl. ausser dem eben genannten *vasa* auch *visi* (pā. *vacī*) „Wort“.

Ausserdem gibt es noch vier Wörter, in denen *-d-* nicht aus einfachem *-c-* stammt und die daher gesondert zu betrachten sind: *āda* (skr., pā. *āñc-*) „gebeugt“; (*h*)*avurudda* (mit Metathesis aus **avudura*: skr. *saṃvatsara*, pā. *saṃvacchara*) „Jahr“; *duduru*, *duduḷu* (skr. *duścara*, im Pāli nicht belegt) „schlechter Weg, Wildnis“; *hiñdu* (falls mit sekundärer Nasalierung zu skr., pā. *sūci*) „Stachel (des Stachelschweins)“.

Gründliche Kenner des Singhalesischen werden wohl in der Lage sein, weiteres Material herbeizuschaffen und die der aufgezeigten Lautregel entgegenstehenden Fälle besser zu deuten.

Les noms de la moutarde et du sésame

Par J. PRZYLUŠKI et C. RÉGAMEY

A PROPOS du mot indien *saṣapa*, le Prof. J. Charpentier a émis l'opinion suivante "... Wohl am ehesten nichtarisches Wort".¹ Auparavant, le Prof. S. K. Chatterji avait déjà écrit : "Skt. *saṣapa* = Pkt. *sāsava*, which remains unexplained. But cf. Malay *sēsawi*. (The Malay word may be a Prakrit borrowing; but it is Skt., and not Pkt., which furnishes Aryan loans in Indonesian.)"²

On a en effet pour désigner la moutarde :

malais *sēsawi*, *sawi*, *sawi-sawi*

javanais *sēsawi*

khmer *sbēy*

bahnar *habey*, *xabey*

La plante qui produit la graine de moutarde, *Brassica juncea* ou *Sinapis juncea* Linn. ou *Sinapis patens* Roxb., présente de grandes analogies avec :

1) *Brassica campestris* Linn. qui est le colza indien ou *sarson* (*Sinapis glauca* Roxb.).

2) *Brassica oleracea* Linn., qui est le chou.

Chou, rave, moutarde et colza indien appartiennent tous à l'espèce *Brassica*. Il n'est donc pas surprenant que plusieurs de ces plantes soient désignées par des noms analogues ou même identiques. En fait, voici quelques noms du chou de Chine, *Brassica sinensis* :

cam, *subēi*, *bēi*

javanais, malais, *sawi*

batak, *sabi*

soundanais, *sēsawi*.

Ces noms sont apparemment des variantes d'un terme générique qu'on précise au moyen d'un second mot lorsqu'on veut spécifier la plante dont il s'agit. Ainsi *sēsawi puteh* désigne en malais la moutarde blanche qu'on appelle *sēsawi pīltau* dans les parlers de la Péninsule Malaise.³

¹ Dans *MO.*, 1932, p. 112.

² *Prearyan and Pre-dravidian in India*, éd. par P. C. Bagchi, Calcutta, 1929, p. xxiv.

³ Blagden, *Compar. Vocabul.*, s.v. mustard.

Tous ces noms se ramènent à une racine **sapi* à laquelle l'indonésien adjoint le préfixe *sě-*. Doit-on considérer ces mots comme empruntés à l'indo-aryen ? Cette hypothèse se heurte aux difficultés suivantes :

a) le mot étudié est un nom générique dans les langues austroasiatiques ; skt. *sarṣapa* ne désigne que la moutarde et c'est seulement dans les langues indo-aryennes modernes que le mot signifie aussi colza (*sarson*) ;

b) *sarṣapa* est inexplicable par l'indo-européen ;

c) les noms austroasiatiques diffèrent beaucoup de *sarṣapa* : ils se ramènent tous à une forme avec *i* final *sapi*,¹ et il leur manque le préfixe *sar-*.

Au contraire, on explique aisément les faits si on considère *sarṣapa* comme emprunté à une ancienne langue austroasiatique. Le changement de **sapi* en *-sapa* peut résulter de la tendance à intégrer le nom emprunté dans la déclinaison la plus usuelle. Aucune raison phonétique ou morphologique ne peut expliquer le passage de *-sapa* au **sapi* austroasiatique et il serait étrange que le mot eût toujours été altéré de la même manière. L'insertion de *r* après le préfixe *sa-* est conforme à la morphologie austroasiatique où les préfixes peuvent s'adjoindre une nasale ou *r*. La différence entre les formes mon-khmer actuelles et le nom sanskrit peut résulter de l'usure du préfixe ou de variations dialectales. Le préfixe suivi de *r* était assez fréquent dans la langue austroasiatique qui a fourni des emprunts à l'indo-aryen ; cf. skt. *karpāsa*, *karpāṭa* en face du khmer *amḥas*, čam *kapaḥ*, malais *kapas* ² ; skt. *śarkara* en face du stieng *sōkar* ³ ; *karpūra* en face du čam *kapu*, khmer *kapor* ⁴ etc.

En khasi, le nom de la moutarde est *tyrso* et *y* note, dans cette langue, la voyelle caractéristique des préfixes : *kyn-*, *pyn-*, *dyr-*, *byr-*, etc.

Il paraît donc très probable que l'indo-aryen *sarṣapa*, formé d'une racine *sapa* et du préfixe *sar-*, est un emprunt à une langue austroasiatique.

L'étude du nom de la moutarde ramène l'attention sur un problème qui avait été posé par Benfey dès l'année 1839 : "... σίναπι, σίναπν.

¹ Il est vrai qu'on trouve en sanskrit le féminin *sarṣapī*, mais ce mot signifie : 1) ein bestimmter Ausschlag, 2) eine Bachstelzenart (*PW.*, s.v. *sarṣapī*), et ne peut pas être à la base des noms de la moutarde et du chou.

² J. Przyluski, *BSL.*, xxv, 1, pp. 69-71.

³ J. Przyluski, *MSL.*, xxii, 5, pp. 208-210.

⁴ J. Gonda, *Austrisch en Arisch*, Utrecht, 1932, p. 23, et A. A. Fokker, *Zeitsch. für romanisch. Philol.*, 34 (1910), p. 567.

In Skr. heisst er *sarshapa* und, wenn man annehmen darf, dass die Griechen dieses, ohne allen Zweifel fremde, Wort von Persien her erhalten haben, so ist eine Identität von *sarshapa* und *σίναπι* nicht gar unmöglich. Denn die persischen Worte, welche *r* haben, erhalten statt dessen im Pehlvi *n* . . . ; so würde *sarshapa*—*sansapa*, woraus durch Assimilation *σίναπι* werden konnte.”¹

Mais le mot ne paraît pas attesté en iranien. D'autre part, les faits grecs ne favorisent pas cette explication. L'ancienne forme grecque était² *νᾱπυ* (p. ex. Aristoph. Equ. 631 ; c'est aussi la seule forme employée par Théophraste) ; cf. aussi *νάπειον* (Nic. Al. 430). A l'époque de la comédie moyenne apparaît le verbe *σινάπιζεν* et ce n'est qu'à l'époque hellénistique que *σίναπυ*, *σίναπι* est attesté. Plus tard, la forme *νᾱπυ* est hors d'usage.

On trouve en latin dès le début (Plaute, Ennius) les formes *sinapis*, *senapis*, mais on a en même temps le mot *napus* “chou-rave”. Hehn et Schrader sont d'avis qu'il est impossible de séparer *napus* de *νᾱπυ* et ces deux mots de *σίναπυ*. On se trouve donc en présence d'un doublet *σίναπυ* : *νᾱπυ* dont l'origine n'est pas indo-européenne. Hehn³ dit à ce propos : “In den Gesetzen der Sprachen, aus der das Wort entnommen wurde, konnte diese Doppelform begründet sein, aber welches war die Sprache ? Aegyptische Wörter wie *σίλι* und *σέσελις*, *σάρι* (Aegyptische Wasserpflanze) und *σίσαρον*, ferner *κόμμι*, *κίκι*, *κύφι*, *άμμι*, *στίμμι* oder *στίβι*, u.s.w. lassen auch für *νᾱπυ* und *σίναπι* auf aegyptische Herkunft raten.” Mais l'explication suggérée par Hehn manque de base solide. Il n'apporte aucun mot qu'on puisse considérer comme le modèle égyptien de *νᾱπυ* ou de *σίναπυ* et il ne prouve pas davantage que ces plantes soient originaires de l'Egypte.

Si skt. *sarṣapa* dérive d'une racine anaryenne **sapi*, on peut assigner la même origine à lat. *sinapis*, *senapis* et à gr. *σίναπυ*. Les langues austroasiatiques sont caractérisées à la fois par l'importance des préfixes et par un système d'infices dont l'un des plus fréquents est l'infixe nasal. On a par ex. en malais un homonyme de *sawi* “moutarde” qui signifie “de passager die aan boord eenige diensten verricht”.⁴ Une autre forme de ce nom est *sēnawi*. Il est

¹ Griechisches Wurzellexikon, Berlin, 1839, i, p. 428.

² Cf. O. Schrader, *Reallex. der Indgerm. Altertumskunde*, 1901, p. 762 : Boissacq, *Dict. Etym. de la langue grecque*, s.v. *νᾱπυ* ; Walde, *Lat. Etym. Wört.*,² p. 507.

³ *Kulturpflanzen*,², p. 207.

⁴ H. C. Klinkert, *Maleisch-Nederlandsch Woordenboek*, p. 358.

clair que *sēnawi* dérive de *sawi* par infixation de *-ēn-* et l'on peut former de la même manière un dérivé **sēnapi* à partir d'une racine *sapi*. Dès lors il n'y a plus rien d'obscur dans les formes latines et grecques du nom de la moutarde. **Sēnapi* est devenu en latin *senapis*, *sinapis*. Le doublet grec *vāπv*: *σίvaπv* est comparable au doublet *čam bēi*: *subēi*; la voyelle *ē* de **sēnapi* est tombée et le groupe *sn* s'est réduit à *n*. Plus tard à *vāπv*, emprunt imparfait, s'est substitué *σίvaπv*, calque plus exact où la voyelle *ē* était rendue par *i* comme en latin. Mais tandis qu'en grec *vāπv* et *σίvaπv* ont le même sens, lat. *sinapis* seul désigne la moutarde; *napus* signifie "chou-rave".

Le vocabulaire grec de l'époque hellénistique ne conserve que la forme *σίvaπv*, l'emprunt imparfait *vāπv* étant supprimé. Par contre, *napus* s'est conservé en latin, mais a pris un sens un peu différent; peut-être a-t-il été influencé par le mot *rapum* "rave".

Il importe de noter que *σίvaπv* et *sinapis* sont beaucoup plus proches des formes austroasiatiques que de *saršapa*. Ceci semble prouver que l'emprunt n'a pas été fait par l'intermédiaire de l'Inde, mais qu'il résulte d'un contact direct avec des gens parlant une langue austroasiatique. La preuve de ces échanges a déjà été fournie par M. J. Gonda, qui a montré que le nom latin de la cannelle, *cassia*, est d'origine austroasiatique et ne se retrouve pas dans l'Inde.¹

Skt. *saršapa*, lat. *senapis*, *sinapis*, *napus*, grec *vāπv*, *σίvaπv* ne sont pas des mots indo-européens, mais des emprunts aux langues anaryennes, car ils sont formés par des procédés de dérivation (préfixation, infixation) étrangers à l'indo-européen et qui caractérisent au contraire la famille des langues austroasiatiques.

J. Charpentier² a supposé que le moyen-indien *sāsava* est à la base du nom grec du sésame: *σῆσαμον* déjà dans Alkman et Solon, lac. *σᾶσαμον*, *σᾶμον*. D'autres auteurs³ croient plutôt que le mot grec est d'origine sémitique, cf. arabe *sāsim*, *simsim*, aram. *šumšema*, *šumšā* (ce dernier mot étant aussi à la base de l'emprunt arménien *šumšay*).

J. Charpentier incline à tirer du grec ou du moyen-indien la forme araméenne et par suite le mot arabe plus récent. Mais cette hypothèse

¹ *Tijdschr. Aardr. Inst.*, Mei 1932, pp. 717-727.

² *MO.*, 1932.

³ Cf. W. Muss-Arnolt, "Semitic Words in Greek and Latin," *Transact. of the Amer. Philol. Assoc.*, vol. xxiii, 1892, p. 111; H. Lewy, *Die Semitischen Fremdwörter im Griechischen*, Berlin, 1895, p. 28.

est rendue peu vraisemblable par le fait qu'on a en assyrien *šamaššamu*.¹

On a essayé d'expliquer par le sémitique les formes sémitiques du nom : F. E. C. Dietrich² fait dériver le nom araméen du sésame de la racine *šm* signifiant entre autres sens : "scharf sein, und stechen. . . . Als Schärffen werden nun auch die Gewürze angesehen, pikant schmeckende und so duftende : syr. ܫܡܫܡܐ 'cardamom' ; gemein semitische *šūm* 'Knoblauch' ; der duftendste, kostbarste Oel, chald. *šumšēmā* = *σῆσαμον*." Fleischer³ trouve cette étymologie insuffisante parce que le sésame "an und für sich in frischem Zustande geruchlos ist." Il explique le nom en partant de la racine *šmm* "in der der Begriff schneller Beweglichkeit, geschäftigen Hin- und Herlaufen liegt" ce qui se rapporte, au point de vue sémantique, plutôt à la fourmi, dont le nom en araméen ressemble à celui du sésame : *šūmšānā*, *šūmšānā*.

M. Jastrow⁴ propose une autre étymologie : "aram. *šūmšum* (prob. from *šēmēš* [sun-flower] *sesamum* (assy. *šamaššamu*). Deriv. *šumšēmā* *sesamum* or poppy."

Ces hypothèses contradictoires ne permettent pas de considérer comme acquise l'origine sémitique de *σῆσαμον*.

De Candolle est d'avis que le sésame a été introduit des îles de la Sonde dans l'Inde⁵ et Watt rappelle que *Sesamum indicum* se trouve à l'état sauvage dans les montagnes de Java.⁶ Mais la question de l'origine du sésame est obscure et ne paraît pas pour le moment susceptible d'être tranchée d'une façon définitive.

Néanmoins il semble qu'on soit fondé à présenter les observations suivantes.

1) Bien que le sésame et la moutarde ne soient pas de la même famille, ils présentent certains caractères communs. L'un et l'autre sont remarquables par la petitesse de leurs graines ; celles-ci sont oléagineuses et servent de médicament. Ces particularités pourraient expliquer le transfert du nom d'une espèce à l'autre.

2) Si *Sesamum indicum* est originaire des îles de la Sonde, il a pu, en se répandant vers l'Ouest, recevoir dans le monde sémitique un nom calqué sur celui de la moutarde. Il n'est pas impossible que ce

¹ Code de Hammurabi, col. xiv, 22, 25, 31, 33, 47, 49, 59 ; col. xv, 3, etc.

² *Abhandlungen für Semitische Wortforschung*, Leipzig, 1844, p. 64.

³ Dans I. Levy, *Chaldäisches Wörterbuch*, 1867, ii, p. 578.

⁴ *A Dictionary of the Targumim*, etc., ii, s.v. *šūmšum*.

⁵ *Origine des plantes cultivées*, p. 339.

⁶ *Economical Products of India*, p. 982.

nom se confonde avec celui que nous venons d'étudier. Les formes sémitiques du nom du sésame se ramènent à un schéma consonantique $\dot{s}(m)\dot{s}m$ où l'on peut reconnaître un préfixe $\dot{s}(m)$ et une racine $*\dot{s}m$ comparable à $*sapi$ austroasiatique. Les formes comme $\dot{s}ama\dot{s}\dot{s}amu$, etc., seraient dues à une "sémitisation" du mot étranger qui le rapprochait du nom du soleil. Mais tout support chronologique fait actuellement défaut pour asseoir cette hypothèse et l'antiquité de certains noms sémitiques du sésame ne lui est pas favorable.

Dans ces conditions, il semble préférable de considérer au moins provisoirement les noms de la moutarde et du sésame comme des mots distincts et indépendants.

Sanskrit *sá* and *sáh*

By E. J. RAPSON

THE forms of the nominative singular of the demonstrative pronoun or definite article and of the relative pronoun in Sanskrit and Greek correspond exactly in accordance with the regular sound-changes of each language :—

sá, sã, tát : *ó, ῥ, τó* : I.E. **so, *sã, *tod* ;

yáh, yã, yád : *ός, ῥ, ó* : I.E. **ios, *iã, *iod*.

In Sanskrit the nom. sg. masc. has a double form—*sá* and *sáh*—the uninflected base and the base with the regular termination of the nom. sg. ; and in this respect Sanskrit finds its parallel in the Avestan *hã* and *has(cit)*.

So far, philologists seem not to have traced this characteristic beyond the Indian and Iranian groups of the Indo-European family of languages. Thumb, for instance (*Handbuch des Sanskrit*, § 361) suggests that the forms with the nom. sg. termination may represent *eine arische Neubildung*. There can, however, be little doubt that the Greek counterpart of *sáh* is to be seen in the Homeric demonstrative pronoun *ός* ; e.g. *ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅς δειδούκε* "even he fears" (*Iliad*, xxi, 198). This demonstrative *ός* is very rare in later Greek, but it survives in certain stock phrases : e.g. *ῥ δ'ός*, "said he".

We find, then, in early Greek no fewer than three different words which are all of them regularly represented by *ός*—the relative pronoun, Skt. *yáh*, I.E. **ios* ; the demonstrative pronoun, Skt. *sáh*, I.E. **so* ; and the possessive pronoun, Skt. *sváh*, I.E. **suos*.

It is commonly assumed in Greek grammars that *ός* "he" is simply the relative used as a demonstrative ; and this ancient belief, dating from a period long before the existence of comparative philology, has become traditional, and has prevented Greek grammarians from seeing that this *ός* and *ό* are inseparably connected not only in meaning but also in origin.

Indian grammarians on the other hand have declined to admit that *sa* has an independent existence of its own : for them *sa* is merely a truncated form—*sáh* with *lopa* of *su*, the termination of the nom. sg. masc. Thus in the Pada Pãtha of the Rìgveda, which represents the first step in the history of Sanskrit grammar—the *vyākaraṇa* of a sentence into the words of which it is composed, and of certain

compounds into their constituent elements—the *sá* of the Saṃhitā Pāṭha, in whatsoever connection it may occur—whether before a consonant or before a vowel or as combining with a following vowel to form a diphthong—is invariably restored as *sáh*.

sá devāṁ éhá vakṣati (I, i, 2).

Pada : *sáh-devān*.

sá id devēṣu gacchati (I, i, 4).

Pada : *sáh-ít*.

yám smā prcchānti kúha sēti ghorām (II, xii, 5).

Pada : *sáh-íti*.

The Indian grammarians were in fact wedded to a theory from the very beginning. They started with a postulate : every inflected word must have its proper suffix. If, then, the suffix is not manifest, its absence is due to *adarśana* and it must be supposed to exist. This is the doctrine of *lopa* or "omission", which Western grammars of Sanskrit have inherited from the Indian grammarians. Thus Whitney's statement :

"The nominative masculine pronouns *sás* and *eśás* and (Vedic) *syás* lose their *s* before any consonant" (*A Sanskrit Grammar*, § 176a) is simply a paraphrase of Pāṇini, VI, i, 132-3. Pāṇini goes on to say (VI, i, 134) that for metrical reasons the same elision may take place before a vowel (with the consequential *sandhi* of the two vowels); and the Rīgveda Prātiśākhya gives two lists (172 and 173; ed. Max Müller, pp. 54-5) comprising twenty-six illustrations of this fusion of *sá* with different vowels; e.g. *sásmin* for *sá asmin*; *séndra* for *sá indra*; *sése* for *sá īse*; *sópamā* for *sá upamā*; *sainā* for *sá enā*; *saūśadhīḥ* for *sá ōśadhīḥ*. In all these and similar instances *sá* is represented by *sáh* in the Pada text. But, as a matter of simple observation, these "exceptions" are so frequent that they supersede the rule. They are in fact in accordance with the general rule : "*sá* in RV. is in the great majority of cases combined with the following vowel" (Whitney, § 176b).

The facts of the Vedic language are thus in agreement with the evidence supplied by comparative grammar, viz. that, like *hā* and *has(cit)* in Avestan and *ō* and *ōs* in Greek, *sá* and *sáh* are alternative and independent forms of the demonstrative pronoun. In the Veda there is no such rigid distinction observable in the employment of the two forms as is ordained by the grammarians for Classical Sanskrit : *sá* is no doubt normally used before a consonant, but it is also

frequently used before a vowel ; while *sáh* is always used *in pausa* and normally before a vowel. But there are a few undoubted instances of the occurrence of *sáh* followed by a consonant, particularly by *t* and *p* :—

nahí śás táva nó máma

śāstré anyásya ráṅyati, VIII, xxxiii, 16.

yó no dvēṣṭy ádharah śás padīṣṭa, III, liii, 21.

When at a later date grammarians came to consider the prevailing usage, they laid down hard and fast laws : *sa* must always be used before consonants, and *sah* before vowels and *in pausa*. Pāṇini assumes that before vowels the *sandhi* of the *-ah* in *sah* is precisely the same as that of any other *-ah*—so '*bravūt*, *naro 'bravūt* (P., VI, i, 109) ; *sa eti*, *nara eti* (P., VIII, iii, 18 and 19) ; that is to say, Pāṇini holds (1) that *-ah* before all voiced sounds, whether vowels or consonants, becomes *-o* ; (2) that this *-o* absorbs a following initial *a-* ; and (3) that *-o* becomes *-av* before any other vowel. So far therefore, except as regards (2) in word-formation, e.g. *bhavati*, the principles of external and internal *sandhi* in Classical Sanskrit are identical ; and as regards (3) it is explained that, when *-av* comes at the end of a word, the semi-vowel *-v* being very lightly pronounced (*laghuprayatnatara*) tends to disappear : in the opinion of Śākalya it does in fact disappear ; in the opinion of other grammarians its retention is optional, i.e. either *viṣṇav ehi* or *viṣṇa ehi* is allowable.

Curiously enough, Western scholars in their explanation of this *sandhi* have sometimes adopted the doctrine of *lopa* and extended it beyond the limits contemplated by Pāṇini. Thus Whitney says (§ 175c) : " final *as* before any other vowel than *a* loses its *s*, becoming simple *a*."

There can be no doubt that, in this respect at least, Pāṇini has shown us the better way.

Pāli *bhūnaha*

By BABURAM SAKSENA.

THE word *bhūnaha* occurs thrice¹ in Canonical Pāli literature : (a) in the Sutta-nipāta² as sg. voc. *bhūnahu* ; (b) in the Majjhima Nikāya³ as sg. gen. *bhūnahuno* ; and (c) in the Jātaka⁴ as pl. nom. *bhūnahuno*.

The Sn. commentary (p. 479) explains *bhūnahu* as *bhūtihanaka*, *vuddhi-nāsaka* and the Jātaka commentary (as quoted in the Pāli Dict.) interprets *bhūnahuno* as *iśīnaṃ ativattāro attano vadḍhiyā hatattā bhūnahuno*. Lord Chalmers in his translation of the Majjhima Nikāya suggests "puritanical" as the sense of *bhūnahuno*, while Rāhula Sāṅkṛtyāyana in his Hindi translation⁵ appears to have taken the word as a proper name (*bhunabhū*), used as an adjective of *seyyaṃ* and not of *Gotamassa* ; he leaves the term unexplained even in the glossary.

Dr. W. Stede, in his Dictionary, notes the difficulty in the explanation of the word, and asks : "Is it an old mis-spelling for *bhūta* + *gha* ? The latter of *han* ?" Then he suggests "a destroyer of beings". One does not find the word in Childers's Dictionary. Bapat, in his edition of the Sn. (Poona, 1924, p. 181), merely quotes the commentary to explain the word.

Pāli scholars have been misled by the commentaries in the interpretation of this word. *bhūnaha* most certainly corresponds to Skt. *bhrūṇahan-*, *bhrūṇaghna-* "the killer of an embryo, one who produces abortion". The word *bhrūṇa-* occurs as early as the Rigveda (x, 155, 2).⁶ The production of abortion is considered a heinous crime in the Mahābhārata ; the Manusmṛti prescribes a very heavy punishment for it. It was then, as even now, one of the most condemned crimes

¹ Rhys Davids and Stede : *Pāli Dictionary*, vol. iii, p. 132.

² verse 664 : *mukhadugga vibhūta-m-anariya
bhūnahu pāpaka dukkatakārī*.

vv. 11. *bhūnahata, bhūnahota, bhūhata*.

³ *duddittḥaṃ vata bho Bhāradvāja addasāma ye mayaṃ tassa bhoṭo Gotamassa bhūnahuno seyyaṃ addasāmāti*.

⁴ ed. Fausbøll vol. v, pp. 266, 272.

⁵ Published by the Mahabodhi Society, Sarnath, Benares (1933), p. 292 : *bho Bhāradvāja ! yah burā dēkhā huā, jō ham nē āp (kē ?) Gautam kī Bhunabhū, śayyā kō dēkhā*.

⁶ M. Williams, *Skt. Eng. Dict.*, *bhrūṇa*.

in India. I quote the Vācaspatya (p. 4711) for the significance of the word *bhrūṇaghna* :—*bhrūṇaghna* — *tri. bhrūṇaṃ garbhaṃ hanti, han-ka. bhrūṇahatyā-kārake kvip, bhrūṇahāpy atra* ; “*api bhrūṇahanaṃ māsāt.*”—*Manuḥ*.

With this interpretation of the word we arrive at very suitable sense for the passages where it occurs. In the Sn. the word stands on a par with terms indicating “ignoble, sinner”. The Maj. Ni. has the passage as an accusation by Māgandiya, a heretic Brahmin, against the Buddha, and if the word did not contain an abuse of the Lord there would be no point in Bhāradvāja, the host of the Lord, remonstrating with Māgandiya and asking him to withdraw the accusation. As such Chalmers’s suggestion is unacceptable and Rāhula Sāṅkṛtyāyana’s interpretation evidently meaningless.

It may be pointed out that this is not the only place where the Pāli commentators have failed to catch the correct meaning due to their ignorance of Sanskrit and to their unfamiliarity with the cognate Sanskrit literature. As I have shown elsewhere,¹ it is not only the Pāli commentators, but sometimes the redactors of the canonical works also who offer fantastic and uncalled-for etymologies.

¹ *Fantastic Etymologies in the Dhammapada*, Ganganatha Jha Commemoration Volume.

História de Gramática Concani

By MARIANO SALDANHA

“... desde tempo remoto passa por verdade demonstrada o grande absurdo de que a lingua desta terra (Goa), a lingua de meio milhão de homens, nem tem gramática nem é susceptível de ser escrita; julgamos que ao menos faremos algum serviço se dissiparmos tão perniciosa ilusão, mostrando que a lingua concani não só tem a sua gramática, como qualquer outra, mas que a mesma gramática foi em tempo formulada em regras e até impressa.” J. H. da Cunha Rivara, *Ensaio Histórico da Língua Concani*, 1857, pg. 1.

ORIGEM E VALOR DAS PRIMEIRAS GRAMÁTICAS: O concani é a lingua vernácula de Goa (India Portuguesa) e dos países circunvizinhos, sendo hoje falada por mais de um milhão e meio de pessoas; e, apesar de ser muito propagada a instrução na sua área, é talvez a única lingua indiana, que, além de não ter cultura literária, nem mesmo é objecto de ensino, official ou particular, no seu país,¹ cujos filhos preferem para êsse fim ou linguas estrangeiras, como portuguezes e inglês, ou as vizinhas marata e canarês. É verdade que, com o advento da civilização luso-cristã, os antigos missionários, desde o século XVI, ministraram o ensino desta lingua, mas foi somente aos seus colegas europeus para os fins de catequese,² e não aos naturais, para o que compuseram gramáticas e vocabulários, que seriam minas preciosas para a filologia indiana,³ se tivessem todos chegado até nós. Dêste modo o concani, dentre todos os vernáculos modernos da India, foi o primeiro a possuir uma gramática, graças aos esforços do benemérito jesuíta inglês Tomás Estêvão.

Esta primeira tentativa, além de facilitar aos extranhos o estudo da lingua, estimulou e ajudou a organização de novos trabalhos

¹ Um professor de instrução primária (Pe. Apuleio da Cunha), depois de aposentado, dedicou-se ao ensino particular gratuito da lingua na Província de Perném, obtendo resultado animador. Mas a escola, que era móvel, morreu com êle. Ultimamente foi introduzido o seu ensino na Escola Superior Colonial de Lisboa.

² “... desejando (Fr. Cristovam de Jesus) instruir na lingua canarina aos seus companheiros para o fim de conduzirem ao gremio da Igreja a muitos barbaros, escreveu: *Arte Grammatical da Língua Canarina* . . .” *Vergel das Plantas*, de Fr. Jacinto de Deos, cap. i, pg. 10.

³ “It (konkani) also has a large literature mostly dating from the glorious times of the early Portuguese rule at Goa, and due to the surprising zeal and ability of the former jesuits, and for these reasons must be of great interest to a philologist.” A. C. Burnell, *Specimens of South Indian Dialects*, n.º 1 (konkani).

similares devidos todos, ao princípio, a penas estrangeiras, aparecendo só mais tarde, desde o século XIX, obras congêneres de estudiosos nativos. E assim, o número das gramáticas concanis, impressas e manuscritas, até hoje conhecidas, sobe a duas dúzias; acham-se escritas em português, espanhol, latim, francês, inglês, marata, concani e talvez em canarês, algumas das quais só se encontram hoje nas bibliotecas eruditas de Londres. A pobreza dos missionários concorreu para que algumas dessas obras nunca lograssem ser impressas.¹

A maior parte destas gramáticas, tendo sido escritas em países e épocas diferentes, representam as formas colloquiais correntes, nos últimos cinco séculos, desde Baçaim e a Ilha de Salsete no norte, até Mangalore no sul; e, como tal, a sua leitura é muito proveitosa para o estudo comparativo e evolutivo da lingua nos seus variados dialectos, mesmo admitindo que sejam inexactas em algumas afirmações, o que, aliás, não é de extranhar por parte da maioria dêsses autores, para quem o idioma não era vernáculo, quando se repara que alguns dos últimos gramáticos, não obstante serem filhos do país, não teem escapado a incorrecções.

A presente memória, porém, não visa a êste estudo comparativo, ou à gramática histórica da lingua, mas unicamente à *história da sua gramática*, isto é, tenta organizar dessas gramáticas uma relação bibliográfica completa, quanto permitem os conhecimentos actuais, e indicar a maneira como as mais importantes dentre elas interpretaram e resolveram os principais problemas gramaticais.

Tratando-se de bibliografia concani, não se pode deixar em silêncio o venerando nome de Joaquim Heliodoro da Cunha Rivara, a quem se deve a primeira e única bibliografia geral, incluindo a gramatical, embora incompleta, publicada no seu valioso *Ensaio Histórico da Língua Concani*, que ainda hoje não perdeu a sua actualidade. Êste inesquecível concanófilo, tendo ido para a India em 1856, como Secretário Geral do Governo e Comissário dos Estudos, empregou, infelizmente sem proveito, o seu melhor esforço pela cultura da lingua, quer recomendando o seu ensino e dando as necessárias instruções, quer iniciando, logo em 1857, a publicação de três gramáticas e um dicionário, os quais todos, com a excepção da gramática de Estêvão,

¹ " Não se têm dado ao prelo muitos destes livros visto carecermos de cabedais pela pobreza evangélica que profeçamos e os que se deram à estampa se deve à diligência dos autores que souberam dedicar os seus livros a pessoas Reais e Illustres, as quais mandaram imprimir com seu dispêndio." *Histor. dos Conc. e Coleg., etc.*, de S. Thomé da Província de S. Francisco em Goa, pg. 31; Ms. Biblit. Nal. F.G., n.º 177, pg. 31.

se encontravam em Ms. e se teriam certamente perdido para a posteridade, se êle os não tivesse salvado da destruição, criando assim para a sua memória jús ao eterno reconhecimento dos povos concanis.

O NOME DA LINGUA: Antes do mais, porém, é necessário desfazer uma confusão em que pode tropeçar o leitor por causa da variedade de nomes com que é designada a lingua, tais como *canarim*, *concanim*, *gomantaki*, *brámana*, *goani*, etc.

Como a primitiva lingua dos indo-árias, que não tinha nome especial, sendo mais tarde conhecida por sânscrito, assim o idioma goês, que é irmão do marata, era apenas designado pelos naturais como *ām'chi bhās*, a nossa lingua e fóra do pais por *govi* ou *Goenchi bhās*, lingua de Goa. Entre os maratas eruditos é geralmente conhecida por *gomantaki*, de Gomantaka, nome sanscrítico de Goa.

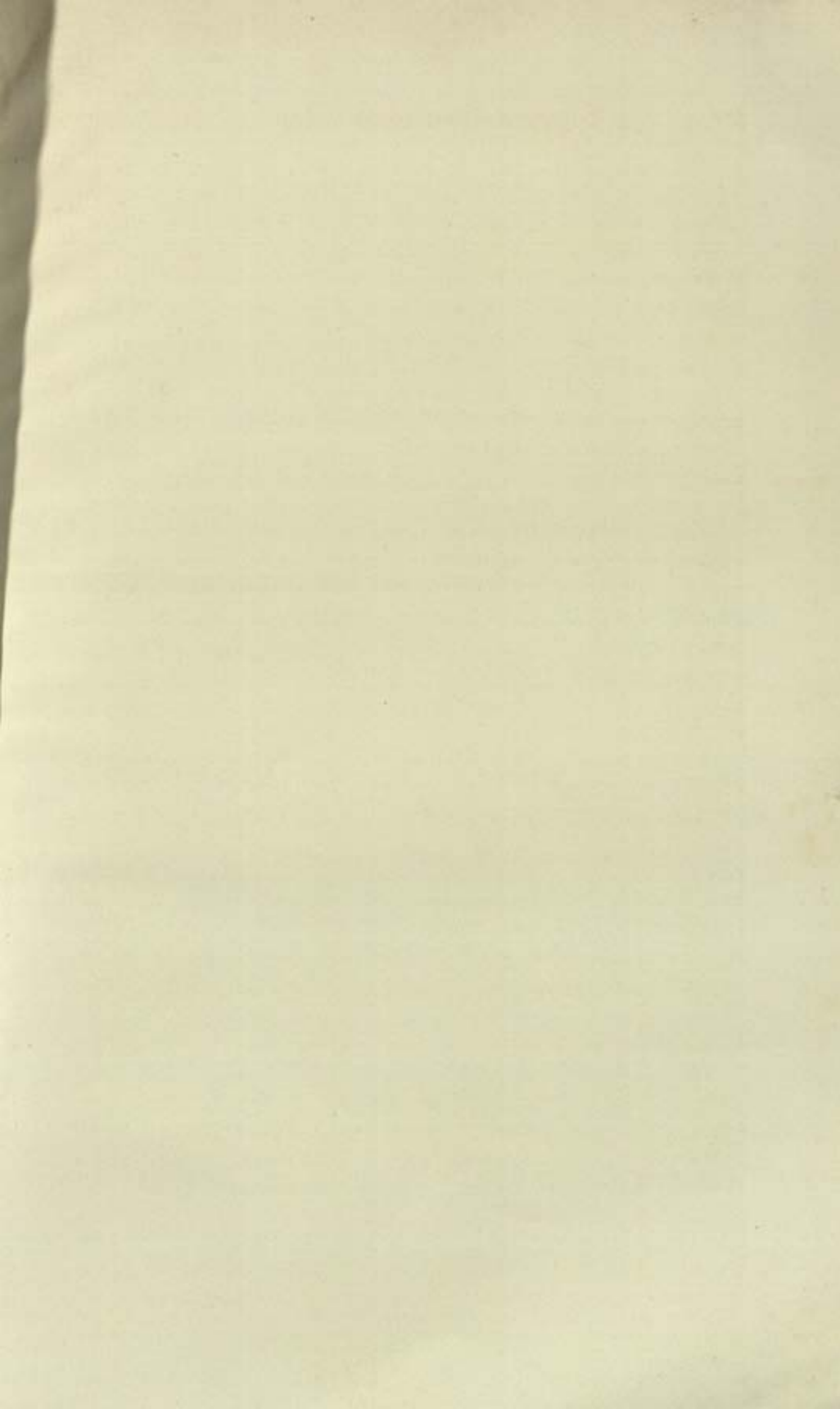
Os antigos portugueses, incluindo os missionários, deram-lhe vários nomes, qual dêles mais desarrazoado, sendo o mais vulgar o de "lingua canarim", um absurdo que, talvez por o ser, mais se apegou e generalizou. Ninguém ignora que o idioma goes é indo-árco ou sanscrítico, irmão de marata, nada tendo portanto de comum com o canari, cuja gramática e o léxico são muito diferentes, como lingua dravídica que é, e alheia ao sânscrito. Os missionários, que estudavam os vernáculos e muitos andaram pelo Canará, deviam reconhecer a impropriedade do termo; mas, como não escreviam para filólogos, seguiram a prática corrente. Assim, Estêvão designou-a por "lingua canarim" e o missionário português (infra n.º 2), cuja gramática, aliás, trata do marata concânico das províncias do norte, Baçaim, Banderá, Bombaim, chamou-a também "Arte Canarina da lingua do Norte". Todos os autores, porém, reconhecem em Goa duas formas de falar: a plebeia, um tanto irregular, chamada *canarim* e a outra mais regular, usada pelas classes cultas, a qual chamavam *lingua canarim brámana* ou simplesmente *brámana de Goa*. Como era esta última variedade a preferida pelos europeus, e mesmo por outras castas, para a escrita, sermões e uso religioso, foi ela tomada para norma por todas as gramáticas, incluindo a de Estêvão, a qual, apesar de se dizer da lingua canarim sem acrescentar *brámana*, cingiu-se, contudo, ao falar bramânico, como se vê do seu contêxto; também a licença do ordinário para a sua impressão se lhe refere como "arte da lingua canarin brámana". Para o seu *Purana*, porém, escrito para a leitura dos nativos, Estêvão preferiu, como mais apropriada para a nobresa do assunto, o marata, *Marāṭṭiye bhāssena lihīlē āhe*, como diz, embora substituisse algumas formas e locuções eruditas por outras

de “language bramana” local (concani), como mais compreensíveis do vulgo. Os missionários que foram encarregados de dar o seu parecer para a primeira edição d’este *Purana* dizem-no escrito em “language bramana marastta”, distinguindo-a assim da vernáculo, chamada “bramana canarim” e não marastta. Fazia-se, portanto, já nessa época distinção entre o chamado canarim ou dialecto de Goa e o marata, ou marastta (de Maharastra).

Os primeiros gramáticos que empregaram o termo próprio foram Arcamone (século xvii, n.º 13) e o missionário italiano (sec. xviii, n.º 7). Arcamone chama “lingua concânica” a de Goa e “decânica” a marata; e o italiano chama-a “lingua Concanã” e “de Concanã” e às vezes também “concani”; mas esta última palavra pode bem ser modificação de Rivara, análoga à que fêz na impressão doutras gramáticas, substituindo *Arte Canarina* por *Gramática Concani*, para evitar confusão. No século xix aparece também empregado por alguns cristãos de Goa o nome *Gomantaki*, usado em marata. Preferiram-no ao *concani*, tanto para distinguir o idioma goês do concani falado no norte do Concão, como para ligar o nome da lingua ao do país (Gomantaka = Goa). Actualmente a designação mais adoptada é a de *concani*. Houve, porém, um gramático moderno, que, inspirado talvez pelo inglês *goanese*, preferiu chamar-lhe *goani*, nome inteiramente anti-etimológico e exótico, que o próprio autor abandonou, em vista de razões que lhe foram expostas, mas não sem nos informar que “alacremenente fôra aceito por muitos” talvez para justificar os psicologistas, para quem o povo só tem alacridade para aceitar o que fôr errado, como *canari* em vez de *concani*. O único nome que seria mais apropriado ao dialecto de Goa, como sendo ao mesmo tempo popular, geográfico e etimológico, é o que corre entre os povos circunvizinhos, que lhe chamam *govi* (de *Gová* ou *Govém* = Goa), como em português seria *goês*. Costuma-se ainda designá-lo em português local por *lingua da terra* ou simplesmente por *lingua*, como em: *F. pregou em lingua*, i.é., em *concani*.

BIBLIOGRAFIA: O primeiro autor a figurar nesta bibliografia é, como já se disse, o jesuíta inglês Tomás Estêvão (Thomas Stephens), cuja gramática é o trabalho pioneiro no género.

Nascido em Inglaterra em 1549, Estêvão partiu de Roma para Lisboa e daqui para a Índia, tendo vivido em Goa desde 1579 a 1619, em que morreu com a idade de 70 anos no colégio de Rachol, de que era Reitor. A Estêvão cabe a primazia em alguns factos de história e linguística indianas. Pois foi êle o primeiro inglês que chegou a



IESVSMARIA

ARTE DA LINGOACANA

RIM

COMPOSTA PELO PADRE
Thomaz esteuaõ da Companhia d-
IESVS & acrecentada pello Padr-
Diogo Ribeiro da mesma Cõpanhia
E nouemente reuista, & emendada por
outros quatro Padres da mesma Com-
panhia.



Com Licença da S. Inquificam & Or-
dinario

em Rachol no Collegio de S. Ignacio
da Companhia de IESV. Anno de

1640.

India via Cabo e foram as suas cartas escritas ao pai, que, segundo dizem, animaram os ingleses a tentar as primeiras relações comerciais com a India; e em Goa empregou a sua influência em favor de seus patrícios.¹ Foi ele o primeiro europeu que organizou uma gramática indiana (a de concani); e foi também quem compoz o primeiro catecismo na mesma lingua² e o primeiro poema cristão em marata (o *Purana* da história bíblica)³ ao qual cabe a glória de ser a primeira obra em lingua indiana, de caráter literário, impressa (1615) em caracteres romanos; e o seu prefácio é citado como um dos primeiros espécimens de prosa marata⁴; e, finalmente, foi ainda esse mesmo inglês, que, dois séculos antes do seu patrício William Jones, comunicou para a Europa a semelhança entre as linguas indianas e o grego e o latim. "Many are the languages of these places—escrevia ele para seu irmão em outubro de 1583.—Their pronunciation is not disagreeable and their structure is allied to Greek and Latin. The phrases and constructions are of a wonderful kind."⁵

O nome de Tomás Estêvão bem merece, portanto, não só da Igreja, mas também de Portugal, Inglaterra e India, e especialmente dos idiomas marata e concani, cujas cristandades, em algumas partes, se deleitam ainda hoje com a leitura do seu *Purana*.⁶

A gramática de Estevam foi impressa com estes dizeres:

1 — *IESUS MARIA | ARTE DA | LINGOA CANA | RIM,*
composta pelo Padre | Thomaz estevaõ da Companhia de | IESUS &
acrecentada pello Padre | Diogo Ribeiro da mesma Cõpanhia. | E
nouamente reuista, e emendada por | outros quatro Padres da mesma
Companhia; | I H S | Com Licença da S. Inquisiçam & Or | dinario, |

¹ Eram Ralph Fitch, e mais três companheiros, que, tentando uma viagem terrestre para a India, foram presos pelos portugueses em Ormus, e mandados para Goa.

² Intitula-se: "Doutrina Christã Em Lingua Bramana Canarim Ordenada a maneira de Dialogo pera ensinar os mininos. Cõposta pollo Padre Thomas Esteuaõ da Companhia de Iesus, natural de Lódres, 1622." O de S. Francisco Xavier, que o precedeu, era em português.

³ Editado pela 4a. vez por Joseph L. Saldanha com uma valiosa *Introdução*, Mangalore 1907. A obra tem imitado tão bem o estilo e a linguagem dos puranas hindus, que um autor de literatura marata (Bhavé) supõe seja escrita por algum hindu sob a direcção de Estevam.

⁴ Vid. R. Bh. Joshi, *Marāṭhī Bhāṣecchī Ghatnā*, pg. 304 e seg.

⁵ Vid. o *Purana*, *Introdução* de Saldanha.

⁶ Os 60 mil prisioneiros de Mangalore, levados por Tipu Sultão para Seringapatan, confortavam-se, nas agruras do cativeiro, lendo em comum este *Purana*; cit. Saldanha. Nas províncias do Norte é mais lido o *Purana* de Francisco Vaz Guimarães, transliterado pelos nativos em caracteres maratás.

em Rachol, no Collegio de S. Ignacio | da Companhia de IESU. Anno de | 1640 (Vid. Estampa).¹

Foi pois impressa 21 anos depois da morte do autor, sendo hoje impossível saber-se qual a parte original e quais os acrescentamentos e emendas dos outros padres. Desta edição supunha-se existirem só dois exemplares e ambos em Londres,² pertencentes um à Biblioteca do India Office, que, porém, já o não possui, e o outro à Biblioteca da School of Oriental Studies, o qual ainda lá existe, faltando-lhe a primeira página e algumas no fim. A Biblioteca Nacional de Lisboa, porém, possui um exemplar inteiro e bem conservado. O frontispício é encerrado em moldura gráfica. Devem ser, portanto, êstes dois últimos os únicos exemplares que, actualmente, se sabe existirem.

O livro foi reimpresso por Cunha Rivara sob êste título :

“Grammatica da Lingua Concani, composta pelo Padre Thomaz Estevão e acrescentada por outros Padres da Companhia de Jesus. Segunda impressão correctâ e annotada: à que precede como introdução a *Memoria sobre a distribuição geographica das principais linguas da India*, por Sir Erskine Perry, e o *Ensaio Historico da Lingua Concani* pelo Editor. Nova-Goa; na Imprensa Nacional 1857.” Esta primeira gramática e a do n.º 7 representam a variedade colloquial de Salsete.

2 — *Arte Canarina na Lingoa do Norte*. Ms. anónimo, que “pelos seus caracteres extrínsecos e dição” conjecturou C. Rivara ser da autoria de “algum Religioso Franciscano ou da Companhia de Jesus, residente em Thaná, na Ilha de Salsete, onde, sem dúvida, foi composta a obra”. E, por isso, ao editá-la, deu-lhe esta fachada: “Gramática da Lingua Concani no dialecto do Norte, composta no seculo XVII por um Missionário Português; e agora pela primeira vez dada à estampa. Nova Goa; na Imprensa Nacional; 1858.” É por isso conhecida como a “gramática do Missionário, Português”.

¹ Dando o seu parecer para esta impressão, diz o P.º Estêvão da Cruz: “achei a lingua toda reduzida a regras e preceitos de grammatica muito certos, e bom e fácil estilo pera se poder aprender com facilidade . . . e os autores todos della de muito grande louvor.” Este P.º Cruz é o mesmo que compôs em “língua bramana marastta” um poema intitulado “Discurso sôbre a vinda do Apóstolo S. Pedro” ao qual Rivara chama *O Purana da Biblioteca* (de Goa) por ignorar o nome do autor pela razão de estar truncado o respectivo exemplar. Ele não era português, como supôs Barb. Machado, mas sim francês, como se lê no mesmo *Discurso*. Curioso é que, como se desconhecesse o *Purana* de T. Estêvão, diz que as matérias do om poema *são muitas delas pouco ou nunca tratadas neste estylo e linguagem e assim não podemos ter a quem imitar*.

² Cit. Saldanha, pg. 37.

Esta é a primeira gramática marata, escrita em lingua europeia e representa o dialecto concânico do norte, ou o marata colloquial de Baçaim, Bandorá, Bombaim, e outros territórios do norte do Concão, ao tempo sob o domínio português, do mesmo modo como a do n.º 16 representa o marata decânico. Embora não digam respeito propriamente à lingua goesa, merecem estas ambas ser aqui mencionadas como um bom auxiliar para o estudo comparativo cõcano-marata. Bem diz Rivara: “Pareceu-nos que esta (do n.º 2), além de ser um novo monumento dos trabalhos literários dos portugueses no Oriente, seria um complemento não só útil mas indispensável à Gramática do Padre T. Estêvão; pois, sendo ordenada pelo mesmo plano e sistema, facilmente se confrontarão, por meio dela, as diferenças dos dialectos concanis de Goa e Baçaim e se elucidarão e confirmarão mutuamente as regras e idiotismos da lingua geral.”

É provavelmente a esta gramática, ou à do n.º 16, impressa em 1778, que se refere Carey na sua “*Grammar of the Mahratta Language*, by W. Carey, teacher of sanscrit, bengalee and mahratta . . . in the College of Fort William; Serampore, 1805.” Diz Carey: “A grammar of this language was indeed written many years ago in the Portuguese tongue; but the writer of this not having been able to procure a copy of it, could not derive any assistance from the labours of its author, and has therefore been obliged to strike out a plan of his own.” E foi pena, por que a gramática portuguesa teria fornecido a Carey muitos elementos que lhe escaparam.

3 — “*Arte da Lingua Canarina*, por Fr. Gaspar de S. Miguel, 4º, Ms.” É assim mencionada por Barbosa Machado na sua *Biblioteca Lusitana*, donde a cita C. Rivara, que não a viu. Talvez seja a mesma obra cuja cópia existe na Biblioteca da Sch. Or. Stud. (Marsden Collection, ii, 559, n.º 1) e é assim intitulada: “† *Iesu Maria Ioseph. Grammatica da lingua bramana que corre na Ilha de Goa e sua comarca.*” Ms anónimo, seguido imediatamente, no mesmo Codex, doutro (n.º ii), que é: “*Syntaxis copiosissima na lingua bramana e pollida composta pello Pe. Fr. Gaspar de S. Miguel, Portugues, frade menor, Pregador e mestre, dela etc.*” (era frade de S. Tomé da Província de S. Francisco, em Goa). São 39 folhas ou 78 páginas, contendo 205 regras. Pelo desenvolvimento da syntaxe, que está em proporção com o do n.º 1 (fonética e morfologia), parece que os dois números são partes da mesma obra — a gramática de Fr. Gaspar.

4 — “*Arte Gramatical da Lingua Canarina*, por Fr. Christovam de Jesus; Ms.” Assim citada por C. Rivara, também sob a autoridade

de Barbosa. Mas a cópia que se encontra na mesma School of Or. St. (Marsden Col., ii, 559, n.º iii) traz este título: “Gramatica da Lingua Bramana ordenada | pel-lo Pe. Fr. Christovão de Iesus no anno de | 1635.” Tem 42 (?) folhas, em letra muito fina, mas bem perceptível. Começa pelas declinações.

A impressão destas duas últimas gramáticas seria interessante para o estudo da variedade coloquial de Bardês, onde missionava a ordem dos franciscanos, a que pertenciam os dois autores.

5 — “*Arte de Gramatica da Lingoa Bracmana*, disposta em II Livros; Obra mui necessaria para os Missionarios, Pregadores, Confessores, Compositores, Poetas e Estudantes nas partes deste Oriente. Na Ilha de Chorão. Escrita por Estudante Simão Al'z (Alvarez) Bragmane, Semnoye, Choranense, etc. Anno MDCICIV.” É Ms., de autor desconhecido, sendo talvez o Semnoye Choranense, como entende Rivara, um simples copista, devendo por isso a palavra “escrita” ser entendida por tresladada.

6 — Gramática citada (sem título) por Francisco Luis Gomes (n.º 10) como “ante-posta ao Ms. de um Dicionário escrito no ano de 1695”. Provavelmente é a gramática n.º 5, que é acompanhada de um “vocabulario em tres linguas, escrito por Simão Al'z e seu pai Lourenço Al'z, MDCICV”. Pelas poucas referências que Gomes lhe faz parece ser um trabalho interessante e é pena não ter sido impresso.

7 — *Grammatica ou Observações Grammaticais sobre a Lingoa de Concanã*. Ms. anónimo, impresso por C. Rivara sob o título: “Grammatica da Lingua Concani escrita em Portugues por um Missionario Italiano. Nova Goa na Imprensa Nacional; 1859.” “É, escreve Rivara, segundo todas as notícias que temos podido obter, obra do Padre Fr. Francisco Xavier de Santana, italiano, Carmelita descalço, Missionário no Canará, Arcebispo de Sardes e ultimamente Vigário Apostólico em Verapoly. Da obra se vê que foi escrita no Canará e na lingua portuguesa com seus resaibos da italiana, os quais tomamos a liberdade de corrigir, sem contudo alterar no mínimo o pensamento do autor.” É de extranhar, porém, que este erudito editor, que, aliás, a propósito do Ms. n.º 2, indica o século em que o supõe escrito, nada diga neste ponto com respeito a esta gramática, nem mencione a data da estada na India de Fr. Francisco Xavier, limitando-se a dizer “ultimamente Vigário Apostólico” mantendo a mesma attitude todas as vezes que se refere a esse frade (cf. *Ensaio Hist. da Ling. Conc.*, pg. xxxix n.b e pg. cxviii; e *Dicion.*

Conc. Port. composto por um Miss. Ital. 1869, Pref. pg. i). A sua opinião, porém, dá margem a certos reparos :

I Não há na obra cousa que denuncie ter sido escrita no Canará, a não ser um parêntese nesta regra da pg. 24 : “ O modo único de fazer fracções de inteiros neste paiz (*Sunkery no Canará*) he de fazer quatro partes iguais. . . . ” Se êste parêntese é do original, não se explica que o autor, versado como era em marata, limitasse só a *Sunkery* uma prática que devia saber ser geral em todo o *Maharashtra* e mesmo fora ; e êle próprio diz adiante a pg. 45 que isso é “ costume dos indianos ”.

II O alfabeto que indica como usado no país é o marata e não o canarês em que naquela região escrevem o concani.

III Todas as formas gramaticais dadas são de *Salsete* (Goa) e não se encontra nenhuma de tantas peculiares ao Canará e que são mencionadas por *Noronha* e *Maffei* (n.^{os} 18 e 19).

IV Os poucos nomes geográficos citados são todos extra-canarezes, como *Goa*, *Bardês*, *Anjuna*, *Bombay*, *Surrate*.

V Se *Fr. Francisco Xavier* era *Carmelita* descalço, não podia ter vivido e aprendido o concani em *Goa*, donde os *Carmelitas* tinham sido expulsos em 1702 ; nem podia ter sido missionário em *Sunkery*, que pertencia ao *Padroado* português ; nem podia escrever em português para os seus colegas *carmelitas*, que eram estrangeiros.

Todavia podemos continuar a designar o livro como a “ gramatica do missionário italiano ” em vista dos tais “ *resaibos* ” da lingua italiana.

8 — “ *Francisco José Vieira*, *Desembargador da Relação* (1809-1818). Reduziu a regras e preceitos gramaticais o idioma próprio de *Goa*, segundo afirma o *Sr Manoel Felecíssimo Lousada de Araujo*, também *Desembargador da mesma Relação*, na *Segunda Memória Descritiva e Estatística das Possessões Portuguezas na Asia*, publicadas em 1842 nos *Annaes Marítimos e Coloniaes* pg. 451 ” (*Rivara*).

9 — “ *D. Fr. Manoel de S. Galdino*, *Arcebispo de Goa* (1812-1831). Tendo-se applicado ao estudo da lingua, chegou a pregar nela, segundo dizem. Há tradição vaga de que também compuzera uma gramática, mas ninguém a viu nem dá outra notícia dela. Talvez possuisse algum exemplar da que agora reimprimimos (de *Estêvão*) ou cópia de alguma outra e daí viesse a fama de ser obra sua ”. *Rivara*.

10 — *Notas Gramaticais* dadas por *Francisco Luis Gomes* como suplemento à *Gramática de Estevam*, na edição de *Rivara* (1857). É matéria na maior parte extraída do Ms. do n.^o 7, sendo, contudo, algumas originaes e valiosas.

A estas dez gramáticas, indicadas por C. Rivara, podem-se agora acrescentar mais as seguintes 17 :

11 — “*Arte e Doutrina Christã em lingua Canarim.*” Ms anónimo, existente na Sch. O.S. (Marsd. Coll., 11.280). Está truncado, tendo perdido as três primeiras folhas. Não tem data ; mas certas tabelas que veem no fim levam a supor que tenha sido escrita em 1615 menos 19 anos = 1596, ou 23 anos antes da morte de Estêvão. Em vista de muitas analogias, parece ser baseada na *Arte* dêste jesuita, se não é a própria *Arte*, ou cópia, da mesma, feita antes de ser esta acrescentada por outros padres, tanto mais que é acompanhada de um “Confessionario e Doutrina em Lingua bramana canarim ordenada de dialogo que se ensina Pellos Padres da Companhia de Jesus na India Oriental” o qual em grande parte se conforma, no texto e até no título, com o catecismo de Estêvão.

12 — “*Arte do Canarym*, composta pelos nossos Padres e tresladada polla mão do clérigo Antonio da Silva, Bramane de Margão. Tenha-se em muita estima porque este clérigo a tresladou com muita curiosidade sem erros, pa. o Pe. Antonio de Magalhães hindo a Roma por Proc.^{or} a levar como levou e a tornou a trazer o Pe. Fran.^o Caru.^o hindo lá por Procurador.” No British Museum (Add. Mss. n.^o 10.359). Também tem grande semelhança com a de Estevam, embora trate primeiro das declinações e só no fim, da fonética.

O mesmo Ms. contém ainda : a) “Alguns confisionarios na lingua da terra mto. bons ; b) A doutrina christã abreviada com todo essencial que hũ Xpão (christão) deve saber ; c) A Cartilha e doutrina toda int.^a tresladada da impressa composta pello Pe. Thomás Estevão”.

13 — “*Janua Indica, sive Pro Concanica et Decanica Linguis Manuale Indias Ingressuris per opportunum P. Ignatius Arcamone e Societate Jesu Indiae Candidatis Sociys Dedicat.*”¹ Ms., provavelmente original, existente na Biblioteca Nacional de Lisboa, (Reserv. n.^o 3.049). Não tem data, mas deve ser do meado do seculo XVII, em que Arcamone esteve na India. Trata primeiro do concani de Goa e em seguida expõe os pontos em que êste se differença do marata decânico.

¹ Embora o seu nome, como italiano, fôsse *Arcamoni*, na India assinava *Arc(h)amone*. Viveu mais de 20 anos un Salsete (Goa) e publicou em concani—1, Explicações dos Evangelhos Dominicais de todo o ano. *Sagallea Varussache* etc ; e 2, um Comentário sobre o Purgatório. Foi êle que em 1656 deu o visto em português assinando *P.^r Ignatio Archamone as Jardim dos Pastores*, em Concani, do P.^e Miguel d'Almeida. *Janua Indica* as estilo da época em que havia *Janua Graeca, Janua Hebraica*, etc.

14 — “*Grammatica Linguae Canarinae*, quam gentiles Goani et circumjacentes Ethnici inter se loquuntur.” por Charles Przirkil. Foi escrita em Goa no meado do sec. xviii. Przirkil, que era jesuíta, natural de Praga, esteve em Goa desde 1748 ate 1759, em que, pela extinção da Companhia, foi mandado preso, juntamente com outros colegas, para Lisboa, onde foi pôsto em liberdade a pedido da rainha austríaca Maria Teresa, regressando à sua terra.

15 — “*Prosodia della Lingua Canarina*” pelo Pe. Diogo do Amaral S. J. (sec. xviii). Seria interessante, porque não existe outro trabalho sôbre a prosódia e metrificação em konkani.

16 — “*Grammatica Marastta* a mais vulgar que se pratica nos Reinos de Nizamaxá e Idalxá; offerecida aos muitos (sic) Reverendos Padres e Missionarios dos ditos Reinos. Em Roma MDCCCLXXVIII. Na Estamperia da Sagrada Congregação de Propaganda Fide.” 8.º, 45 pags. Desta edição existem dois exemplares em Londres: um na S.O.S. e o outro no India Office. O livrinho foi reimpresso com o mesmo título em “Lisboa na Impressão Regia; Anno 1805” 51 pags. Não dá nenhum prefácio ou advertência que lance alguma luz sôbre o livro, ou o seu autor; só a última página traz o *Decretum Sacrae Congregationis Generalis de Propaganda Fide*, de 26 de Janeiro, 1778, mandando-o imprimir “*Europaeis characteribus*” na Imprensa da Congregação, donde parece que o autor é jesuíta, mas o livro não é mencionado na bibliografia jesuítica de Sommervogel.

17 — “*Esquisse Grammaticale de la Langue de Goa*, por Johannes Gonsalves.” Não tem a página-fachada, parecendo ser separata de alguma revista. Não se sabe o lugar nem o ano da publicação (será 1879, como indicou o catálogo de uma livraria francesa?) Não se sabe também se o autor é indiano, se europeu. Por algumas incorrecções que diz não pode ser filho de Goa. Começa por afirmar que “l’idiome, goënse est composé de maratte, de sanskrit et de persan” (!).

18 — “*Konkani Grammar*, by Rev. J. Pio Noronha.” Mangalore. Ms. de que existem duas cópias no British Museum (Oriental Mss. 2.730). Uma destas cópias, pertenceu ao Dr. A. C. Burnell, como se vê da seguinte nota do seu punho, escrita na primeira página. “This Konkani Grammar was written for me by a Catholic priest at Mangalore, named Noronha; he was a konkani by race and had devoted much time to the study of his native language (1873-4). A. B.” (Sold to the Museum 18 Jan., 1884.) É um trabalho extenso, de 553 fols. mas, apesar de ser moderno, é escrito sem o devido critério gramatical.

19 — “*A Konkani Grammar*, by Angelus Francis Xavier Maffei, S.J. Mangalore, Basel Mission Press ; 1882.” Esta gramática, aliás bem coordenada, não podia deixar de conter certas deficiências, escrita como foi depois de um estudo só de ano e meio da lingua, deficiências que foram reparadas pela obra seguinte :

20 — “*A Sweet Voice from the Konkani Desert* (Konkni Rānāntlo Sabhit Sundar Tālo), by A. F. X. Maffei S.J., Mangalore, 1884 (?)” É uma gramática complementar e correccional da anterior.¹

21 — *Gomantaki Bhāshā*. Elementos gramaticais dados em marata por Ramach. Bh. Gunjikar no seu *Sarasvati-Mandala*, Bombaim, 1884.

22 — *Elements of Konkani Grammar*, by Sten Konow, no *Linguistic Survey of India*, de Sir G. Grierson. Vol. Marathi. 1905.

23 — *Konkani Bhāṣechem Laghu Vyākaraṇa*, por G. O. Pires, Bombaim, 1907. É a primeira gramática organizada em concani e para os naturais ; mas, tendo sido escrita em caracteres balbodha e sem reclamo, é completamente desconhecida. O autor considera esta sua tentativa “a primeira para a compilação de uma gramática da lingua concani” naturalmente porque não teve ciência de tantas outras que o precederam. O autor, que muito se empenhava pela cultura da sua lingua vernácula por parte dos seus patrícios, publicou também nos mesmos corateres, as primeiras cartilhas para a leitura. A sua gramática, decalcada sôbre a *Marāthi Laghu Vyākaraṇa*, de Dadobā Panduranga, é, como esta, muito elementar.

24 — *Concanni Bhāṣechem Laghu Veācrann*, por Duarte Francis Dantas, Savantvadi 1910. Em concani, carateres romanos segundo o sistema da União Goana (vide adiante). Introdução por Jerome A. Saldanha. É também elementar de 36 páginas.

25 — *Elementos de Gramática Concani*, por Mons. S. Rodolfo Dalgado. Não chegou a ser impressa pela antecipação da morte do autor, que, em 1922, ofereceu o Ms. à Biblioteca Nacional de Nova Goa, onde ao presente se encontra. É a única gramática que, além de ser correcta e cientificamente coordenada é suficientemente desenvolvida, segundo o plano da gramática marata de Navalkar. O autor tentou no fim um estudo sôbre a gramática histórica da lingua, que não poudes continuar pela gravidade da sua última doença. Os exemplos são escritos em alfabeto *balbodh* e no dos orientalistas com certas modificações.

¹ Maffei era tão apreciador da lingua, que lhe chamou “sweet voice” e na gramática escreve : “Konkani is a rich and beautiful language, although at present in an ignoble state, because it is far more perfect than many European languages ; yet it is altogether uncultivated and appears to be the most imperfect.”

26 — *Elementos Gramaticais de Concani*, pelo Con. J. de Sousa, Lisboa, 1929. Compreende só a fonética e a morfologia e alguns apontamentos avulsos sobre a syntaxe.

27 — “*Gramática da Língua Concani*, por V. J. Janim Rangel; Bastorá, 1933.” É escrita em português e concani em caracteres romanos segundo o sistema popular.

Eis a relação que se pode organizar com o auxílio de elementos colhidos em bibliotecas. É possível que tivesse havido mais gramáticas, hoje de todo desconhecidas; e mesmo nem todos os dados são suficientes para a reconstituição bibliográfica. Assim, por exemplo, um Codex da Bibl. Nac. de Lisboa dá como ao tempo existentes, entre os livros do Convento da Cruz dos Milagres de Goa, as seguintes gramáticas: a) “De M.^{cl} Álvares, duas Artes; b) Duas Artes da língua da terra, uma impressa e outra Ms.” A informação é tão manca, que não se sabe quem eram os autores das duas artes da língua da terra, nem de que língua eram as artes de M.^{cl} Álvares. Seriam a do n.º 5, que era em “dois Livros”? Mas esta era escrita por Simão Alvarez e seu pai Lourenço Alvarez e não por M.^{cl}. É provável que se refira ao célebre jesuíta Manuel Álvares, que deixou alguns trabalhos sobre a gramática latina.

Um facto a notar é que, apesar de tantas gramáticas e algumas delas impressas, nenhum dos autores—com a excepção dos quatro últimos—cita qualquer dos seus predecessores ou mostra ter deles conhecimento, produzindo portanto um trabalho independente. Só o missionário português (n.º 2) fala, às vezes, da “Arte de Goa”, parecendo referir-se à Arte de Estêvão, sobre cujo plano é coordenada a sua.

ORGANIZAÇÃO GRAMATICAL: Os primeiros autores, não tendo nenhuma obra indígena que lhes servisse de guia, seguiram o sistema de gramática latina, tanto mais que escreviam para missionários europeus.

Dividiram, em geral, a sua Arte em três partes principais: “A primeira parte—diz Estêvão—trata do alfabeto e das nossas letras que respondem aos caracteres da terra e dos acentos e pronunciação. A segunda das oito partes da oração. A terceira contém a syntaxis.” A maior parte deles não trata da composição e derivação, de que o primeiro a se ocupar foi talvez Arcamone.

Na *Fonética*, o primeiro problema em que deviam ter esbarrado é o do alfabeto e ortografia. Não possuímos monumentos literários anteriores à dominação portuguesa, para sabermos se a língua teria,

nessa época, manifestação gráfica e em que caracteres, i. é., se maratas ou canareses. Estêvão fala das “nossas letras que respondem aos caracteres da terra” e especifica: “nestas terras os caracteres não são letras senão sílabas” o que se aplica tanto ao alfabeto marata como ao canarês, que devia ter sido familiar em Goa na dominação de Vijayanagar, como o provam alguns documentos concanis dessa época, escritos em caracteres canareses, que se encontram em arquivos comunais. O Missionário italiano, porém, dá expressamente o alfabeto marata como o vernáculo da terra. Mas qual seria a lingua escrita? Seria de facto o concani ou o marata? Em nenhuma destas linguas existe hoje qualquer produção literária da época pre-portuguesa, escrita em Goa. É possível que os antigos hindus de Goa—ao invés do que fazem ao presente—não se dedignassem do seu vernáculo, pelo menos para a escrita não literária. Mas, desde o século XVII, com o progresso político dos maratas e dos portugueses, os hindus se foram encostando à cultura marata e os cristãos à portuguesa, ao ponto de se envergonharem, uns e outros, da sua lingua materna, que ficou completamente abandonada, sem ensino e restrita ao uso colloquial. Ao sul de Goa, porém, tanto os naturais como os emigrados goeses, achando-se longe da influência marata, ainda escreviam o concani, mas em caracteres maratas, como o atesta o mis. ital. (se é que a sua gramática foi escrita no Canará) e um atestado passado por três brámanes de Cochim, oriundos de Goa, abonando o *Hortus Indicus Malabaricus*, do holandês H. Van Rheede, Amsterdão, 1678, o qual atestado é escrito em “lingua bramana” em caracteres *balbodh* e vem publicado no mesmo livro. Maffei, que escreveu em Mangalore, e em 1882, também afirma que “antigamente o concani era escrito em *balbodh* e às vezes em *modi*; mas hoje é geralmente usado o alfabeto canarês”.

Desde os últimos dois séculos, a lingua está sendo escrita quasi exclusivamente pelos cristãos e em três caracteres: entre os goeses, os romanos, no norte os maratas e no sul os canareses.

Além destes alfabetos, indicados pelos gramáticos, o concani teve mais três, que, por serem actualmente mais ou menos seguidos, merecem ser aqui consignados:

a) *O alfabeto Mariano*: No último quartel do sec. XIX, quando alguns filhos de Goa, espalhados pela India Britânica, reconheceram a necessidade de proporcionar leitura concani a seus patricios ignorantes de português e inglês, fundaram um periódico intitulado *Udentechem Sallok*, (O Lódam do Oriente), para o qual o seu fundador, Eduardo

de Sousa, convencionou um sistema alfabético, a que chamou *alfabeto Mariano* "em louvor da Virgem Maria"; o qual, embora hoje adoptado por uma revista, não captou o apoio do público por causa de seus caracteres especiais, inacessíveis à tipografia vulgar.

b) *O alfabeto da União Goana*: Como a escrita popular parecesse pouco científica e às vezes arbitraria, a associação *União Goana*, de Bombaim, tendo por objectivo zelar pelos interesses dos emigrados de Goa, nomeou, em 1905, uma comissão para apresentar um novo projecto, que esta indicou e o qual, não exigindo tipo especial, foi aprovado e é ainda seguido por alguns publicistas; mas não logrou a vulgarização, principalmente por ter mantido o *a* breve, não mudo, representando-o por *a* italico, ao estilo dos missionários, o que, além de dificultar a escrita e impressão, contraria a tendência popular, que não admite essa vogal, identificando-a para todos os efeitos com *o*.

c) *O alfabeto popular*: O povo, portanto, e especialmente os que ignoram o marata, continuam desde o último século a usar o que se pode chamar o *alfabeto popular*, que não é mais que o dos missionários e da União Goana, sendo eliminado o *a* breve, que é sempre substituído por *o*. É este o adoptado pela gramática n.º 27.

Os primeiros missionários, destinando os seus trabalhos aos colegas europeus, escolheram naturalmente o alfabeto romano mediante certas adaptações, porque, como diz Arcamone: "Verum experientia didici: quibus literis ab iucunde aetate instituimur per easdem facillime linguarum nomina verba coeteraque vocabula memoria retineri." Foi a primeira aplicação deste alfabeto às línguas indianas, que depois seria desenvolvida e aperfeiçoada pelos orientistas. Mas, além das gramáticas e vocabulários para o uso de europeus, os missionários compuseram ainda livros de carácter religioso para a edificação dos neo-cristãos, os quais também eram escritos em caracteres romanos, tanto porque o sistema de ensino visava a dirigí-los para a educação luso-cristã, desviando-os da instrução vernácula, ministrada pelos hindus, e tida como prejudicial para esse fim, como porque na instrução popular, proporcionada só nos conventos e nas escolas paroquiais, o ensino de leitura, escrita e música, era todo em português, para o que precisavam do alfabeto romano. E assim, os descendentes dos primeiros convertidos já não estudavam as línguas do país, nem conheciam o alfabeto indigena, facto que se dá ainda hoje em Goa, onde quasi se pode dizer que nenhum cristão frequenta as escolas primárias maratas.

A adaptação do alfabeto romano deve datar portanto dos primeiros tempos das conversões. O próprio Estêvão deixa entender que o sistema que seguiu não foi por ele inventado, mas apenas adoptado o que já existia, porquanto escreve: "Aqueles que nestas partes estudam a lingua da terra (europeus) não a escrevem comumente senão na nossa letra" com a ajuda de "acentos e letras dobradas e aspirações e com as regras que ao diante se verão". Foi este o sistema seguido em Goa para todas as publicações desde o século XIX com rara excepção.

Escolhido o alfabeto romano com base na pronúncia portuguesa, até onde a fonética das duas linguas o permitia, supriram a sua deficiência com certas convenções indispensáveis, que, embora não satisfizessem a todas as exigências filológicas, nem por isso deixavam de corresponder de modo geral às necessidades práticas da lingua, representando todos os fonemas realmente em uso na fala popular, ao ponto de o orientalista Burnell ¹ entender que o sistema era "muito mais perfeito do que os sistemas defendidos 200 anos depois em Calcutá" (pelos ingleses).

A ordem alfabética era a latina, sendo enxertadas no lugar competente as respectivas aspiradas e cerebrais. Segundo Estêvão, "as nossas letras que podem responder aos caracteres da terra são as seguintes:

a, a, b, bh, c, ch, chh, d, dh, dd, ddh, e, gue, gh, h, i, y, k, l, lh, ll, m, mh, n, nh, nn, o, p, ph, q, qh, r, rh, s, sh, t, th, tt, tth, u, uh, y, z, zh."

A razão de *y* figurar duas vezes é a de elle representar *ī* longo e a semivogal *ya* य.

Para confronto dos diferentes sistemas damos a seguinte táboa alfabética:

Dêste quadro se vê que todos os gramáticos, antigos e modernos, tirado o último (n.º 27), são muito precisos em fazer distinção entre *a* अ e *o* ओ, vogais cuja pronúncia, mesmo em marata, se aproxima e entre os cristãos de Goa quasi se confunde. A representação, porém, de *a* अ variou muito conforme o sistema. Estêvão transliterou -o por *a* itálico, que, por ser mal feito, levou Rivara a supô-lo alpha grega, substituindo -o na sua edição por *ō*, à imitação da gramática marata de F. Neri Pires. É neste *a* ital. que foram impressas todas

¹ Burnell, op. cit.

as obras de Estêvão e doutros missionários antigos. I Mis. port. porém e Fr. Gaspar (n.^{os} 2 e 3) representaram-nos nos seus Mss. o “*longo* com a carapuça para baixo, â, e o *breve* com ela para cima, ă”. Ouso do acento circunflexo na Índia para a quantidade longa e portanto anterior a Jones. O que é curioso é que a transliteração reproduzia fielmente, até na prosa, à maneira do sistema de Jones e dos orientalistas, todo a च inerente, ainda mudo, e assim escreviam *bassata* e *bassatd*, embora se pronunciasse *bassat* e *bastd*. Esta vogal tinha já no sec. XVI o mesmo som que tem hoje, i.é. “tem a pronunção meia entre *a* e *o*” (Estevam) e “melhor fôra—diz o mis. port.—que se escrevesse *ou*; *vâchi* = lê tu e *vacha* = vai tu; melhor fôra que (este) se escrevesse *voucha*”.

Actualmente os goeses cristãos, não costumando estudar maratã, perderam por completo a distinção entre *a* e *o*, que são pronunciados da mesma forma = *o*, aberto ou fechado; donde o sistema ortográfico popular representa-os ambos sempre por *o*.

Um outro ponto em que todos êsses gramáticos antigos eram muito cuidadosos era na representação das consoantes cerebrais e das aspiradas, porque “trocando uma só letra ou acento ou aspiração, não sòmente se corrompe a escritura e pronunção, mas também se muda às vezes o sentido; e aqueles que nos ouvem não nos entendem.” (Estev.) Para as cerebrais recorreram à duplicação dos caracteres e para a aspiração ao *h*, processo que é ainda hoje seguido em Goa, como mais prático e não exigir tipo especial; Arcamone porém no seu Ms. representa as primeiras cortando a letra por uma linha, *per transversam lineam incisae*.

Os dois sons de च (*j* e *z*) são transliterados só por *z*: *tuzo* e *tuzem* = *tujem*; e o mesmo fizeram com respeito ao च, cujos dois sons (*ch* e *tch*) representaram por *ch*. *c*, *f*, *j*, e *k* teoricamente não figuravam nesse alfabeto. “Porque esta letra *c* ou a pronunciamos como *ça*, *çe*, *çi*, *ço*, *çu*. E então sempre nos servimos de *s*. ou como *ca co cu*. E então devíamos usar de *k*, cuja aspiração é *kh*, de modo que *c* não serve senão quando pronunciamos como *cha*, *che*, *chi*, *cho*, *chu*. E por isso se põe neste assy *ch*. Tambem *f* nunca serve, porque supre-se muito bem cõ *ph*, aspiração de *p*. Tambem *q* não se mete neste alfabeto, porque melhor se satisfaz com *k*, cuja aspiração é *kh*, como dito é. Mas, contudo, como as nações difficilmente recebem letras e modos de escrever não usados, deixando à parte esta letra *f*, que nunca serve, usamos a cada passo de *c*, porque melhor nos vem a mão que esta letra *k* e quando vem sua aspiração, que devia ser *kh*, usamos de *qh*.

De modo que avendo de escrever *ka, ke, ki, ko, ku*, escrevemos *ca, que, qui, co, cu*. E pollas aspirações *qha, qhe, qhi, qho, qhu*. E o uso de *kh* deixamos polo vocabulario do canarim, que sem isso teria grande confusão'' (Gram. n.º 12). O mesmo diz Estêvão. Mas na prática escreviam portanto *ca, que, qui, co, cu* e *qha qhe, qhi, qho qhu*. É esta convenção geralmente seguida em Goa por corresponder ao alfabeto português e foi por isso que o sistema da *União Goana* a adoptou por contemporização.

Embora o concani possua todas as três sibilantes, os nossos gramáticos só as transliteraram por *s* = स e *x* = श e ष. Entre vogais o *s* era reduplicado, *ss*, segundo a fonética portuguesa, vg. *ãssa*.

MORFOLOGIA: a) *Declinações* — Os gramáticos mais antigos admitiam, à maneira do latim, 6 casos com a mesma designação e ordem; mas isso era mais para o estudo da syntaxe do que para a declinação, para a qual davam só dois: o caso recto (nom. e acus.) v.g. *vâtta*; e o obliquo *vâtte* (gen. dat. voc. e abl.), que era o próprio tema. Reconheciam que as declinações concanis não eram iguais às latinas, i.é., que, ao contrário desta lingua, as terminações eram sempre as mesmas para todos os nomes, variando só a forma temática; e por isso, o ital. limita-se, nas suas declinações, a dar apenas o nominativo e o tema ou caso obliquo, ao qual se juntariam sufixos ou posposições para exprimir as circunstâncias.

O mesmo autor e Arcamoni identificam o genetivo com o caso obliquo, antecedendo assim de alguns séculos a teoria moderna, que, também, attribui a formação do tema ao genetivo sanscítico. O primeiro gramático a adoptar o n.º dos casos sanscíticos foi, para o marata, Carey e, para o concani, Maffei, que foi seguido por todos os autores posteriores, com a excepção do último, que ainda seguiu o sistema dos casos latinos.

Não sendo a formação temática tão nítida como em latim, o n.º dos temas, e, portanto, o das declinações, variou, como em marata, desde três até nove, conforme os autores. Quem, porém, excedeu a todos foi Noronha (n.º 18), cuja gramática, destituída de espírito sintético, dá 5 declinações para os nomes próprios e 8 para os comuns, que por seu turno são divididos em animados e inanimados; cada declinação abrange 3 variedades, que dão ao todo 36 variedades de declinações (!) que não merecem a pena de serem aqui expostas. Arcamoni admitiu 3, segundo os 3 géneros.

Mas, já no séc. XVII, tanto Fr. Cristóvam como Fr. Gaspar se mostram mais científicos admitindo apenas os 4 temas primitivos

a, e, y = ī, u, entrando no primeiro os seus derivados *ea, ia, e ua* e no segundo *ye e vē*. Esta teoria de 4 declinações era, portanto, já ensinada em Goa há três séculos. Maffei, Dalgado e o italiano distinguem entre *ea* e *ya*, por causa da diferença da pronúncia. Com efeito, se em marata *ghodiyām* é tema plural tanto de *ghodā* como de *ghodī*, em concani a pronúncia nos dois casos é bem diferente.

Pronomes : São divididos por todos os antigos até o italiano, em primitivos, como *hanv, tū, to, ho, zo* e derivados destes *hanvēm am'chem* etc., sem se advertirem de que estes são casos obliquos daqueles. O ital. e o da gram. marastta admitem vocativo para *tum* ; os outros, à maneira dos autores sanscríticos e pracríticos, não o admitem ; Arcamoni diz terminantemente “ vocativo caret ”.

b) Verbos : Para o ital. “ a doutrina dos verbos parece um labirinto ”. O verbo no que toca às vozes—diz Est.—é activo (trans.), passivo e neutro (intrans.). Reconheciam, porém, que nesta lingua, como na maioria das sanscríticas, não há propriamente conjugação passiva ; mas que nos verbos transitivos os tempos do perfeito “ concordam com o paciente em género e número, à maneira dos passivos do latim ” ou, como diz Arcamoni : “ . . . non sunt activa sed Passiva ; in ceteris temporibus activa tantum. ”

Contudo, dominados pela gramática latina, interpretaram como voz passiva a conjugação intransitiva de certos verbos, cuja significação em português é reflexa ou mesmo passiva, v.g. act. *bhagassitā* = perdoa, e pass. *bhagassatā* perdoa-se ou é perdoado. Só um autor moderno ensina que “ quasi todos os verbos transitivos se prestam a serem apassivados ” do seguinte modo : act. *hanv (tacā) lott'tam* eu empurro ; pass. *to maca lott'tā*, sou empurrado, teoria completamente anti-gramatical.

Admitiam quasi todos uma so conjugação por causa da uniformidade das terminações, embora variasse a vogal temática. Os modos eram muitos : indicat., imperat., optat., subjunt. e infin. Chamavam participio em *rus*, correspondente ao latino *laudaturus*, ao partic. do fut. *kortolō* ; e os gerúndios eram três : o 1º em *dī* (= laudandi) *soduncho* ; o 2º em *do* (= laudando) *soduno* ; e o 3º em *dum* (= laudandum) *sodunco*. Derivavam os tempos de dois temas : o do presente *soditam* e o do perf. *sodilō*. Como não existe em marata e em concani o presente do infinito, a designação verbal costuma-se fager em marata pelo subst. verbal em *nem* v.g. *mānem*, e em conc. pelo supino em *unk* v.g. *mārunk*. Os antigos gramáticos e vocabularistas, porém, “ não o nomeavam ao uso port. pelo infinito ;

mas ao uso dos dicionários latinos pela 1ª pes. sing. do pres. indic." v.g. märtām.

SYNTAXE: Alguns autores acharam a syntaxe concano-marata muito parecida com a latina; "Syntaxis Concanica fere non differt a latina," diz Arcamoni; e o n.º 16 escreve: "Como esta gramática seja feita para os que sabem latim, excuso de expor as regras da Syntaxe; porque este idioma segue as mesmas regras da Gramática Latina: sòmente farei menção de algumas cousas remarcáveis."

A todas as gramáticas, com a exclusão das muito elementares, a syntaxe tem merecido um estudo especial e minucioso. Estêvão dedicallhe 168 regras e o mission. portug. outro tanto. Quem, porém, foi o mais copioso foi Fr. Gaspar de S. Miguel, cuja *Syntaxis Copiosissima* dá 205 regras, expostas em 78 pags. Na maior parte as regras são acertadas e bem observadas. Os exemplos são todos redigidos expressamente para o caso e não extraídos da literatura, que ao tempo era parca e mesmo essa de origem estrangeira.

As restantes partes da oração (palavras indeclináveis) tinham sido bem estudadas e minuciosamente descritas; as preposições eram com razão chamadas *posposições*.

Tal é a historia de gramática concani desde o sec. xvi até ao presente. Enquanto abundam tantas gramáticas descritivas, não appareceu ainda nenhuma que fôsse histórico-comparativa, baseada em filologia moderna.

Ein parthischer Titel im Sogdischen

VON HANS HEINRICH SCHAEDEER

IN der sogdischen Version des Vessantarajātaka (VJ) ¹ erscheint vor dem Namen des Helden, des Königssohns *Swδ''šn*: *Sudāšn*,² oder an seiner Stelle das Wort *wyspyδr'k* (einige Male *wyspyδr'y*, 196, 222, 232, 349, 364; Vokativ *wyspyδr'* 52^e, *wyspyδr'* 1198). Gauthiot sah darin einen zweiten Namen des Helden, **Wispiδarāk*, den er als sogdische Umbildung von skr. *Viśvantara* (pali *Vessantara*) ansprach. Erst Benveniste ³ hat festgestellt, dass es kein Name, sondern ein Titel ist, dessen Sinn sich unzweideutig aus Z. 36 des von F. W. K. Müller ⁴ herausgegebenen Fragments eines sogdischen Padmacintāmaṇḍhāraṇīsūtra ergibt: ZK γwt'w ZI *wyspδryt* 't *myδβt'* „der König und die Prinzen und die Minister“. Er übersetzte das Wort nunmehr mit „prince“ ⁵ und erklärte es als Komposition aus *wysp(y)* „tout“ und *δ'r-* „tenir“. Die Bedeutung ist richtig bestimmt, die Etymologie scheitert schon daran, dass nur *-δr-* geschrieben wird. Vielmehr liegt hier einer der Fälle von pseudo-historischer („inverser“) Schreibung *δr* statt *ś* vor: *wysp(y)δr-* ist *vispōś* < **vispuś*; und darin sehe ich die sogdische Wiedergabe des bekannten parthischen, auch ins Mittelpersische übergegangenen Titels *vispuhr* „Prinz“.—Benvenistes Beobachtung hat auch überlieferungsgeschichtliche Konsequenzen. Indem sie den Namen *Viśvantara* aus dem Text ausscheidet, lässt sie zugleich das wesentlichste äussere Moment der Übereinstimmung der sogdischen Version mit dem Vessantarajātaka der Pali-Sammlung und der Fassung im Kandschur verschwinden. Dafür nähert der Text sich äusserlich mehr der Geschichte vom Prinzen Siu-ta-na im chinesischen Tripitaka.⁶ Aber er ist keinesfalls so mechanisch aus dem Chinesischen übersetzt wie manche der mit ihm zusammen in Tun-huang geborgenen

¹ Ed. R. Gauthiot, *JA*. 1912, 1.

² Sogdisiert aus skr. *Sudāna* (chin. *Siu-ta-na*).

³ *Gramm. sogd.*, ii, 107 A. 1.

⁴ *SBPrA*. 1926, 4.

⁵ Im Glossar 236b „prince héritier“.

⁶ Ed. Chavannes, *Cinq cent contes et apologues extraits du Tr. chin.*, iii (1901), 362 ff.

buddhistischen Lehrschriften, die streckenweise erst durch Zurückgehen auf die chinesische Vorlage verständlich werden.¹ Dass der Übersetzer Sanskrit verstand, geht aus der Behandlung der indischen Lehnworte und Namen hervor.

Das sogdische Wort, das sich hinter der Schreibung *wysp(y)δr-* verbirgt, erscheint in etwas anderer Gestalt auch in einem der in Bulayiq bei Turfan gefundenen Fragmente eines neutestamentlichen Perikopenbuches.² In Gal. 4, 1 steht für syr. *jārlā* (gr. κληρονόμος) sogd. *wyšpwšy*: *višpuši*, was der Herausgeber F. W. K. Müller mit „Haussohn“ übersetzte; er hatte also das Wort schon richtig mit aw. *vīso puθra* verbunden, hielt es aber offensichtlich für eine blosse Umschreibung der Bedeutung „Erbe“.³ Nun steht im Text zwei Zeilen vorher (Gal. 3, 29) für „Erben“ (Plur.), syr. *jārlē*, ein verstümmeltes Wort, das sich aber nach Mt. 21, 38 (ST i, 21, 8) eindeutig ergänzen lässt zu *ptr]q'n xw'rt*, d. i. wörtlich „die Verzehrer des väterlichen (Erbes)“. Der Übersetzer wird nicht in einem Atem für denselben Begriff seiner Vorlage zwei so verschiedene Ausdrücke verwendet haben, wenn er nicht einen Wechsel in der Bedeutung beabsichtigte. Dass er dies tat, zeigt der folgende Vers 4, 2. Im syrischen (wie im griechischen) Text entspricht dem „Erben“ in v. 1 der „Vater“ in v. 2, im sogdischen dagegen dem *wyšpwšy* der *xšwn*. Dies Wort bedeutet nicht „Vater“, wie Müller mit Fragezeichen übersetzte. Wie Salemann sah, ist es mit dem häufigen *xšyn-* „Herr“ zu vergleichen und bedeutet gleich ihm an dieser Stelle „Herr“, „König“.⁴

Allerdings wird in den christlichen Texten sonst nur *xšyn-* (var. *xšwn-*) in der Bedeutung „König“ verwendet, wie in den

¹ Vgl. die neuerlichen Untersuchungen von Benveniste und Demiéville über das Buddhadyānasamādhisāgārasūtra, *JA.* 1933, ii, 193–248, sowie von F. Weller über das Dīrghanakhasūtra, *Asia Major*, 10 (1935), 221–8, und das Vimalakīrtinirdeśasūtra, *ibid.*, 314–364.

² Zum Literarischen vgl. F. C. Burkitt, *The Religion of the Manichees*, 119 ff.

³ *SBPrA.* 1907, 264; der Text in syrischer Schrift wiederholt Sogdische Texte (= ST) i (1913), 82, 21. Danach Salemann, *Izv. Imp. Akad. Nauk*, 1907, 540 s.v., der das awestische Wort anführt, aber das sogdische mit „Erbe“ übersetzt. Den Auslaut auf *š* vergleicht Bartholomae fragweise mit der altpersischen Vertretung *ç* von air. *θr*, *IF.* 22, 105. Zusammenstellung mit *vispuhr* ohne Erklärung des Verhältnisses der Worte zueinander bei Jackson, *IF.* 25, 181; Junker, *Frahang i Pahlavik*, 103b (wo „chr.-sgd. *višpuši*“ statt „MPT. *vispuš*“ zu lesen); Reichelt, *Gesch. der idg. Sprachwissenschaft*, ii, 4, 2 S. 48.

⁴ Salemann, *loc. cit.*, 542. Ihm hat sich Müller stillschweigend angeschlossen, wenn er später zu ST. i, 108, anmerkte: „Von *xšāvan* oder *xšēvan* wohl abzuleiten der Titel, nicht Name, اخشنوار der Hephthaliten.“

buddhistischen Texten 'γs'ywn,¹ während xš'wn sonst „Macht“ heisst.² Aber ausser an unserer Stelle lassen sich noch zwei sichere Belege für xš'wn „König“ nachweisen, der eine in einem christlichen Text, der andere in der Inschrift von Karabalgasun. In Joh. 5, 27 (ST i, 63, 8) heisst es: xš'wn q'trt wyny qt wn't, wörtlich „er machte ihn zum Herrn, dass er tue“ (syr. ašlteh dnehwe 'ābed, aber gr. ἐξουσίαν ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ [κρίσιν] ποιεῖν). Sowohl das Verbum (air. kar-) wie das Pronomen wyny, das ein akkusativisches, nicht ein dativisches Objekt — das wäre qu wyny s' — bezeichnet, schliessen hier die Bedeutung „Macht“ aus.³ In den von O. Hansen⁴ entzifferten Bruchstücken der Inschrift von Karabalgasun sind Worte für „Herrscher“, „Herrschaft“ u. ä. ungemein häufig. Neben 'γs'ywn- „Herrscher“ stehen 'γs'wn-yh ('γs'w'n-yh) „Herrschaft“, 'γs'wn-d'r „Herrscher“ sowie die Adj. 'γs'wn-'k (Frgm. 1-6, Z. 13, γρβ 'γs'wn'k 'rkh „viele Herrschertaten“) und 'γs'w'nčyk-. Dazu kommt nun in Frgm. 9 Z. 9 das Satzstück ZI ms MN čβ'r kyr'w 'γs'w'nty — was nichts anderes heissen kann als „darauf die Herrscher aus den vier Richtungen (türk. dört bulun) . . .“ Hier heisst also 'γs'w'n- „Herrscher“. Ausserdem aber wird xšāvan „Herr, König“, völlig gesichert durch das gleichbedeutende p'txš'wn Luk. 19, 17, 27 (ST i, 47, 11; 49, 11): beide verhalten sich offensichtlich zueinander wie np. šāh zu pādīšāh.⁵ Aber ich gehe darauf hier nicht weiter ein und bemerke nur, dass xšāvan „Herr, König“ die von St. Konow⁶ zur Erklärung des Titels šaonano šao auf den Münzen der Kušan und des sakischen Herrschertitels šsau (sau) postulierte Bildung von xšā(y)- „herrschen“ mit -van bestätigt und auch noch in dem noch für das 6. Jh. in Ostiran bezeugten Titel šāva (arab. šāba, arm. šaug, chin. šao-wu) erhalten ist.

Wir kehren nun zu der Stelle des Galaterbriefs zurück. Nachdem für xšāvan in v. 2 die Bedeutung „König“ festgestellt ist, ergibt sich für višpuši in v. 1 „Prinz“. Der sogdische Übersetzer hat auf eigene Hand die ganze paulinische Metapher aus dem Privaten ins

¹ Daneben steht das ebenso geschriebene 'γs'ywn „Klage“.

² Belege bei Müller-Lentz, SBPrA. 1934, 583c, s.v.

³ Vgl. damit SBPrA. 1934, 533, 28: γy šy xš'wn t'br pr 'γs' šyqn „und er gab ihm Macht im ganzen Palast.“

⁴ Journ. Soc. Fiougr., 44, 1930.

⁵ Vgl. Bartholomae, Miran. Mundarten, 3, 51 mit A. 1.

⁶ ZDMG., 68 (1914), 93f. Ihm stimmte A. von Staël-Holstein zu (JRAS., 1914, 84 A. 2), unter Hinweis auf das ihm von Salemann gezeigte xšāvan, dem er aber noch nach Müller die Bedeutung „Macht“ gab. Vgl. weiter St. Konow, Ostas. Zeitschr. 8 (1919-20), 220 ff., und Junker, Awestaalphabet 103.

Höfische übersetzt und darum auch für die *āpītropē* (< *ἐπίτροποι*) des syrischen Textes sinngemäss „Befehlshaber“ (*frm'nd'rty*) eingesetzt. Der ganze Passus heisst bei ihm: „Aber ich sage, solange der Prinz ein Kind ist, ist er nicht unter[schieden] von den Knechten, obwohl er Herr ist ihrer aller; sondern er ist unter (*sub*) den Befehlshabern und Hausverwaltern bis zu der Zeit, die der König ihm gegeben (= gesetzt) hat.“

Von den drei Formen *wyspyδr-*, *wyspδr-* und *wyšpwš-* haben die beiden ersten besser den Konsonantismus, die dritte besser den Vokalismus der vorauszusetzenden Ausgangsform **vispuš* bewahrt. In der dritten hat anscheinend ein Ausgleich des Auslauts der ersten Silbe mit dem der zweiten stattgefunden, in den beiden andern eine Umfärbung des Vokals der zweiten Silbe. Diese Veränderungen deuten darauf hin, dass das Wort dem Sogdischen nicht von Haus aus eigen, sondern entlehnt ist. Theoretisch könnte man **vispuš* für die normale sogdische Fortsetzung eines altiranischen **vispuθra* erklären, das im Parthischen durch *vispuhr* vertreten wird. Aber dagegen spricht zweierlei: einmal die Tatsache, dass im Sogdischen, soweit es uns bekannt ist, *puθra* gänzlich durch *zāt-* verdrängt ist,¹ sodann durch die nunmehr fest definierte Bedeutung „Prinz“. Denn diese ist natürlich nicht gemeiniranisch, sondern unter ganz bestimmten geschichtlichen Voraussetzungen an einer bestimmten Stelle entwickelt. Einen festen Punkt bedeutet die Form *vispuhr*, die klarlich parthisch ist; sie ist ins Mittelpersische entlehnt worden (die echt mittelpersische Form wäre **vihpus* oder **vispus*). Sie ist jetzt in persischen und parthischen manichäischen Texten reichlich belegt. So ist in einem alten persischen Missionsbericht von einem zur Lehre Manis bekehrten Abkömmling des parthischen Herrscherhauses, dem Prinzen (*vispuhr*) Ardaßān die Rede.² In einem jüngeren parthischen Hymnus wird der Urmensch *vispuhr šahrdārzāday* „Prinz und Herrschersohn“ genannt,³ ebenso in einem späten persischen Hymnus.⁴ Unter den persischen Hymnentexten findet sich ein Stück, das an den türkischen

¹ So wird in dem manichäischen persisch-sogdischen Fragment M 172 (Müller, *Handschriftenreste*, II, 100 f.) pers. *pusar* durch sogd. *prz'tyy z'tyy* wiedergegeben; vgl. ferner das Nebeneinander von *šyuth* „Tochter“ und *z'tk* (*z't'k*) „Sohn“, VJ. 26, 31, 351 f., 1149, 1176, 1485. In den alten Briefen erscheint nur einmal die ideographische Schreibung *BRY*.

² Andreas-Henning, *SBPrA.* 1933, 303 mit A. 3 (dazu *Iranica* 72).

³ Andreas-Henning, *SBPrA.* 1934, 877, 5.

⁴ Henning, *NGGW.* 1933, 313, 318 Str. 10b. (Andreas — bei Reitzenstein, *Das mand. Buch vom Herrn der Grösse* 46 — übersetzte *vispuhr* unrichtig mit „Sohn des Geschlechts“).

Prinzen Ögürtmiš gerichtet ist und ihn als *vispuhr nāzūy šahryārān fraزند*, „zarter Prinz und Herrscherkind“ anredet.¹ Ein weiteres Zeugnis, das deswegen wertvoll ist, weil es sich datieren lässt, enthält der 762 n.Chr. geschriebene Kolophon des manichäischen Hymnenbuches; darin findet sich ein Gebet für den derzeitigen Uigurenherrscher „nebst seiner Nachkommenschaft und seinem Herrschergeschlecht, den Prinzen und Prinzessinnen“, *aβāy tōxm uδ šahryārē i xwēš vispuhrān visduxtān*.² Besonders Interesse verdient die hier m. W. zum erstenmal belegte Form *visduxt* „Prinzessin“, die Bailey³ in der wohl aus metrischen Gründen umgebildeten Gestalt *visduxtān* — — — im Vis u Rāmīn des Faxri Gurgānī (11. Jh.) belegt hat. Sonst sind mir beide Worte im Neupersischen nicht bekannt; nach F. Wolffs Glossar kommen beide im Schahname nicht vor.

Wenn hiermit die parthische Bildung *vispuhr* — deren Aussprache mit *i* an allen angeführten Stellen durch die Schreibung *wyspuhr* feststeht — hinlänglich gesichert ist, so bedeutet das nicht, dass sie eine Neuschöpfung der Partherzeit sein müsste, sondern nur, dass sie damals stereotyp wurde. Ehe wir aber dieser Frage weiter nachgehen, muss zunächst der Übergang von *vispuhr* zu sogd. *vispuš* näher erklärt werden. Dass wirklich Entlehnung stattgefunden hat, wird, wie schon bemerkt, durch das Fehlen einer Fortsetzung von *air. puθra* im Sogdischen⁴ und durch die genaue Übereinstimmung der beiden Wörter in ihrer speziellen Bedeutung „Prinz“ nahegelegt. Was aber das Verhältnis von parth. *hr* und sogd. *š* anlangt, so gewinnt man hier einen neuen Beleg für den zuerst von Junker⁵ an dem Verhältnis von parth. (a)*hriman* und chr.-sgd. *šmnw* aufgewiesenen

¹ Andreas-Henning, *SBPrA.* 1933, 332, 25.

² F. W. K. Müller, Doppelblatt 9. Vorher schon *SBPrA.* 1904, 350. Salemann, *Man. Stud.*, i, 33. Herzfeld, *Archäol. Mitt. aus Iran (AMI)*, 7 (1934) 18, A. 2, gibt wesentlich die Lesung *vāspuhrān vāsduxtān*; eine Stelle desselben Textes, die er *ibid.* 55 A. 1, bespricht, verstehe ich anders: *ōn ku bavāδ andar dēn mādiān paδ aβōn* Doppelbl. 16, 197, heisst nicht „sodass es würde unter den Religionsschriften vermerkt“, sondern „sodass es in der Gemeinde ein Kapital auf Zinsen würde“.

³ *BSOS.* 6, 953.

⁴ Das schon in den alten Briefen belegte *βypur* (später *βyp'ur*), das den chinesischen Kaiser bezeichnet und seinem einheimischen Titel *t'ien-tse* entspricht, erweist sich schon durch das *r* statt *š* als nicht echt sogdisch. Vgl. einstweilen Benveniste bei *Maier, WZKM.* 42 (1935) 262 f.

⁵ Ungarische Jahrbücher 5 (1925) 49 ff. Dass *šmnw* auch hinter der buddh.-sgd. Schreibung *'tōrmnw* steckt (anders Benveniste *MSL.* 23, 1927, 130 f.), wurde durch die bei Reichelt, *Soghd. Handschriftenreste*, i, 7 A. 3, 8 A. 2, angegebene Gleichung dieses Wortes mit dem chin. Äquivalent von skr. *māra* unmittelbar deutlich und ist zuerst von Lentz, *SBPrA.* 1934, 577b, ausgesprochen worden.

Übergang *hr* zu *š*, der zugleich den Charakter der durch *hr* bezeichneten Lautung wenigstens in einem Teil des parthischen Sprachgebiets erhellt. Dass dieser Übergang selber schon im Parthischen so gut wie abgeschlossen war, habe ich unlängst¹ an dem in manichäischen Texten aufgetauchten Gottesnamen *Srōšāv* gezeigt, der aus **Srōšahrāv* entwickelt ist: das war nur möglich, wenn *hr* und *š* einander nahe genug standen, um nebeneinander tretend Silbenellipse zu ermöglichen. Damit kann die Entlehnung von *vispuš* aus *vispuhr* als erwiesen gelten.

Was nun die Herkunft und Bildung von parth. *vispuhr* angeht, so hängt daran eine Reihe von schwierigen sprach- und kulturgeschichtlichen Fragen, die hier nur kurz behandelt werden können.²

Wie verhält sich *vispuhr* zunächst zu dem awestischen *visō puθra*? Aw. *vis* (recte: *vis*) „Clan“ ist die zweite Stufe in der viergliedrigen Reihe der sozialen Verbände, nach dem „Haus“, vor dem „Gau“ und dem „Land“; sein Oberhaupt ist der *vispaiti* (ai. *viśpātī*), der „Herr des Clans“. Man hat angenommen, der *visō puθra* sei der Sohn des *vispaiti*³ — aber das ist meines Erachtens schon sprachlich schwierig und steht ausserdem im Widerspruch zu den awestischen Aussagen. Der mythische Held *Θraētaona*, der Sohn des *Āθwya*, ist der einzige, der im Awesta als *visō puθra* bezeichnet wird. Aber diese seine Bezeichnung tritt nicht absolut, sondern mit näheren Bestimmungen verbunden auf: der Held heisst „Sohn des *āθwyanischen* Clans, des heldischen Clans“ Yt. 5, 33; 17, 35, sein Vater betet, „dass ihm als Sohn des heldischen Clans *Θraētaona* geboren werde“ Y. 9, 7. Diese drei eng miteinander zusammenhängenden Stellen erklären also Bildung und Sinn des absolut gebrauchten *visō puθra* nicht. Dies tritt nur an einer einzigen, aber den Sachverhalt klärenden Stelle auf, in Vend. 7, 43. Hier ist von den Arztgebühren die Rede, die nach der sozialen Stellung des Patienten gestaffelt werden. Aufgezählt werden Priester, Hausherr, Clanherr (*vispaiti*), Gauherr, Landesherr und die Frauen der vier letzteren, dann folgt der *visō*

¹ *Ungarische Jahrbücher*, 15 (1935), Heft 4/5 (im Druck).

² Die wichtigsten neueren Beiträge sind: Nöldeke, *Gesch. der Perser und Araber* (1879), 71, 437, 501. Olshausen, *Monatsber. Preuss. Akad.*, 1880, 354 ff. Darmesteter, *Études iraniennes*, II (1883), 139 ff. Hübschmann, *ZDMG.* 46 (1892), 326 f. *Arm. Gramm.* (1896), 80 f., 178. Christensen, *L'empire des Sassanides* (1907), 20, 23 ff. Bartholomae, *WZKM.* 25 (1911), 251 ff. Neuerdings besonders Herzfeld, *Paikuli Gl.* 157, 170. *AMI.* 1, 145, A. 1; 2, 20, A. 1, 32; 4, 54; 6, 74; 7, 18 ff. Bailey, *BSOS.* 6, 80, 953; 7, 72, 75 [Vgl. die Nachschrift].

³ So Christensen, l.c. 20.

puθra.¹ Wäre dieser der Sohn des *vīspaiti*, so müsste für ihn der Ansatz einer geringeren oder höchstens der gleichen Gebühr wie für den *vīspaiti* erwartet werden. Tatsächlich aber ist seine Gebühr eine höhere und kommt der des Gauherrn gleich. Daraus geht unzweifelhaft hervor, dass der *vīso puθra* nichts mit dem *vīspaiti* zu tun hat, sondern sozial über ihm steht — mit andern Worten, dass *vīs* als Bestandteil beider Bezeichnungen nicht das gleiche bedeutet: *vīspaiti* ist das Oberhaupt einer *vīs* schlechthin, *vīso puθra* der Abkömmling der *vīs* κατ'ἐξοχὴν. Das führt aber auf einen sozialen Zustand, in dem ein einzelner Clan bzw. ein einzelnes Geschlecht unbedingten Vorrang gewonnen hat, also auf die Monarchie. Erst seit der Durchsetzung des Königtums in Iran konnte die Bezeichnung *vīso puθra* die spezifische Bedeutung gewinnen, die ihr an der Vendidad-Stelle zukommt. Zugleich wird deutlich, dass hier der Ursprung des parthischen *vispuhr* liegt.

Die soeben postulierte Sonderbedeutung von *vīs*: „Clan κατ'ἐξοχὴν, Königsclan“ ist in den Achämenideninschriften reichlich bezeugt. Dareios I. spricht von seiner *viθ* sowohl in dem abstrakten Sinne des Königsgeschlechts, seines „Hauses“ (so Bis. 1, 69, 71; NRa 53), wie in dem konkreteren der „Residenz“ (so Bis. [2, 16]; 3, 26; 4, 66? Pers. c, Pers. e 24), aber nicht in bezug auf ein bestimmtes Gebäude wie *didā*, *hadiš*, *apadāna*, *tačara*.² In der akkadischen Version steht dafür gewöhnlich *bītu* „Haus“. Der „Sohn des Hauses“ in diesem Sinne ist der achämenidische Prinz. Dies erklärt einen Passus zu Beginn des berühmten Briefes der jüdischen Gemeinde von Elephantine an Bagoas, den persischen Statthalter von Jerusalem, vom Jahre 407, wo dem Empfänger Heil und „Gnade vor dem König Dareios (II.) und den Söhnen des Hauses (*bny byt'*)“, d.h. doch: den königlichen Prinzen,³ gewünscht wird. Aram. *br byt'* ist die Wiedergabe eines altpersischen **viθa puça*, nach dem das parthische *vispuhr* gebildet ist.

Es ist danach wohl verständlich, das *br byt'* unter die Pahlavi-Ideogramme aufgenommen ist — aber hier erhebt sich nun eine

¹ Das unsinnige *vis pus pat* der Pahlavi-Übersetzung gibt nicht *vīso puθram* wieder (so Bartholomae, *Air. Wb.*, 1457), sondern eine Kontamination von *vīso puθram* mit dem in der Hds. Jp 1 stattdessen überlieferten *vīso vīspaitim*.

² *kāra hya viθāpatiy* ist das in oder bei der *viθ* stationierte Heer, die Garde — keinesfalls ist *viθāpatiy* ein Adj. mit der Bedeutung „in Sippen organisiert, hochadlig“, wie Herzfeld, *AMI.*, 2, 32, will.

³ So hat auch Ed. Meyer, *Der Papyrusfund von Elephantine*³ 81, die Stelle verstanden. Aram. *br byt'* hat nichts mit akk. *mār banī* zu tun (gegen Herzfeld, *AMI.* i, 145 A. 1).

wo die *vāspuhrakān* regelmässig nach dem König, seinen Söhnen und seinen Brüdern erscheinen.

Herzfeld hat neuerdings¹ die Form *vispuhr* für die arsakidische und sassanidische Zeit überhaupt bestritten und will überall *vāspuhr* lesen. Dass das nicht richtig ist, zeigen die vielen sicheren Belege für *vispuhr* aus der manichäischen Überlieferung, die vorhin angeführt worden sind. Herzfeld stützt sich dabei auf einen merkwürdigen Text,² der sich nach einer soeben erschienenen Bearbeitung von J. Tavadia³ als eine Art Muster-Tischrede darstellt. Darin wird zwischen dem Grosskönig (*šāhānšāh*) und dem Grossvezir (*vazrak framātār*) der *pus i vāspuhr i šāhān farraxetum*⁴ genannt: damit kann in der Tat nur der Kronprinz gemeint sein. Aber was bedeutet der Ausdruck? Herzfeld übersetzt in AMI. 2, 20 A. 1: „dem Vāspuhr-Sohn, dem glücklichsten der Könige,“ ibid. 7, 18: „Dem Infanten, Sohn des (königlichen) Hauses, dem glorreichsten der Könige.“⁵ Keine der beiden Übersetzungen ist haltbar. „Vāspuhr-Sohn“ würde einen Angehörigen des Hochadels, im Unterschied vom königlichen Prinzen bedeuten. Die Wiedergabe des einfachen *pus* durch „Infant“ ist so unzulässig wie die Auflösung der Verbindung *pus i vāspuhr*; die Übersetzung von *vāspuhr* durch „Sohn des (königlichen) Hauses“ steht mit der für alle andern Stellen gesicherten Bedeutung des Wortes im Widerspruch und ignoriert den Unterschied zwischen *vispuhr* und *vāspuhr*. Mir scheint, dass *vāspuhr* an dieser Stelle nicht als Titel, sondern als epitheton ornans zu verstehen ist⁶: *pus i vāspuhr* heisst „der hochadlige Sohn“, nämlich des unmittelbar vorher genannten Grosskönigs.

Damit ist die parthisch-sassanidische Unterscheidung zwischen *vispuhr* „Prinz“ und *vāspuhr* „Angehöriger des Hochadels“ gesichert. Herzfeld hat zweifellos Recht, wenn er als Lesung des Ideogramms *brbyt* in sassanidischen Texten überall *vāspuhr* statt *vispuhr* fordert.⁷ Nur darf deswegen der selbständige Fortbestand von *vispuhr* nicht in Abrede gestellt werden. Es handelt sich jetzt noch darum,

¹ AMI. 2, 32. 7, 19 A. 1.

² Jamasp-Asana, *Pahl. Texts*, ii, 155 ff.

³ Eine Tischrede aus der Zeit der Sasaniden, Verlag J. J. Augustin, Glückstadt, 1935.

⁴ *Pahl. Texts*, 157, 2.

⁵ Tavadia, l c. 8, ungenau: „der Kronprinz, der glücklichste unter den Prinzen.“

⁶ So auch, wie ich nachträglich sah, Bailey, *BSOS.* 7, 72.

⁷ Danach ist auch bei Christensen, *Empire*, 20, 23, 28 f., 56 usw. zu verbessern.

das sprachliche und sachliche Verhältnis dieser beiden Begriffe zueinander aufzuklären.

Nach der schönen Beobachtung von Bartholomae¹ geht *vās-* in *vāspuhr* auf **vāis-*, Vrddhi von *vis* zurück. Wenn also *vispuhr* der „Sohn des Herren-, Fürstenhauses, Prinz“ ist, so kann *vāspuhr* ursprünglich nur bedeuten „auf den *vispuhr* bezüglich, vom *vispuhr* abstammend“. Bartholomae hat hieraus die allein richtige, aber, soweit ich sehe, unbeachtet gebliebene Erklärung des eigentlichen Sinnes von *vāspuhr(ak)* gewonnen: es bezeichnet „die Mitglieder des persischen Hochadels, insofern sie Abkömmlinge des Königshauses waren oder dafür galten“ (loc. cit., 254). Das bedarf nur einer geringen Modifikation: die ursprüngliche Bezeichnung der Abkömmlinge der königlichen Prinzen wurde in späterer Zeit auf die ihnen gleichgestellten Angehörigen der höchsten Adelsfamilien übertragen. Wann das geschah, ist nicht bekannt; in frühsassanidischer Zeit ist jedenfalls der erweiterte Begriff im allgemeinen Gebrauch.

Daraus ist ein Schluss zu ziehen, den ich hier nur kurz andeuten kann. Der Hochadel, dessen Angehörige in parthischer und sassanidischer Zeit *vāspuhr* hiessen, war schon in achämenidischer Zeit vorhanden; er ging aber in erster Linie auf das sich rasch verzweigende Königshaus zurück,² nicht — wie vielfach angenommen wird — auf die neben dem Königshaus stehenden Adelsgeschlechter, soweit diese sich nicht mit jenem verschwägerten. In seinem trefflichen Abriss der altiranischen Kulturgeschichte³ nennt A. Christensen im Anschluss an Andreas die Häupter der sechs grossen Familien in achämenidischer Zeit *vispati*'s (die er übrigens mit Recht von den sechs Mitverschworenen des Dareios unterscheidet). Aber diese Bezeichnung ist nirgendwo belegt, und aw. *vispaiti* bedeutet, wie oben gezeigt, den Clanherrn schlechthin, nicht das Oberhaupt einer Adelsfamilie.⁴ Noch weniger ist es gängig, die Tatsache, dass Dareios von seinem Hause als von „dieser *viθ*“ spricht, dahin zu

¹ WZKM. 25 (1911), 251–4.

² Man denke an die Vermehrung der Kadscharenprinzen im Persien des 19. Jh. Fetḥ 'Alī Schāh konnte ja in dem gleichen Sinne „Vater des Vaterlandes“ genannt werden wie August der Starke.

³ In W. Ottos *Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft*, S. 256.

⁴ Daran scheitert auch die Deutung von arm. *tanutēr* „Haustrherr“ (= „Oberhaupt eines Fürsten- oder Adelsgeschlechts“) als „Übersetzung“ von *vispati* (Christensen, *Empire*, 10 A. 3). Die in manichäischen Texten für eine untergeordnete Gottheit verwendete Bezeichnung *visbeš* (< *vispati*) sagt über die Bedeutung des altiranischen Wortes nichts aus.

deuten, dass damit die Achämeniden als einer unter mehreren adligen Clans hingestellt werden sollen.¹

Wie alt ist die Ableitung von *vāspuhr* aus *vispuhr*? Man wird nicht mit Bartholomae bis ins Uriranische zurückgehen dürfen. Denn sie setzt die Ausprägung der Bedeutung „Königshaus“ für *vis* (*viθ*) voraus, die wir zur Zeit des ersten Dareios vollzogen fanden. Ausserdem aber musste ihr die Bildung eines festen Kompositums aus *vis* und *puθra* bzw. deren Fortsetzungen vorangehen. Hier erhebt sich eine Schwierigkeit. Das Awestische kennt nur die Genitivverbindung *vīsō puθra*, kein **vispuθra*. Entweder muss man nun für das Altpersische ein Kompositum **viθpuça* (**vispuça*) „Prinz“ und ein davon abgeleitetes **vāiθpuçi* (**vāispuçi*) „Prinzensohn“ annehmen, die sich auf mittelliranischer Stufe in den parthischen Umbildungen *vispuhr* und *vāspuhr* fortsetzten. Oder man muss — was bedenklicher ist — annehmen, dass derartige Vrddhibildungen noch auf mittelliranischer Stufe möglich waren und dass *vāspuhr* erst gebildet wurde, als nach dem Abfall der Casusendungen aus der alten Genitivverbindung **viθa puça* in parthischer Umbildung ein scheinbares Kompositum *vis-puhr* hervorgegangen war.² Aber diese Frage ist von untergeordneter Bedeutung. Dass andererseits das ursprünglich für **viθa puça* geltende aramäische Ideogramm *brbyt'* von *vispuhr* auf *vāspuhr* übertragen wurde, ist wohl verständlich.

¹ So Sarre-Herzfeld, *Iranische Felsenreliefs*, 16.

² Dafür dass noch im Parthischen die Genitivverbindung zunächst erhalten geblieben wäre, darf man sich jedenfalls nicht auf die m.W. zuerst von N. Marr (*Zap. vost. old.* 11, 166) aufgebrachte, bereits von Hübschmann (*ZDMG.* 46, 327) abgelehnte Kombination der armenischen Adelsbezeichnung *sepukh* mit dem uns beschäftigenden Begriff berufen. Denn zwar hat Andreas (bei Lentz, *ZII.* 4, 300) sie wiederaufgenommen und „*Sepurh*“ (1. *sepukh* < **sepurh*) auf (*vi*)*sēpuhr* — also mit Obl. auf *ē* im Vorderglied — zurückführen wollen. Aber wo gäbe es sonst eine solche Anlautverstümmelung iranischer Lehnworte im Armenischen? Eine höchst kühne Deutung von *sepukh* hat Markwart in einer Anmerkung zu seiner Schrift über den Ursprung des armenischen Alphabets (1917) S. 10, A. 2, mitgeteilt, die ich mit einigen Glossen wiedergebe: „*Sepukh* oder eigentlich **sep'uh*, wie das Adjektiv *sep'hakan* [, besonders, eigen'] zeigt, ist eine Übersetzung des iberischen *sep'e-culi* [d.i. georg. *sep'e* „König“ + *culi* „Sohn“]. Das zum Suffix gewordene *-uh*, fem. *-urhi*, *-uhi* [vgl. *t'aguhi* „Königin“ neben *t'ag* „Krone“, *t'agavor* „König“], entspricht dem ap. *puθra* [d.i. *puça*] „Sohn“. Diese Erklärung hat nur eine Schwäche: ein älteres *sep'uh* kann man aus *sep'hakan* nicht erschliessen, denn dies ist nur eine Kontamination der beiden normalen Schreibungen *sephakan* und *sep'akan* (Meillet, *Arm. Elementarbuch*, 10). Ausserdem kann das Suffix *-uh*, *-u(r)hi* nicht auf ap. *puça*, sondern nur auf *puhr*, **puhri* eines mittelliranischen Nordwestdialekts zurückgeführt werden; wenn die Ableitung richtig ist, so würde sie zeigen, dass der Schwund von anlautendem idg. *p* im Armenischen nicht vor dem 5.-4. Jh. erfolgt ist. Die ältere Form **sepurh*, aus der *sepukh* hervorging, ist mit Anlautswandel *s* > *z* ins Georgische entlehnt worden: *sa-zepur-o* „eigen, auserwählt“, Deeters, *Caucasica*, 3 (1926), 82.

Ich fasse zusammen. Mit der Entstehung des Königshauses der Achämeniden gewann in der höfischen Sprache das ererbte Wort für „Clan“ die Bedeutung des „Königshauses“. Sie ermöglichte die Bildung „Sohn des Hauses“ im Sinne von „königlicher Prinz“, **viθa puça*, aram. *br byt'*, reflektiert durch *vīsō puθra* Vend. 7, 43. Dazu trat eine Ableitung „Prinzenabkömmling“ zur Bezeichnung zunächst der Nachkommen der jüngeren Prinzen, dann auch des ihnen gleichstehenden höchsten Adels. Seit der Arsakidenzeit leben beide Worte in parthischer Form, *vispuhr* „Prinz“ und *vāspuhr(ak)* „Magnat“, nebeneinander. Aus dem Parthischen unmittelbar oder durch das Persische vermittelt ist *vispuhr* ins Sogdische übergegangen, wo es in buddhistischen und christlichen Texten in den abgewandelten Formen *wysp(y)δr*: *vispəš-* bzw. *višpuš-* unter der unveränderten Bedeutung „Prinz“ erscheint.

Nachschrift. Nach Ablieferung des Manuskripts stiess ich auf E. Benvenistes Aufsatz *Titres iraniens en arménien*, in *Rev. ét. arm.* 9 (1929) 5–10, der sich an zwei Stellen mit meiner Darlegung berührt. Den armenischen Fürstentitel *išxan* leitet Benveniste von mir. **xšān* ab, das er neben das oben S. 739 behandelte sogd. *xš'wn*, *xš'yon* stellt. Arm. *sepuh* will auch er, wie Marr und Andreas, mit parth. *vispuhr* verbinden, jedoch so, dass er es über **vscapurh* auf air. **visya-puθra* zurückführt. Auch diese Erklärung ist unannehmbar, solange nicht der Verlust des anlautenden *v* durch Parallelen glaubhaft gemacht ist.

On the "Uralian" Element in the Drāviḍa and the Muṇḍā Languages

By F. OTTO SCHRADER

IT will be remembered that sixty years ago Bishop Caldwell¹ expressed the opinion "that the Dravidian languages occupy a position of their own between the languages of the Indo-European family and those of the Turanian or Scythian group", and that, whereas the particulars of agreement with the Indo-European family pointed only to a "very indefinite as well as very remote", if at all any "real relationship", those with the "Scythian" family, and especially the Finnish-Ugrian languages, were so close and so numerous that they naturally suggested "the idea of a common descent". The hypothesis was declined by the official science of language, but I found it to contain a kernel of truth and thus wrote in 1924 my study *Dravidisch und Uralisch*,² intended to show that there was, if not relationship, at any rate a most remarkable, though but partial, agreement due, presumably, to the intercourse or mingling of two nations in prehistoric times. I have since left the problem alone, but feel now induced by Wilhelm von Hevesy's book *Finnisch-Ugrisches aus Indien* (Wien, 1932) and his paper *Neue Finnisch-Ugrische Sprachen (Die Mundasprachen Indiens)*³ to take it up once more. My special aim this time is to meet an adverse criticism concerning word-equations, and I shall conclude with a few remarks on the extent, kind, and probable provenience of the Uralian element in both the Drāviḍa and the Muṇḍā languages.⁴

¹ *A Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian or South-Indian Family of Languages*, third edition (reprint of second), London, 1913, pp. ix ff.

² See *Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik*, vol. iii, pp. 81-112. Of the additions I could make to that paper one at least, viz. to the paragraph on numerals, will be found interesting: Tamil *pattu*, Telugu *padi*, etc., "ten" is evidently = Samoyede *bet*, *būd*, *bū*, etc.; and Tamil, Telugu (etc.) *nūru* "hundred" seems to correspond with Samoyede (Arch.) *jur do*. (< **hūru*; cf. Tam. *nāl* "day" with Samoy. *jālea*, *jale*, etc., *do*). (Cf. O. Donner, *Samojedische Wörterverzeichnisse*, reprint of 1932, pp. 35, 9, 8, 48, 97.)

³ Published in 1935, in the *Atti del Congresso di Linguistica tenuto in Roma*.

⁴ I use the term Uralian (= Finno-Ugrian with Samoyede, or ancestor of both) in an indefinite sense, both for the sake of commodity and also to avoid pronouncing an opinion as to the special form or forms of speech with which we are concerned. W. v. Hevesy pleads for the Ugrian, Caldwell was inclined to give Finnish the

Essential agreement of the grammatical systems is the *conditio sine qua non* of the relationship of languages as understood to-day. But to what extent grammar may change, even within a comparatively short time, we know from the Romance languages and such Indian languages as Hindi, Bengali, etc., as compared, respectively, with Latin and Sanskrit. In the case of very remote relationships grammar to the extent demanded by our science of language for proving relationship may no longer be available. Surely there are very many distant relationships for which that criterion cannot be applied. We must in those cases rest satisfied with stating connections between the languages as shown by their vocabularies with or without such scanty remnants of grammar which in themselves would appear to be insufficient for the proof of relationship. This is what I have tried to do in my study mentioned above. "When it becomes clear," says Professor Setälä,¹ "that there are common words in languages which have had no connections for centuries and even millennia, this very fact is a valuable gain not only for the history of the languages but also for the history of men." It is true that related languages are referred to here, but is not the saying equally applicable to the related vocabularies of languages otherwise unrelated or of as yet unproved grammatical relationship? Yes, the critic would reply, provided the comparing could be done in a strictly scientific way, as indicated by Professor Turner, who in his criticism of v. Hevesy's book², objects that "any correspondences, whether of grammatical structure or of vocabulary, must be shown to be part of a regular system". Now to this sentence, of course, no true linguist will refuse to subscribe. But here is a demand which in those many cases of distant and obscured relationship can be, if at all, but very imperfectly obeyed, and which at any rate cannot be complied with from the beginning. The phonetic

preference, but we may have to go farther back and perhaps less far for the Muṇḍā than for the Drāviḍa family. The following abbreviations will be met with: Ka. = Kanarese, Ma. = Malayālam, Ta. = Tamil, Te. = Telugu, Tu. = Tuḷu, Sa. = Santālī, Mu. = Muṇḍārī, Cher. = Cheremisse, Esth. = Esthonian, Fi. = Finnish, Hu. = Hungarian (Magyar), Lp. = Lappish, Li. = Livish, Mord. = Mordvinian, Ost. = Ostiak, Perm. = Permian, Syr. = Syryenian, Veps. = Vepsish, Vog. = Vogul, Vot. = Votiak, Samoy. = Samoyede.

¹ I translate from his excellent paper *Zur frage nach der verwandtschaft der finnisch-ugrischen und samojedischen Sprachen* (Helsinki, 1915), p. 26.

² See *JRAS.*, 1934, pp. 798 ff. This is a rejection of v. H.'s attempt as is also Sauvageot's review in *BSL.*, 1932, pp. 180 ff., while Figulla (*OLZ.*, 1934, col. 187 ff.) contends merely that the Muṇḍā languages belong to, but not that they are connected with the Finno-Ugrian family.

laws must first be found, and they cannot be found without lists of *tentative word-equations*.

There is, however, in the world of linguists a great prejudice against such lists in all cases where grammatical relationship is not already probable. Wherever this probability is missing or but very vague or no such relationship is claimed our hypercritical linguists would resort to the great Māyā of casual resemblance and pity the authors of the lists for the precious time they have lost. E. Levy has declared¹ that such lists as mine (of sixty equations) may easily be drawn up for any two languages, and has given as an example sixty Kechua and Finnish word-equations. This is, however, not, as the author of the Korean-Indogermanic hypothesis has (to strengthen his own case) approvingly called it, a successful parody, but a palpable failure. The list (which, to convince, should have been one of *proven* cases of accidental resemblance) is marred by its tendency² and shows, if anything, that there may be ocean-spanning linguistic relations like those assumed by such scholars as Trombetti and Rivet. But I admit the usefulness of safeguards against chance and shall now try to give some with examples from Drāviḍa + Uralian.

The ideal means for calculating the part played by the caprice of language would be to search the whole material of well-known languages for word-equations which can be proved to be illusory. Lists won in this manner do not exist as yet, so far as I know, and will not easily be forthcoming. There are, however, two simple criteria for the improbability of chance in individual cases.

There is, first, the test suggested by Meillet and used by v. Hevesy in his above-mentioned paper for a list of twenty-four equations (out of forty-two contained in the typewritten copy distributed immediately after the congress) of Finnish-Ugrian and Muṇḍā words all of which, "while designating quite simple concepts show three consonants in the same order." How safe, relatively, this criterion is can be gathered from Enno Littmann's interesting paper *Sprachliche Seltsamkeiten aus Morgenland und Abendland* (ZDMG., 1922, pp. 270 ff.), where

¹ In his review in *Zeitschr. f. vgl. Sprachforschung*, 1928, pp. 145 ff., written after three scholars (P. W. Schmidt, W. Porzig, and H. Güntert) had pronounced, though with a few words only, in favour of my attempt.

² Nobody will accept such equations as L.'s Nos. 2, 8, 11, 14, 19, 23, 36-9, 44, 53, 57. They show his difficulty to reach the number sixty, while my paper has really about a hundred equations. It is *not* the same thing to draw up lists purposely based on superficial resemblance and such where etymologically impossible equations are sought to be excluded.

among seventy-two cases of probable or proven fortuitousness of resemblance or identity (collected and discussed by the author) there are only two which conform to the said condition (viz. Kechua *huarmi* woman ~ Middle and New Arabic *hurma* do., and Telugu *pampu* to send ~ Greek *πέμπω*). H.'s list contains words of even three syllables which are almost perfectly the same in the two languages (such as Sant. *cucungul* to sit on the heels ~ Hung. *csücsünget-do.*), and of such there is none in L.'s list and, though we may supply two or three, such as Sanskrit *upādhyāya* ~ Finnish *opettaja* (both = "teacher", but with entirely different etymology),¹ they can never remove the impression that H.'s list alone is sufficient to prove the connection between the Muṇḍā and the Finnish-Ugrian vocabularies. For the Dravidian, however, with less direct Uralian relations, the three consonant criterion will be found to be on the whole inapplicable, such cases as Tam. *viḷangu* to shine ~ Hung. *világ* light (and those to be mentioned in the rest of this paper) being too rare to prove much.

The other criterion is taught by Heinrich Koppelman in his book *Die Eurasische Sprachfamilie*, in an admirable chapter (pp. 13-21) on the problem of chance in comparative philology. His thesis comes to this (p. 17), that there is every likelihood of real (not illusory) correspondence, when several connected, i.e. not arbitrarily selected elements, such as the two negations of Indo-European and Korean, are both found in the two languages compared. He further refers for this to the numerals (1, 2, 3), pronouns (Fi. *mi*, *ti*, *n-sa* ~ Lat. *me*, *te*, *se*), case suffixes, and other parts of the grammar and word-formation.

Now this means is applicable on a much larger scale than Koppelman seems to have thought of, viz. to practically the whole of the vocabulary. For, it is evident that the admissibility of any word-equation is heightened, the probability of chance lessened, if another equation can be coupled with it on the strength of its meaning or form or both, the likeliness of chance being reduced with every additional equation. The connecting link may (1) be one and the same meaning, as in the couple of equations meaning "dust", viz. Ta. *poḍi* ~ Fi. *pöli* + Ta. *tumbu* ~ Fi. *tomu*; or in the one referring to "shining", viz. Ta. *viḷangu* to shine (*viḷakku* lamp) ~ Hu. *világ*

¹ Does Sanskrit *pippilika* ~ Votiak *sippelikas* (both = "ant") also belong to this category? A Hindu was delighted to find in Germany the good Indian name Kistenmacher (Kriṣṇamacharya). Of words with but two consonants, but missing in Littmann's list, at least English *much* (cf. Gothic *mikils*) ~ Spanish *mucho* (< Latin *multus*) deserves mentioning.

light + Ta. *nagu* to shine ~ Fi. *näkyä* to appear, become visible, or in the equation of words meaning "small, little", viz. Ta. *ciṛu* ~ Hu. *csiri* + Ka. *kittu* ~ Hu. *kicsiny* + Ma. *piṇce* ~ Hu. *picziny* + Te. *pisaru* ~ Fi. *pisku*. Or we may (2) have likeness of form with difference of meaning, as in Ta. *nagu* to shine, etc. (see above) + Ta. *nagu* (*nagai*) to laugh ~ Fi. *nakra* do.; or in Ta. *cem* red ~ Perm. *cim* do. + Ta. *cem* straight, regular, etc. ~ Perm. *cim* perfectness; or in Ta. *naraḷ* to sound, roar, etc. ~ Fi. *nara* to creak, rattle + Ta. *nari* to deride ~ Syr. *nera* do. + Ta. *nēr* grow thin, emaciate ~ Syr. *nermi* do. (+ Ta. *naṛangu* become blunted ~ Lp. *nālu* do., Fi. *näläkkä* blunt instrument). Parallels in derivation seem also, at least partly, to point to a common origin, as e.g. in Ta. *kumi* to heap, Ka. *kumbu* bending ~ Fi. *kumo* curvature + Ta. *kumbal* a heap ~ Fi. *kumpu* hillock + Ta. *koppuḷ* a bubble ~ Fi. *kupla*, Lp. *koppalek* do. + Ta. *kumiṛ* (*kumiḷi*) to bubble forth ~ Fi. *kummuta* do.; etc. There are, finally, (3) the cases where a class concept adds strength to a couple or series of equations. An example (where as will be noticed, as also above with *koppuḷ*, etc., Meillet's demand is also fulfilled) is the following one from the class of animal names: Ta. *ñimiṛu* bee (humming insect, from *ñimir* to hum) ~ Samoy. *ñiberu*, *ñimere* gnat + Ta. *ñamali* dog (prob. from *nemal* < **ñamal* to vagabond) ~ Lp. *njoammel* hare.¹ But, of course, the wider the class concept the less support can it lend to this sort of connected equations, unless they are numerous enough. I trust, however, that the two larger lists I now give (with Muṇḍā correspondences in the second place where I could find such) will go far to serve the purpose.²

¹ Here the rareness, in Dravidian, of the initial palatal nasal is also a point to be noticed (it has been mostly replaced by the dental nasal or *j*, *y*, or has altogether disappeared; cf. the nom. sing. of the first personal pronoun: Ta. *yāñ* (lit.), *nāñ*; Te. *nēnu*, *ēnu*; Ka. *nānu*, *ānu*, etc., all from *ñāñ*, preserved in Ma. only, which must have been an ancient non-literary form also in Ta., etc.), as is the fact that both words so far as known, do not occur in the sphere of influence of the Muṇḍā languages. As to the well-known vague use of animal names I may note from India that in Tamil *nari* "jackal" (i.e. "bawler") is a name of the tiger also, and that in Kūrkū the dog is called *chūtā* which is in reality a kind of leopard.

² Being but quite imperfectly acquainted with Finno-Ugrian linguistics I have had to renounce aiming at a consistent phonetical rendering of the words adduced from that quarter (as I have also simply transliterated in the usual way the Drāviḍa and Muṇḍā words), but have (as above) endeavoured to give the Finnish and Hungarian words in their modern orthography and have otherwise followed (with simplified spelling) Setälä and Szinnyi so far as they were available to me and, where not, O. Donner and occasionally v. Hevesy. The lists are also certainly not as complete as they could be. Note that *j* in Fgr. and Samoy. words is identical with the *y* in Drāv. words (and in Engl. *year*, etc.) and that the *ñ* of the former is the same as Drāv. *ñ*.

PARTS OF THE BODY

Hair, feather (wing, arm):

1. Ta. Ka. *navir* man's hair; cf. Te. *navuru* tender, soft, as grass, hair, etc. ~ Fi. *nava*, *naava* beard-moss, *nāāvelit* moustache. Cf. also Samoy. *ñabta*,¹ *abde*, *opt*, etc.; Ost. *upət*, Lp. *vuöpta*, etc., and (?) Fi. *hapsi* hair ~ Sa. *up'*, Mu. *up'* hair.
2. Ta. *kaffai* collection, as of hair; bundle, as of straw; > *kettai* hair; Ka. Te. *gafi* feather, wing ~ Fi. *kar-va* hair, straw; Li. *kār-a*, *kōr-a* hair, feather.
3. Ta. *tōgai* anything that hangs down: feather, plumage, woman's hair (*tūngu*, *tūkku* to hang) ~ Ost. *togel* feather, wing; Fi. *tukka* hair.
4. Ta. *tūvi*, *tūval* feather; Ka. *tuppuł* feather, plumage, soft hair ~ Syr. *tyv* feather, wing; Vot. *tāwel* wing.
5. Tu. *tuyi* feather ~ Sa. *duci* tuft of feathers on head of bird ~ Samoy. *tuja* hair; Lp. *soagje* wing, sleeve, Wot. *suĵ* arm.
6. Ka. *pīli* a peacock's tail, feather of such ~ Hu. *pelyh* flock of wool, etc.), down-feather.

Lock:

7. Ta. *puri* (also verb: to be twisted, to curl) ~ Sa. *phera* forelock ~ Wot. *per*, *pur*, Hu. *fürt* lock.
8. Ta. *cuři*, *curuttai* hair-curl, *curiyal* locks of hair (from *cuři*, *curi* to curl), Malto *curki* lock of hair ~ Fi. *suortua* hair-locks, Hu. *szőr* hair (cf. also Sa. *carhi* mane ~ Cher. *sar* horse-hair).

Moustache:

9. Ta. *mīcai*, Te. *mīsamu* ~ Sa. *misi* ~ Fi. *vīkset* (Cher. *miž* wool).

Eyelid, eyelash:

10. Te. *reppa*, Ka. *reppe*, Ta. *reppai* eyelid ~ Fi. *ripsi* eyelash, fringe. Cf. Sa. *ripil* to wink with both eyes.

Earlap, ear:

11. Ka. *pāle*, *halle* earlap ~ Ost. *pāl*, Hu. *fül* ear.

Mouth, lip:

12. Gōṇḍi *torḍa*, *torḱ* mouth, Malto *toroth* do. ~ Savara *tōden* mouth ~ Fi. *tursa*, *turpa* snout, trunk.

(2) Malto *tebo* (< **terbo*) lips ~ Syr. Perm. *tirp* lip.

13. Ka. *cuñca* a bird's beak ~ Hu. *csücs* snout, beak.

¹ For original guttural nasal (lost or replaced by *j*, *j*, *v*), see Szinnyei; for Drāv., cf. *n* < *ñ* below No. 50 and, above, last footnote but one.

Lip :

14. Te. *pedavi*, Tu. *bimmu* (< **bidamu*) ~ Vog. *pit'mi*, Samoy. *potəm*.

Cheek :

15. Te. *bugga*, Ka. *buggi* ~ Hu. *bufa*, *poſ(a)*.

Tongue :

16. Te. *nālike*, *nāluka* ; Ta. *nākku*, *nāvu* ~ Hu. *nyelv*, Lp. *njalbme* ; Samoy. *nāmi*. (For Drav. *n* < *n̄* see above, footnote on No. 1.)

Tooth :

17. Ta. *eyīru* (*egīru*) tooth, tusk ~ Hu. *agyar* tusk, fang.

Jaw, chin :

18. Ta. *alagu* jaw ~ Hu. *áll*, Mord. *ul*, Lp. *ualūl*, etc., jaw.
19. Ka. *avuḍu* jaw, lower lip ; Ta. *amuḍu* lower lip ~ Samoy. (Mot.) *awol* chin.

Neck, throat :

20. Ta. *kural* throat, Ka. *korāl* (*kol*) do. ; Tu. *kekki* (< **kerki*), *kekkiḷ* neck, throat ~ Fi. *kurkku* throat, Esth. *kōri* do., Mord. *kīrga* neck.
21. Ta. *cavaḍi-y-elumbu* collar-bone ~ Lp. *čäpat* neck, Ost. *sābet* neck, back.
22. Ka. *goṅke* throat ~ Hu. *guga* goiter.

Nipple, teat, etc. :

23. Ta. *nagiḷ* woman's breast, Malto *naqlu* uvula ~ Vot. *naka* plug, peg ; Syr. *nak* do., a nipple.
24. Tu. *naḷḷi* a spool ~ Fi. *nalikka* plug, *nolkki* membrum virile.
25. Ka. *keṅjelu*, *keccalu* udder ~ Hu. *csecs* breast, nipple.

Lung :

26. Te. *ūpiri-titti* lung ("breathing-bag") ~ Fi. *tätü*, Hu. *tüdö* lung.

Armpit :

27. Ka. *kavuṇ-kur*, *kaṅkur*, Tu. *kaṅkula* ~ Mord. *kaval-al*, Esth. *kaṅgla* ; Samoy. *kaṅgla*, *kaṅgel*, etc.

Back :

28. Gōṇḍi *murchul* ~ Samoy. *mōchal*, *mōgal*, etc.
29. Hump, hunch : Ta. *kūṇ*, *kūṇal* ~ Esth. *konar*.

Breast, hip :

30. Ma. *koṅka*, Ta. *koṅgai* female breast ~ Fi. *konkka* hip (cf. Esth. *künge* hill ~ Ta. *koṅgu* name of a hilly country).

Belly, stomach :

31. Ka. *basir*, Ta. *vayirū* ~ Sa. *bhosam* ~ Vog. *vas* (Hu. *has*).
 32. Ka. *potte*, Te. *poṭṭa* ~ Sa. *poṭa* (*poṭra* big-bellied) ~ Hu. *potroh* paunch, pot-belly.
 33. Ta. *poccai*, Te. *bojja* paunch-belly ~ Hu. *puczor* stomach, *paczo* and *poczak* paunch-belly.

Navel :

34. Ta. *pokkul* ~ Sa. *buka* ~ Fi. *puka* (Hu. *pokla* umbilical cord).
 35. Tu. *puvalu* ~ Hu. *púp*.

Pudenda :

36. Male organ : Ta. Ka. *māṇi* ~ Samoy. *máne* ; Lp. *mānne*, *monne* (egg), Hu. *mony*.
 37. Ka. Te. *golli* female organ, Tu. *kullige* anus, Brāhūi *gillik* do. ~ Fi. *kulli* male organ, Esth. *koli*, Lp. *guolla*, Samoy. *hyle* (testicle).
 38. Anus : Ta. *kunṭi*, Te. *kutte*, Tu. *kūdi* ~ Sa. *kuthi* ~ Cher. *kotan*.
 39. Ta. *poccu* anus, Ka. *pucci* female organ ~ Lp. *buočča* male organ, Hu. *puczu*, *fasz* do. Mu. *peso* glans penis, Sa. *peska* testicles ~ Samoy. *pije* female organ ; Lp. *pičč*, Cher. *piš* male organ.
 40. Anus (" posteriors ") : Ka. *piṛa*, *peṛa* ~ Fi. *perä*.
 41. Testicle : Tu. *ari* ~ Hu. *here*.

Hip :

42. Ta. *cappai*, Ka. *cappe* ~ Hu. *czipő*, *czipe*.
 43. Ka. *ṭonka* ~ Fi. *lonkka*. Cf. Ka. *ḍonku* to bend, be crooked ~ Fi. *lynkkä* crooked.

Calf of the leg, ball :

44. Te. *pikka* calf of the leg ~ Fi. *päkiä* ball of the thumb, Esth. *päkk* ball at hand and foot.

Finger, toe :

45. Ta. *viral*, Ka. *beral*, Te. *vrēlu* finger, toe ~ Fi. *varvas* toe.

Nail, claw, hoof :

46. Ta. *ugir* nail, claw, Ka. *ugur*, Te. *gōru* ~ Hu. *köröm* nail, hoof.
 47. Ta. *kavai-y-adi* (" cloven foot " ; cf. *kappu*, *kavar* forked branch) ~ Fi. *kavio* hoof, Esth. *kabi*.

Bone :

48. Te. *elumbu*, Ka. Te. *elu* ~ Fi. *luu*.

Knuckle, joint :

49. Ta. *poruttu* joint ~ (?) Hu. *porcz* cartilage.

Sinew, muscle :

50. Ma. *ñarambu*, Ka. *nara* (Ta. *nār* fibre, string) ~ Samoy. *ñer* ;
Vog. *ñāri*, Lp. *njorga* cartilage.
51. Ta. *ecam* (sp. *iesam*) ~ Fi. *jäsen*, Hu. *izom*.
52. Ta. *īnai* nerve of a leaf ~ Hu. *in*, in sinew.¹

Skin, hide, fur :

53. Ta. *pōrvai* covering, skin ~ Hu. *bör* skin, leather. Cf. "covering, cover" : Te. *burakā* ~ Hu. *burok*.
54. Ka. *togal*, *toval* skin, leather, Ka. Ta. *tōl*, Te. *tōlu*, *tokka* ~ Vog. *tawel*, *toul* fur, leather, Fi. *talja* pellis pilosa.

DIRT AND EXCRETIONS

1. Te. *rōm̐ta*, Ka. *rōte* dirt, filth ~ Sa. *rotha* black and dirty ~ Hu. *rond* dirty.
2. Te. *rompi* mud, mire ; *rompa* catarrh, snottiness ~ Fi. *rapa* filth, mud ; Esth. *ropusta* to soil.
3. Tu. *reñkuni* to be smeared, soiled, Te. *rēgada* clay ~ Fi. *rākā*, Veps. *rēga* snot ; Esth. *rāgase* slimy, filthy, Lp. *ranēčasa* muddy.
4. Ka. *masi*, *māsalu*, Te. *māsi* dirt ; Ta. *mācu* spot, stain, blackness ~ Sa. *musra* dusty, dirty ~ Hu. *maszat*, *maczat* dirt ; Fi. *musta* black, dark.
5. Ka. *pisaru*, *piccu* filth of the body, rheum of the eye ~ Hu. *piszok* filth, dirt, *pocsék* dirty, soiled.
6. Ka. *sāri*, Te. *cari* paste, gum, etc. ; Ta. *cēfu*, *cīrumiyam* mud, mire, *curi* become muddy ~ Mu. *sara-gara* dung-pit ~ Hu. *szar*, Cher. *sor* mud ; Hu. *csiriz* glue ; Hu. *szirtos*, *szurtos* dirty.
7. Ka. Te. *laddi*, Ta. *latti*, Kurukh *liddi* dung of horses, elephants, etc. ~ Sa. *leḍ*, Mu. *leḍ'*, *lid'*, do. ~ Fi. *lanta* dung. (Cf. Sanskrit *laṇḍa*, *leṇḍa*, Prakrit *laddi*.)
8. Te. *reṭṭa* dung of birds, etc. ~ Sa. *res* dregs, etc., *riṭha* dirty ~ Fi. *reto*, *rötö* dirt, Hu. *redves* rotten, putrid.
9. Ta. *kacaḍu* stain, filth, Ka. *kasaru* dust, impurities, *kisaru* a. *giṭu* rheum of the eye ~ Sa. *kacar*, *kacor* dirty, miry, Kūrku *kass* dirt, Mu. *giṭ-giṭ'* filthy, *kasrā* itches ~ Hu. *kosz*, Esth. *kās-n*, Vot. *giž-lo* scab, scurf.

¹ With loss, on both sides, of the initial sibilant which is preserved in the Votiak, Cheremisse, and Finnish word (*sen*, *šän*, *suone*). For the Dravidian, cf., e.g., the word for eyelash : Ma. *cima* a. *ima*, Tu. *sim(m)e* a. *ime*, Ta. only *imai*.

10. Te. *pusi* slimy impurities of the eyes ~ Hu. *fos* thin faeces (animal and human).
11. Ka. *lodaḷe* phlegm, spittle ~ Sa. *lodhor lodhor* thick and gummy (as pus) ~ (?) Hu. *latyak* puddle, morass, *locs*, morass, *luc sok* mud.
12. Ta. *kōrai* phelgm, spittle ~ Fi. *kuola* mucus of the nose.
13. Tu. *ñōli* phelgm, spittle ~ Hu. *nyal*, Fi. *nālje*, Mord. *noḷgo* mucus, phelgm.
14. Ta. *cali* thick phelgm; Ka. *jollu*, Tu. *jolli*, *dolli* saliva ~ Fi. *sülki*, Esth. *sülge*, Lp. *colg* saliva.
15. Ka. Tu. *kī-vu*, Ta. *cī pus*, matter; Ka. *kī* to become putrid ~ Mord. *si*, Lp. *sāi* pus; Ost. *sij-ta* to become putrid.
16. Ta. *piṇa*, Ka. *peṇa*, Te. *pīnuge* corpse, carcass ~ Hu. *penész* mould, mildew, *penyved-* to rot, putrify.

These lists are not the result of a systematic search of the vocabularies concerned, excepting only that of the Kanarese. I cannot, therefore, except for the latter, give ciphers for calculating the percentage of words included in the lists. In the Kanarese (Kittel's Dictionary) I have counted 84 words (not including trifling dialectical varieties) for parts of the body, and of these there are, i.e. could be (some are omitted for brevity's sake), just 30 in our list, i.e. 36 per cent. For the second list the corresponding numbers are 29 and 9, i.e. 31 per cent. For v. Hevesy's equations the result appears to be less favourable. I have counted only the words and equations for parts of the body and found that there are 136 such words in Campbell's *Santālī-English Dictionary* and 45 Santālī-Uralian equations for parts of the body in H.'s book. There are, however, among the latter about a dozen which I should have eschewed, and I am perfectly sure that my list is less complete than his.

It is interesting to see how far the twelve parts of the body (hand, foot, nose, eye, mouth, tooth, ear, hair, head, tongue, belly, back) for which the Linguistic Survey of India gives "standard words" are represented in our Drāviḍa-Uralian list and among v. Hevesy's Muṇḍā-Uralian equations. It will be seen that of those parts seven figure in our list and (discounting one or two quite vague identifications) five in H.'s book. As to the "standard words" given for those parts from the several languages—about forty for either family (counting related words as one)—there are only three of them in our list (*toroth*, etc., *vayīru*, etc., *murchul*) and six in H.'s book (*khuri*, *kaṭa*, etc.,

meṅge, *up'*, etc., *peṅg*, *puṭṭi* = *poṭa*) and, moreover, two doubtful items on either side, viz. (1) the commonest Dravidian word for "hand" (Ma. *kayyi*, Ta. *kei*, etc. ~ (?) Fi. *kāte*, Syr. *ki*, etc.), where the guttural of Kui *kāgu* (by the side of *kāju*) and Kurukh *khekkha* seems to stand in the way¹; and (2) the widely spread Muṇḍā word meaning also "hand" (*ti*, *iti*, etc.), where the vowel casts doubt on the connection with Samoy. *utte*, *ude*, etc. (the word is not in Finno-Ugrian). For the possible connection of Sant. *up'* with the Dravidian see No. 1, for *poṭa* No. 32 of our list; the remaining words have no correspondence in the other family.

By far the largest part of the vocabulary both of the Muṇḍā and the Dravidian family is, at any rate, *not* Uralian. The imposing number of 1,134 word-equations given by v. Hevesy must not deceive us. For Campbell's *Santālī-English Dictionary*, on which they are based, contains some 20,000 words, and these can hardly be cut down to less than 5,000 non-Sanskritic word-stems. And though not so many as every second or third of v. Hevesy's equations will have to be cancelled (as Figulla seems to believe), the increase through fresh ones will barely suffice to make up for the loss. For, admitting that our knowledge of the Muṇḍā languages is as yet but imperfect, we still know this much that most of them, viz. the Kherwārī group (comprising 88 per cent of the speakers of Muṇḍā languages), are really but dialects of one and the same language with practically the same vocabulary, whereas the small rest (Kūrkū, Savara, etc.) is characterized by overwhelming foreign influences. In the Dravidian vocabulary also the Uralian constituent will hardly be found to exceed one-fifth part of it.

There remains the question as to the kind of connection between the Uralian element of the Dravidian and that of the Muṇḍā languages. W. v. Hevesy cuts the Gordian knot by simply denying "that the Dravidian languages (apart from borrowings of which, indeed, there are many) have anything in common with the Finno-Ugrian language family" (OLZ., 1934, col. 478). Now I admit that the grammatical correspondences pointed out by me ten years ago are not sufficient to assign the Dravidian to the Finno-Ugrian family (nor were they meant in this sense, but only as vestiges of a more remote "Uralian" affinity), whereas those shown by v. Hevesy do seem to allow us to look at the Muṇḍā family as the denaturalized offspring of a lost child of the Ugrian branch (or primitive Ugrian). But it seems to me quite

¹ Unless some such evolution as *kaiti* > *kaieci* > *kayyi* > *kāju* > *kāgu* and ... *kayyi* > *keyye* > *khega* > *khekkha* could have taken place; cf. equation No. 28.

impossible to regard everything Uralian in the Drāviḍa languages as borrowed from the Muṇḍā ones. Such borrowings have, of course, taken place (as is obvious, e.g. in the case of words beginning with initial *r* and *l*), and there may be even a Muṇḍā "substratum" in some Dravidian languages (such as Telugu, as Professor Bloch is inclined to believe). But then the Muṇḍā languages have borrowed as much (if not more) from Dravidian, and Tamil and Malayālam at least have no Muṇḍā loanwords (except a few taken over from Telugu or Kanarese), nor do they look like having a Muṇḍā substratum, which is, indeed, not to be expected in those southernmost countries of India, where Muṇḍā tribes have never been, so far as our knowledge goes.

I therefore come back to my hypothesis ¹ that primitive Dravidian (proto-Dravidian) entered India from the north-west with Uralian elements already assimilated, and consequently assume that the Uralian element of the Muṇḍā family is not directly connected with the Dravidian one, but points to a marriage between an indigenous Indian tongue (hailing probably from Further India) with an Uralian invader who thus became, possibly without having come in contact with the Drāviḍas, the dominant agent in the formation of what are now the Muṇḍā languages. The two other hypotheses which appear to be possible here are (2) that an Uralian invasion has directly affected, but in different ways, two indigenous families of speech; and (3) that there have been two such invasions each of which has left its trace in one of the two families concerned. In no case, of course, can we expect to find imported elements only.

¹ Suggested by the geographical position of Brāhūi (see on this now G. Morgenstierne in his *Report on a Linguistic Mission to North-Western India*, Oslo, 1932, pp. 5-6), but necessitated also, I believe, by the pre-Aryan "Mediterranean" component established for pre-historic India by anthropology and archaeology and equally required by certain linguistic considerations on which, however, I am not now prepared to speak.

The Numerals in the Niya Inscriptions

By O. STEIN

A. CARDINALIA

1. FOR "one" the NI use *eka* (106 Uo 7. 159 r 2. 187 o 8. 211 r 5. 231 r 2. 248 o 8. 253 r 1. 348 Uo 4. 425 Uo 5. Cr 6. 437 Cr 1. 577 Uo 6. 630 o 4. 638 o 2. 3. 676 Uo 5. 688 oA 3).¹ In the form *ega* it appears 709 Cr 4. It is used in the uninflected form, irrespective of gender; the genit. sing. *ekisya* "single", is found 272 o 10. 514 o 1; a plural *eke* occurs 468 Cr 2. *egaḡa* in 417 o 2, as nomin. masc. *egaḡo* in 296 Uo 3, corresponds to Skt. *ekaika*-, Pāli *ekaka*- "single", in accordance with the phonetic value of *-ḡa*.² *eka*- is found in compounds with numerals (see 11), nouns (*ekadeśammi* 272 o 6),³ adjectives (*ekavarṣaḡa* = *ekavarṣika*- 589 Uo 3). In Skt. 511 o 2 occurs *ekābhīrāma*-, r 1 [*ekamanasa*-]; an amreḡita *ekameka*- is found 109 r 5. 140 Cr 6.⁴

2. The numeral for "two" appears in many forms without regard to gender and case, and even the number is ignored in most of the passages. As *dvi* it occurs 72 rB 2, 5. C 2-5. D 1, 2, 4, 6, 7. oA 1, 2, 6, 7. B 4-7. D 4, 7. 198 o 2. 546 o 2. 570 Uo 5. 665 o 6, sometimes written *tvi* (81 rE 3. 719 o 2); *dvī* 100 r 4 is perhaps *dvīti* "for the second time", judging from the connection with *ayoḡena*, appearing in 539 in a similar phrase: *ayoḡ[e]na huda bhīti* "without gain, profit"; cf. *tr[e]ḡya*, *dvaya ayoḡe* 100 r 3, 5. *dvīm* (577 Co 1, Uo 5) seems to be a peculiarity of this inscription, either the Anusvāra indicates long *ī*⁵ or the form may represent a genit. plur., recte dualis, for **dvīna*, according to *trīna* and the dependence on *praceya*, constructed with the genitive, e.g. *khulana* (40 Ur. 55 Ur) or 46 Ur

¹ Abbreviations: A, B, C, etc. = Columns. C = Cover-tablet. NI = Kharoṣṭhi Inscriptions discovered by Sir Aurel Stein in Chinese Turkestan. o = Obverse. r = Reverse. U = Under-tablet.

² Rapson, NI, p. 301.

³ "On a single place"; Thomas, AO, xii, 45. *ekasti* 416 o 5 between *cakora* and *uḡi* seems to qualify the latter which is called *asti* also 180 oB 2; again 272 o a horse is called *asti*; it seems that also corn is *asti* 272 o 6, 7, as *ghrida* = Skt. *ghṛta* 159 r 4; on the other hand, *asti* occurs in conditional sentences with *yati* and the verb *as* "to be". Its meaning seems to be that of Skt. *āsteya* "extant"; *ekasti* "single extant", therefore *rara uḡi* 1. *nasti* is negative, cf. Thomas, AO, xii, 43, 7.

⁴ On *eka b(h)īti*- see below.

⁵ Cf. Thomas, AO, xiii, 50, 2.

(*Konumae*).¹ *du* appears 571 Uo 3. 628 oA 4. 703 r 4; a contaminated form *dui*, perhaps due to weakening of -e and found also in Apabhramśa, occurs 21 Uo 2. 141 o 1. 180 oB 2, 4. 214 o 3. 215 r 1. 291 o 4, 5. 364 r 4. 414 r 6. 520 Uo 3. 638 o 2, with the variation of writing *tui* 106 Uo 8. Cr 6. *due* is a real dual (*mīlīmī* 422 o 5. *pitaputre* = °*putrāḥ*² 715 o 2) for fem. and masc., used as plural. In compounds *di-* is met as the first part in *diguna* (= *dviguṇa* 142 r 1. 283 o 2. 351 o 2. 387 o 2), while in connection with -*vara* = -*vāra* the form *dvi-* is used, if not the ordinal form (see below B. 2).

ubhaya. As a dual-plural *ubheya* is found in 580 Uo 2 (*te u. bhuma*). Cr 1. 581 Uo 3; *ubhayamdade*³ 387 o 2 would correspond to Skt. *ubhayāntataḥ*, the duty is to be performed two and three times at the sacrifice of life (for the reward?) in both the worlds,⁴ according to the order, says the inscription pleonastic in this passage.

3. "Three" is in the NI *tre* (72 rB 1, 6. C 6. D 3, 5. o A 3, 4. B 2, 3. C 1-7. D 1-3, 6. 383 r 6. 415 Uo 3. 715 o 3); *treya* (100 r 3? 106 Uo 6. 157 r 1. 162 Uo 5. 571 Uo 5. 593 Co 2. Uo 2. 630 o 2. 721 o 5). Inflected forms are found 431 Uo 1. 432 Uo 1: *trina samvatsarana*, a genit. plur., which is probably also the case in 671 o 1; in the mostly Skt. inscription 511 r 4 the three *pitaka* (*piṭakāni trīni*) are mentioned. As the first part of compounds appears *tri-* in *triguna* (283 o 2. 351 o 2. 387 o 2. 676 Uo 4), as in Skt. *tribhava* 511 r 5; in adjectives like *trevarṣiya* (593 Uo 5) besides *treya varṣi* (593 Co 2. Uo 2. 341 o 3, see n. 1 *ibid.*), *trevarṣaḥ* (152 Uo 4).

4. "Four" is *catu* (27 Cr 1. 496 Uo 4) or *cora* (348 Uo 3) or *caura* (70 Uo 3. 720 A 5. 562 Uo 2); it is tempting to take *cohura* 637 o 6 (*aṃṇa paśava 4 cohura milima aṃṇehi nīdāe huanṭi*) as the numeral "four", but neither numerals occur in that inscription

¹ A similar termination -*im* occurs in 117 o E: *sarvapiṇḍaim tam caṃ gavi 20 3*, which has been explained as *sarvāṇi piṇḍāni tāni gāvaḥ 23* by Professor Thomas (JRAS, 1927, 545) and as *sarvāḥ piṇḍitā gāvaḥ 23* by Professor Lüders (SPAW, 1933, 1010, 2) who prefers to read: *piṇḍaimtamcaṃ*. Generally the NI use only *sarva piṇḍa*, so that a verb Skt. *piṇḍay-* is less probable, also on account of the expression *eka piṇḍa* (248 o 8), *garvac. muli* or *p. muli* (590 Uo 4. 428 o 5), or *sarvapiṇḍa ganamṇena muli* (345 Uo 5) where it must be a noun. On the other hand, 587 Uo 3 offers *ciraiṇṭa bhuma vikrida* which may be **cirayitā bhūmir vikrūtā* (land which has not been tilled a long time? has been sold). Then -*iṇṭa* would point to the part. perf. pass. of denominative verbs.

² Instead of ° *au*. The pronominal termination -*e* of the plural is found in *khula putre* 415 Cr. 3. *manṇuṣe* 130 Uo 3. *vaje* 534 oB 2. *vdhe* 326 r 3.

³ Cf. *surya(surśa?)dade*, 572 Cr.

⁴ Cf. *Ep. Ind.*, xx, p. 18, B 2, line 5, etc., p. 27 s.v. *ubhayalokahita*°. In NI, 107 o 2 is mentioned in the address the *alamkṛtaparaloḡamarḡa*.

besides the signs for them nor *h* is inserted between vowels to avoid the hiatus.¹ In compounds, beginning with "four", either *catu-* is used (*catuvarṣi* 420 o 5; *catuvarṣaḡa* 431 Cr 3. 432 Uo 8. 437 Cr 7) or *caura-* (70 Uo 2: *cauravarṣi*).

5. *paṃca* is the numeral for "five" (180 oB 3. 187 o 6. 211 r 8. 261 r 1. 3. 327 o 5. 329 o 4 [genit. plur.]. 415 Cr 1. 437 Uo 2. 439 Uo 3. 506 o 9. 519 o 3. 630 o 4). The same form is met in compounds with *-varṣaḡa* (432 Uo 5), while 431 Uo 7, being apparently the rough-copy of 432, shows *paca-*; 591 Uo 3, 4. Both these forms are used also in the additive numerals (see 15. 25).

6. The numeral for "six", *ṣo*, is found 439 Uo 3. 519 o 3, and in the compounds *ṣovarṣi* fem. (27 Uo 2. 676 Uo 3, 4), cf. 26.

7. *sata* appears 468 Uo 4 and in the compound *satavarṣaḡa* (209 o 3. 575 Cr 2) for "seven".

8. "Eight" is met as *aṭha* (with loc. *varṣeṣu*) 256 o 3, 5. as in the compound *aṭhavarṣaḡa* (341 o 3), *aṭhavarṣi* (625 o 6) or as *aṣṭi* (661 o 3).²

9. For "nine" is found *no* 576 Co 2 and 715 o 4 in *n[o]varṣaḡa*; cf. sub 90 and ordinalia sub 9.

10. As in Skt. *daśa* is used for "ten" (cf. Pischel, *Pkt. Gr.*, § 262, p. 182, for Mg. and Dh.) 222 o 5. 327 o 4. For *daśavida* and similar forms see 100.

11. Only the ordinal numeral occurs, see below.

12. For "twelve" *dvadaśa* is found 346 r 2, *badāśa* 419 Uo 4. 579 Uo 4, which latter stem occurs also in the ordinal.

13. Unlike as in Pkt. for "thirteen" a contracted form *trodaśa* appears 431 Cr 7. 432 Cr 4. 505 o 2 (ibid., n. 2: *tre°*, cf. Plate VII).

15. In accordance with *paṃca* and *daśa* "fifteen" is *paṃcadaśa* 489 r 9.

16. *ṣodaśa* is "sixteen" 514 o 2; [*ʃo*]daśa in 16 o 3 for which in note 3 the alternative reading [*ʃo*]- is given, would point to *ṣodaśa*. This seems a rather long time, since no camels have been brought; that *ʃ* represents also a cerebral sibilant may be due to the foregoing *aḡhi* = *adhi* "more than sixteen years".³

20. "Twenty" is *viṣati* 275 o 2. 393 o 2. 576 Co 2. Uo 5; for *viṃśa* see 26.

¹ In Saka exists *teahaura* "four", Sten Konow, *Saka Studies*, Vocabulary, p. 184.

² *aṭa* (358 o 6. 637 o 3) is not *aṣṭa* (Index s.v.), but, according to Thomas, *A(cta) O(rientalia)*, xiii, 67, Hindi *āṭā*, Skt. *aṭṭa* "flour". For *aṣṭi* cf. Noble, *BSOS*, vi, 453.

³ Cf. Burrow, *BSOS*, vii, 511 on *ṣ > ʃ*, *ṣ > ʃ(z)*, *ṣ > jh(z)*, see also *NI*, p. 303.

25. "Twenty-five" occurs 225 o 8 as *pacaviša*.

26. It is the peculiarity of the NI that phonetical rules to be observed in some instances are soon contradicted by a next instance; if *viša* represents a Pkt. *vīsa*, in *šovimša* 207 r 3 the Skt. form appears again; though the Anusvāra in *viša* is dropped, one may suppose that the *i* is long.

27. Analogical "thirty" is expressed by *triša* (186 o 3. 387 o 10. 495 o 5. 590 Uo 3. 592 Uo 3. 609 r), the same word seems to be contained in *satriša*, explained in the Index, p. 375, as a compound with the adverbial prefix *sa* = *saha*. *satriša* occurs three times 209 o 3. r 1, 2, followed by *avimta* the meaning of which must be "fine, punishment".¹ But as the penalty is stated only in r 2, *satriša* seems to correspond to Skt. *sadyśa* "suitable".² The Index, p. 350, explains *driju* 661 o 3 as Skt. *triṃśat*, and also Noble takes the word in that sense.³ *aghita* is no doubt some kind of official title, variations of which are *aḡita*, *aḡeta*, *argita*; as in the many other passages where the title occurs, a personal name is required, Driju Vašo must be the name of the official.

40. "Forty" is *capariša* (580 Uo 3. 589 Uo 3. 590 Uo 3) where *tv > p*.

42. The same stem appears in *du capariša* "forty-two" and

45. in *paṃca capariša*, "forty-five."

50. The numeral for "fifty" is *paṃcaša* (437 Cr 7. 567 Uo 3. 571 Uo 3. 676 Uo 6-7); here, as in *capariša-āša*, resp. *-īša* are expressed by the short vowels.

70. For "seventy" *satati* is found 571 Cr 5-6. 580 Cr 2.

90. "Ninety" is *novati* 655 Uo 7.

100. In the numeral for "hundred" the dental shows plenty of variations. *šata* (149 o 2. 225 r 3. 345 Uo 10. 668) is written with the medial as *šada*: 368 o 4. 567 Uo 3. 740 o 3. This numeral has also some inflected forms, as it seems, especially often occurring

¹ Cf. Burrow, *BSOS*, vii, 784.

² 338 r 1 seems to contain *tatriša* [dro]ḥami na ve avaša vačhu prasavetu " (whether) there will be such one in the droḥa or not, at any event the Vačhu must be sent away (let free)". *vačhu* is found again 630 o 2, 3 with *jaṇana* and the verb *praṣavita*; for him fifteen men are to be given, is he perhaps a man from Vakṣu, the Oxus? For *drṣṭa* appears *triṣṭa*, for *drṣṭā* in 510 *tritva*.

³ *BSOS*, vi, 453. *dhahi* is hardly = *tathā*, as this word occurs o 2 in the form *tatha*; like *duhitṛ* by metathesis of aspiration appears as *dhitu*, *dhahi* would correspond perhaps to *dadhi*; because Aphiānu takes away the camel and the *aghita* D.V. the milk, Khvarnase prefers to sell the camel. An objection against such an explanation is the masculine sex of the camel; one would expect *uṭi*.

śatade (82 o 1. 94 r 1[?], 24, 29, 35, 43. 342 oA 2, 3. 701 rA 1. B 2. C 4. D 1, 7. F 1. G 4. oA 1. C 1. E 1) or *śadade* (115 oA 1. C 1. E 1. G 1. I [1]. L 1. 132 rA 1. B 1. C 1. D 1. E 1. F 1. G 1. oA 1. B 1. C 1. D 1. E 1. F 1. G 1. 342 oA 4. 650 rA 1. B 1. C 1. D 1. E 1. F 1), the termination of which points to an ablative. The locative *śatammi* is found 46 Cr 2, 3. 73 oC 1. 74 oA 1. B 1, 4. rA 1. B 4. rA 1. B 4. 76 oA 2, 3-8. 92 o 1, 1, 1. 169 rA 1. B 1. C 1. oA 2. B 1. C 1. D 1. E 1. 342 oA 1, 5, 6. C 1, 2, or in the form *śadami* (41 o 1[2×], 2 [3×], 3. r 1. 168 o 2. 170 r 1. 173 oA 1-7. 174 oA 1. 185 oA 1. B 1. C 1. D 1. 221 o 1. 268 r 1. 299 o 1. 313 o B 1). The columns are mostly headed by a personal name in the genitive and *śatade* (*śadade*), after, i.e. beneath that, follows a list of persons and their propriety of camels. In 132 the list is introduced by the date (year 30, month 9, day 5) and by *ma[siṃ]na uṭaṃ[naṃ] lihitavya*. *masiṃna* occurs 374 o 2 as locative: *masinaṃmi samvatsari palpi cimditaḡa*, and 589 Cr 4 f., where the text runs: *taha adha muli Lpipimtsae giḡa adha muli maṡina yatma Cigitoryena giḡa*. That seems to be: "half of the price received Lpipimtsā and half of the price 'of the whole amount' received the yatma Cigitoṡa." In 374 the *tuḡuḡa* Sudarśana and the *yatma* Acoṡa are told to consider the annual taxes from the *kilmeciṡa* and from the *raja*¹; *masinaṃmi*, i.e. they may specify the two items "within the whole amount". If this is correct,² the headline in 132 means "document regarding the whole amount of camels" on the date specified. The single *śata* (*śada*) is in the hands of an individual, under whom are people possessing one camel. In 94 again a list is given where from the *śata* (*śatade*) the amount of corn and the camels of individuals are specified. 115 offers a register of animals in different *śadas*; 650 and 701 the names of persons are enlisted. 169 has this headline: "In the year 26 of the regnal period of his exalted majesty, of the devaputra Jitugha Mayiri, in the 10th month, the people have been made to measure their *śuki masu*"³; the following is a list of the measured *khi*'s of individuals, each belonging to a *śata* of persons; some of them, Goṡhaka, Lpīpta, Raṡena are on the head

¹ On *kilmeci* and *raja*, cf. Thomas, *AO*, xiii, 63, resp. 45 f.

² *masina-* may be connected with Iran. *masan-* (Bartholomae, *Altiran. Wörterb.*, 1154), the adjective derived from the noun in *masan-* by haplology instead of **masanan-*? Bartholomae refers to *varmin-*, *nāmin-*, and Whitney, § 1230c. *masina-* could be explained as *a-*stem or compared with the many proper names with suffix *-ina*, cf. Thomas, *Festgabe Jacobi*, 62 f.

³ Cf. Lüders, *SPAW*, 1933, 1001; Thomas, *AO*, xiii, 60, 2, and Burrow, *BSOS*, vii, 510 f., accept the meaning "wine".

of more than one *śata*, as it seems. Such a registration is contained in 180 where the royal camels are counted. With the suggested sense¹ of *śata*, measure of land, the long list of *ra[ḥam]na jamna* "guards" in 701 is hardly reconcilable; in 650 r *śadade* seems to range with *pradejami*, no doubt corresponding to Skt. *pradeśe*, an administrative unit. That sense may fit *śata* (*śada*) and also the analogical term *daśa*. 170 r 1 (cf. Fragment o 1) *śadami* occurs; Kapṛgeya is on the top of it, under him there are two *daśavida*, one has to collect 12 *khi* of *masu*, the other 11 *khi*; oA 1 mentions: *aṣidha* (*ca-*, *vaṃ-*) *neya daśammi śeṣa*, also under that *daśa* persons and the amount of *khi* are enumerated; further, 341 seems to mention the name of a *daśa* in Piṣaliya.² In Niya, therefore, existed some administrative and fiscal units, *pradeśa*, *śata*, and *daśa*, corresponding to similar institutions in India. Then the titles of the heads of these units are preserved in the NI. The Index explains s.v. *śadavita* "denom. of *śabda*" in 159, 247, 683. From the phonology of the language in the NI it is obvious that there can be hardly any difference between *taśavita* (α τ α ξ λ ε γ ό μ ε ν ο ν) and *daśavita* which appears also as *daśavida*, these two forms once occurring in the same inscription 204; thus *śatavita* in 683 may be only a clerical peculiarity.

To start with the inscriptions where *śadavita* is alleged to have the sense of a denominative of *śabda*: 159 r 1-3 reads:—

adehi tusya mahatvana paride na kimci śrunammi udiṣa. ahuno śadavita Kolpiṣasya hastammi vacari 2 prahidemi. eka Sachammi picavidavo bitī Caḍotammi giṇnidavo . . .

"Since then I hear nothing from Your Excellency with regard (to that). Now I dispatched in hand of *śadavita* K. two *vacari*.³ One has to be delivered in Sacha, the second is to be received in Caḍota (i.e. Niya)". 247 o 3 f.: *masu ahuno avaśa śadavita Suḡataṣa hastammi prahadavo, masu* has at all events to be delivered in hand of a *śadavita* S., sealed it has to be delivered, adds the text (*mumtritaḡa prahadavo*), specifying also the seal. 683 o 1 opens with: *śatavita patrana goma gi[ta] . . .*, as in the other lines a list of *goma* (cow-dung?), small cattle, and grain of seed or barley is given. 86 o 4 says: *avaśa pratu śadavida Kārsenade* (-sa?) *traṃghadhā[re] yo pravaṃnaḡa iṣa gaṃdavo*, at all events the *śadavida* from Kārsena who is able for

¹ Thomas, *NI Index*, s.v. *śatade*, p. 371.

² Thomas, *Festgabe Jacobi*, 48, suggests it to be Pīalma.

³ Cf. Thomas, *AO*, xiii, 56 f.

holding the office¹ early² has to go hither. Putting aside 422 o 9, though also here *śatavida* is followed by a personal name, in 436 Uo 2 the text runs: *astī manuśa śadavita maṣḍhiḡe sacici* . . . ; it looks as if *śadavita* would be "a man called Maṣḍhiḡe"; but Sacici is a proper name as in 573 Uo 2, Maṣḍhiḡe his *padrone* who is mentioned further on Uo 3. Cr 1 f., cf. the parallelism in Uo 2-3: *śamaśena karcikaśa ca manuśa rutrayaśa*. 482 Uo 2 relates of the complaint of Śakā: *yatha eḍaśa kilmeyammi molpina bhuma ladhaye śadavita karsenaśa achimnamti na oḷemti kṛiṣamṇaye tade vṛcā chimnamti vikrinamti* . . . It is evident that the subject of the plural *achimnamti* and *oḷemti* are the two persons, the *śadavita* and the *karsenaśa*, sc. "that the *śadavita* and *karsenaśa* do not take care³ for obtaining land on his (Śaka's) farm Molpina, that they do not deliver it (to him) for tilling, further, that they cut trees and sell (them)"; it is not right, continues the inscription, that some take away the property⁴ of others and sell it. As the *karsenaśa* is some official, occurring many times in the NI, the *śadavita* must be also the holder of some office; noteworthy is the connection of that suggested officer with land- or estate-affairs. In 715 o 4 f. it is said: *purathida mahatvana te bhumaṃmi śadavita Ricikḡaśa eśvari huda vavaṃṇae kiṣivamṇae amna prahuḍa deyaṃṇae* "by Your Excellency (lit. in the presence of Y. E.) the *śadavita* R. has been granted the right on your land to sow and to plough and to give others a present".⁵ It must suffice to refer to the many instances where the *śatavita* N.N. occurs with other officials like *cojhbo*, *guśura* as witness: 569 Uo 7, 8. 580 Uo 5, 6. 586 Uo 6, 7. 587 Uo 7 (with a *śoṭhamḡha*). 590 Uo 8. 637 o 8. 648 o 7 (after a *śoṭhamḡha*). 654 Uo 8-9 (*śadavi[da]* *Moḡata sa[ḥḡi]*). 656 Uo 5

¹ *tramḡha*, see Burrow, *BSOS*, vii, 509 f.

² Literally "to-morrow", Skt. *prātaḥ*: *pratu* (= *prata* 361, 499), as *punaḥ*: *punu* (*puna*), or *purataḥ*: *puradu*; -u represents also Skt. -am in *likhidu*, *BSOS*, vi, 455; cf. *dhitu*, *pitu*, *matu*.

³ *āchid* means "take away" as to be seen clearly from 719 o 2; but here, where in line Uo 3 *chimnamti* is used, perhaps the meaning "not care" is appropriate. *acchindati* in Pāli has not this meaning, but see *P.W.*, s.v. 5.

⁴ *tanu*, *tanuḡa*, *tanuḡa* being adjectives, see Noble, *BSOS*, vi, 450 f.

⁵ Though it is uncertain to conclude something from the order of words about the relative rank of the *karsenaśa* and *śatavita* (contrast 482 Uo 2, 4 with 590 Uo 8), in the year 17 of king Jitughā Amḡuvaka, the mentioned Ricikḡa is a *karsenaśa*, and in the year 24 of the same king a *śadavita* (590 Uo 8. 715 o 4-5), if the two namesakes are identical. Is *karsenaśa* = Skt. *karṣanapa*? But the stem is *kṛiṣi*, though 511 o 5 shows *malāprakarṣena* against *malāprakarṣana* in line 4. The control of tilling and the *kilme*-institution reminds the reader of the rules of bestowing land to tax-payers in the first chapter of the second book in Kauṭ. Arthaś (*Janapadaniveśa*).

(*śadavida* Ya[p]juaṣa putra Śa . . . ḡaṣa sačhi). That *śadavita* has nothing to do with a denominative of *śabda*, corresponding to a Skt. *śabdita* in the sense of "called", can be shown by the many passages in which *nama* is used, e.g. 11 Uo 2. 28 o 2. 39 Uo 2. 49 Uo 3 (*sačhi Suḡi nama Praṅga nama*). 415 Uo 6. 418 o 5. 422 o 2, 3 (five times; in the same inscription occurs *śatavida* in line 9, see above p. 769). 590 Uo 1, 2 (line 8: *śadavida*). 719 o 2.

It seems logical to explain *daśavida* in an analogous sense (41 o 1-3. r 1. 65 oA 2. C 1, 2. 66 oA 1-3. 80 rA 1. 93 o below B. 105 oA 5. E 3. 115 oD 6 under GH. K 6. 118 oD 2). That there can be no difference in the meaning between *daśavida* and *daśavita* shows 204 where o 3 the latter, r D 2 the former word is found; this and the sense of the word, denoting some official, or at least somebody in charge of a duty, becomes clear by 477:—

- o 1 *saṃvatsare 4 4 1 maṣe 10 1 tiva[ṣe 3] purat̥ha cojhbo Lpipe . jetha*
 2 *yapḡu eṣa aṃna saṃghalidavo*
 3 *śramamaṃna Močhaṣenaṣa dadavo*
 r 1 *daśavite Jivadeyu Kalyanadhaṃaṣa ca aṃna [mili]ma 2 khi 10 2*
 2 *daśavite Yo[nu U]vaṣenaṣa ca milima 1 khi 2*
 3 *daśavite Rutrapala(kaṣa) Rutraṣenaṣa ca aṃna milima 3*
 4 *jetha yapḡu*

"In the year 9, month 11, on the 3rd day from the *cojhbo* Lpipe[ya ?] to the *jetha yapḡu*: the corn here has to be gathered and to be given to the Śramaṇa Mokṣasena. (r) The *daśavitas* Jivadeyu and Kalyanadhaṃa (have gathered) corn (to the amount of) milima 2, khi 12; the *d.* Yonu and Uvaṣena (Upasena) corn milima 2, khi 2; the *d.* Rutrapala and Rutrasena corn milima 3. *jetha yapḡu*." ¹

The *cojhbo* gives his order to the *jetha yapḡu* to collect corn for a monk, the *yapḡu*, as can be suggested, passes the order on to his subordinates, the *daśavitas*, if they are immediately under him; ² twice is followed by two personal names. Six *daśavitas* occur in the report of their collection and its amount is endorsed by the *yapḡu*'s signature. For the present question it is obvious that the plural *daśavite* is in accordance with two individuals in each line. It is the same grammatical situation as in 580 Uo 5 and 6, where *śadavide*

¹ Also a *cojhbo* is called *jetha* 120 r 1.

² One would expect at least the *śatavita*; the rank and file may be ascertained from 470, where the great king gives his orders to the *cojhbo* and *tonga*, then it is passed on to the *yapḡu*. The *daśavita* has to do with collection and registration of cattle and corn, etc. (cf. 148).

104 o 1, 2 with the closing formula: *ede jamna milima 4 1 khi 10 4 1*, apparently the quantity of corn which has been gathered from the people of these six *daśavitas*. Two of them acknowledge the quantity of corn, from eighteen men collected (108); 129 two *daśavitas* appear beneath a group of men, under columns A and B the vestiges give: *daśa[vi]da bhita jamna 10 4 1*, the *d. Bhita*. has fifteen men, his colleague Samghadhana also fifteen, Kunḡeya only eleven. The title is found 146 o A 2, 3. B 1, 3a, 4a. rA 1, 2. 148 r. 191 o 2a; 204 o 3 a *preṣi* of a *daśavita* is mentioned (cf. rD 2). In 205 eleven proper names are to be read, beneath: *daśavita Tamjaka 10*, beneath *gaṃ*, explained in the Index as an abbreviation for *gaṃnana*, the number of people here comes to eleven, by subtracting a *Tamjaka* in A 3 to 10, therefore the number 10 is given apparently with added *gaṃ*. A similar case is found 237 in which document altogether the names of twelve persons are given, then follows "to left of columns" (n. 10): *daśavita Malpiḡeya yima¹ jamna (= ime janāḥ) 10*; again 609 shows eleven names, the last line runs: *daśavida Jivaračhi jamna 10 2*, so that the *daśavida Jivarakṣin* has included himself in the sum of 12; one namesake of him is mentioned C 2, subtracting these two, the actual number would be 10; on r stands: *kiṃna atra na eṣati triṣa prahare 12 10 vito paśu 1* "who does not come there (will get) 30 strokes (and give) one piece of *vita* small cattle".² The same name *Jivaračhi* is found in 610 rD 1, behind it *taśavita*, undoubtedly another writing for *daśavita*, perhaps also the same man of 609. To return once more to 41, on r 1 the text runs:—

Apemnaṣa pradeṣami Aviyo daśavida uta 2 Pḡitaṣa śadami uta 3 daśavida Socara.

It looks as if in *Apemna's* *pradeṣa* there were *śada's* and *daśavida's*. Lines 1 and 2 on the Obverse show that the latter stood under the official of a *śada* (e.g. *Maṣḍhiḡeyaṣa śadami daśavida Vuḡeya uta 2*) and, on the other hand, also under the official of a *pradeja* (e.g. o 3 and above r 1, where *Aviyo* is a proper name). It is true, the NI do not offer the title of the official on the head of the *pradeja*, that may be due to the circumstance that there existed only one officer in that unit, but many *śadavida's* and *daśavida's*, or, the *pradeja* was named after some person, the name of which is given in the

¹ That reading according to the Corrections, p. 289.

² *vita* occurs many times with *aśpa*, *go*, *paśu*; does it mean "breeding" in contrast to the *vyala uta* in 341, 420?

preceding genitive, well-known among the official world. It is interesting to see that some of the names, connected with a *pradeśa*, appear as proper names of *tomghas*, *cojhbos*, *vuryaśas*, *apsus* like Apemna (*tomgha*, 72, 82, 123), Lustu (*cojhbo*, 327, 579. *vurcuga* 277), Vuru (*apsu* 195. *vuryaśa* 569), Vukto (*togha* 436. *cojhbo* 407). These units, *pradeśa*, *śada*, *daśa*, and their respective heads remind the reader of the corresponding administrative and fiscal units in *Manu*, vii, 116 ff., with his *śateśa*, *daśeśa* and similar titles; nor is *pradeśa* and its official, the *pradeśika*, unknown,¹ one epigraphical instance shows *desādhikata* (Skt. *deśādhikṛta*).²

Even the *śata* occurs in inscriptions: in the Hūli Inscriptions of Vikramāditya vi, Śaka 1019 = A.D. 1097,³ in an inscription with dates between 1104 and 1224,⁴ and of Bijjala, Śaka 1084 = A.D. 1162,⁵ in connection with boundaries of granted land. It is called "on the east, the *śata* of the waste-land at Kattiyagēri" (p. 189), or "on the north-east, the *śata* of K., on the west the *śata* of Raviyaṇi" (p. 196, also p. 218, *Ep. Ind.*, xviii). It seems more probable to take *śata* in the meaning of an unit of administration and revenue than in that of a "land-measure" (*Ep. Ind.*, xviii, Index s.v.)⁶; well-known are the units of villages ranging till ten-thousands, in South Indian inscriptions.⁷ But it is not correct to say⁸ that "the North Indian inscriptions do not refer to the grouping of villages into ten, one hundred, and so on"; at least, in the Khālimpur Plate Inscription of Dharmapāladeva⁹ among other officials are mentioned *dāśagrāmikādiviṣayavyāvahārīṇaḥ*. If that suggested interpretation of the terms *daśavita* and *śatavita* as official titles, resp. *daśa* and *śata* as their local district for 10, resp. 100 households (or villages) is correct, then it is not surprising when the *sahasrapati* of *Manu*, vii, 117, corresponds to the

¹ Cf. *Archiv. Orient.*, vi, 32 f.

² Cf. Lüders's List, No. 1200.

³ *Ep. Ind.*, xviii, p. 156, line 52 f.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 192, line 44; p. 193, line 47.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 216, line 41.

⁶ The reference to Sir Aurel Stein's *Serindia*, i, 65 (in the Index of the *NI* s.v. *śatade*, p. 371) for the sense "measure of land" is not correct; the passage runs: "Thus Colonel Trotter, who visited Wakhān with a section of the Yārkand Mission in 1874, distinctly notes that 'Wakhān formerly contained three "Sads" or hundreds, i.e. districts, containing a hundred houses each'." This corresponds well to the *śata* of the *NI*.

⁷ Kishori Mohan Gupta, *The Land System in South India*, Lahore, 1933, 268 f., 275 ff.

⁸ As Mr. Gupta does, p. 271.

⁹ *Ep. Ind.*, iv, p. 250, line 47. Bhandarkar's List, *ibid.*, xx, App., p. 223, No. 1610. Date about A.D. 810, cf. Smith, *Early History*, 4th ed., p. 413 f.

tomg(h)a whom Professor Thomas¹ explains as Tibetan *ston-dpon*, commandant of a Thousand (*ston*)-district; there existed, according to Tibetan documents,² also a civilian officer of a "Ten Thousand"-district (*khri-dpon*).

Finally, the chronological and etymological side of the question may be touched; the Indian terms *pradeśa*, *daśeśa*, *śateśa* are found in *Manu*, in inscriptions before and about the beginning of the ninth century A.D.; on the other hand, Professor Thomas³ has remarked in connection with "the use of an Indian language for administrative purposes and . . . the adoption of an Indian administrative system" that "we can hardly assign to the beginning of the period represented by the Kharoṣṭhī documents a date earlier than the third century A.D." For the etymology of *daśavita* and *śatavita* there can be no doubt that the first part is Skt. *daśa*-, resp. *śata*-. The second part, *-vita*, appears in the passive participles perf. of causatives; but that seems to be out of the question here. If *-vita* is not to be explained as an *a*-stem of Skt. *vid*-, it may represent Skt. *-arpita*, as *praty-arpita* becomes *pic-avid-a* (cf. *picavidavo*); or, *daśavita* (*-da*), *śatavita* (*-da*) could correspond to a Skt. **daśāpṛta*-, **śatāpṛta*.

That *śada* represents also the numeral for "hundred" (*śata*) is to be seen from 133 o 2. 348 Uo 6. 415 Cr 5. 589 Cr 3, where it is found in the phrase *varṣaśada* (or *baho śadani* in 133), 677 Cr 3 as *varṣaśata*. A puzzling passage is 514 o 3; here *śadavidavya bramanna* seems to be "one to be called a Brāhmaṇa", but 12 occurs *śabdha*, so that a derivation of it is hardly possible. Perhaps *śadavidavya* is to be taken as **śraddhāpayitavya*, Pāli *saddahitabba*, *saddhāyitabba*, whereby the causative-suffix *-pay-* is contracted into *v*, as *viññāpayitavya* becomes in the NI *vi(m)ñavidavya* from *vi(m)ñāceti* = *viññāpayati*.

In the same text 514 o 1 occurs the plural *śātāni*, *śadani* in 133 o 2, but without the plural-termination 149 o 2; the noun to which the numeral belongs does not show any inflection. In compounds *śata* (*śada*) forms the first or second part of them; °*śatayu*°, 107 o 1, *varṣaśatayu* 140 Uo 1. 206 Uo 1-2. 305 o 1. 247 o 1. 646 Uo 1-2 (*varṣaśatāyu*-). The same compound shows inflected forms, like the locative (*varṣaśadami*, 348 Uo 6), 415 Cr 5. 677 Cr 3 (°*śatammi*).

110. The additive numeral for "hundred and ten" is expressed by *daśutara* (= *daśottara*) *śata* 345 Uo 10 (2 ×). 11.

¹ AO, xiii, 53.

² JRAS, 1933, p. 550; 1934, p. 97; on taxes and other officials concerned with administration and tax-surveying, cf. *ibid.*, 1934, pp. 99 f., 104 f., 272 ff.

³ AO, xiii, 49.

1,000. For "thousand" *sahasra* is used, irrespective of one or many thousand (149 o 2. 500 o 3. 661 o 3). The plural, *sahasrāṇi* is found, apart from the compound *bahukoḍiśata*¹, in a poem with many Sanskrit forms 514 o 1. Like *-śata-* also *-sahasra-* appears in the formula *varṣasahasrami yava jivo* in the locative (419 Cr 4. 579 Cr 5. 581 Cr 4-5). In the mostly Sanskrit text 511 r 3 *sahasrāccha* is found.¹

Numerals over thousand are expressed in *śatasahasra-* by multiplication, preceded by *koṭi* (*koḍi*)— "ten millions", and enhanced by *bahu-*, so that the whole expression runs as *bahukoḍiśatasahasrami* in 164 o 3. 206 Uo 4. 249 o 4 (*koṭi*). 646 Uo 3-4 (mistakenly written: *sahasrahani*). 696 o 3. The adjective *aprameyo* (*apramego*) following after that extends the good wishes to the infinite (e.g. 206 Uo 4. 646 Uo 3-4).²

B. ORDINALIA

1. "First" is written in many forms of Skt. *prathama*; as such it is found 220 o 1. 436 Uo 1 (*maṣe prathamē*). 291 o 5 (locat. *-e*).³ With unaspirated dental (*pratame*) 209 o 1, with media 575 Uo 1 (*pradame*), a Prākṛit form *padama* seems to be 83 Uo 3; the femin. with tenuis cerebral appears in *paṭami muli* 437 Uo 8, and with media cerebral 434 Uo 4, where the locative *paḍama saṃvatsarammi* in the Prākṛit of the NI shows the uninflected form as in *prathama divaṣa* 376 o 3. In many inscriptions *prathama* is used as adverb in the sense of "Firstly, first of all" (140 Uo 3. 164 o 3. 247 o 2. 390 o 4: *pratama*. 399 o 2: *prathamma*); this form must be taken as the accus. neutr.: the comparative *prathamadaro* would be Skt. **prathamatarām* or **tarataḥ*, used in the sense of the positive 165 o 2 and apparently 341 o 4. In the text 511, strongly influenced by Sanskrit, o 3 occurs the genit. plur. *prathamana* (*prathamānām śrāvakānām* may be intended).⁴

2. From the cardinal *dvi* the ordinal *dviti* = *dvīṭiya* is regular and found (with *vara*) 45 Uo 3. 262 Uo 2. 550 o 3 (with *ga[na]* = *guṇa*?). *duvi* in 431 Uo 3. 432 r 2 is used as an ordinal without termination, being a locative (*saṃvatsarammi*), while 703 r 2 it is a cardinal. In most of the NI the stem *bi-* < *dvi*⁵ is used. *biti*, irrespective of

¹ For the *tommi*, cf. Thomas, *AO*, xiii, 53.

² Cf. Thomas, *AO*, xii, 63 ff.

³ Cf. Thomas, *AO*, xiii, 60.

⁴ Professor Lüders (*SPAW*, 1933, 999) believes *prathanyana* (*-nā*) in 565 r 1 to be a remarkable clerical slip for *prathama*; should it not correspond rather to Skt. *prādhānyānām*?

⁵ Cf. Pischel, *Pkt. Gr.*, § 300.

gender, occurs 7 Uo 2. 56 Uo 3 (with *aro* = *vara*). 58 r 1 (with *vara*). 140 Uo 6. 159 r 3. 198 o 2. 297 Cr 2. 305 o 6 (*varṣami*, locat.). 331 Uo 7. 359 r 1. 376 o 1. 437 Cr 5 (*vara*). As *bhiti* it is found 78 oC 6. 120 o 1 (*vara*). 123 o 2 (*aja bh. divasaṃ hoda* = *adya dvitīyo divaso bhūtaḥ*). 348 Uo 4. 419 Uo 2. Cr 4. 422 o 3. 425 Cr 3 (*vara*). 505 o 3. 571 Cr 4 (*vara*). 581 Uo 2. Of the fuller form the oblique cases occur like the genitive *bitiyāsa* (187 o 8. 709 Cr 4), *bhitiyāsa* (425 Uo 5); or direct from *bhiti*- as *bhūtiṣa* in the same text 425 Cr 6. The instrumental of *biti* is *bitiyena* (574 Cr 3), probably from *bitiya*-, as the genit. plur. *bhitiyana* is found 577 Co 2-3. Uo 6. For the idiomatic use of the asyndetic *eka b(h)iti*- Iranian influence has been suggested.¹ Thereby the latter ordinal can be inflected only, as in 187 o 8. 425 Uo 5. Cr 6. 574 Cr 3. 709 Cr 4 before *vaṃti* (c. genit.: *eka bhitiyāsa vaṃti*) or *śadha* (c. instr.: *eka bhitiyena śadha*), not so in 348 Uo 4. 709 Uo 6. 732 Uo 5. The sense may be "one or the second", or "one of the two", as the phrase *eka bhitiyana vaṃti* 577 Uo 6 makes probable.

3. In the same way as *dvi-ti*, *b(h)i-ti* for "third" *tri-ti* is formed 7 Uo 2. 247 o 3 (nomin.). 376 o 2 (neutr.: *karya*); the same form as locative appears 9 Uo 3. 305 o 6. 376 o 3. With *vara* 45 Uo 3. 105 oE 1. 211 r 4 *triti* is used absolutely "for the third time", while in the next line *triti bhagade eka bhaga* corresponds to *trītyād bhāgād ekaṃ bhāgam*.

4. *caturtha* is "fourth" 119 o 5. 714 o 6 (locat.: *masaṃmi*). 180 o B 3.² 182 o 3. 226 o 3 (ablat.: *varṣade*). 329 o 5 (genit.: *maṣasya*) 376 o 4 (nomin. neutr.). 377 r 4-5 (*caturta*). 450 o 3-4. 567 Uo 2, in these latter three instances being the nominative in the phrase: c. *varṣa huda* "it is the fourth year".

5. "Fifth" is *pañcama* (162 Cr 2); in 329 o 5 *pañcami* is a locative as to be seen from the following *sasteyammi*,³ "on the fifth day", which appears as *pañcamiyammi* 663 o 4, while the word for "day" is omitted.

6. *ṣodha(m)ma* (with *maṣe* 110 o init.; with *maṣasya* 637 o 1) for "sixth" must be explained as an analogous formation from *ṣo* as the following ordinals for "seventh" and "eighth", with softening

¹ Burrow, *BSOS*, vii, 790, who suggests "one another".

² Though the "fourth" entry really comes in the next line B 3, the first and second stand in A 4 and 5. The same occurs in 105 oE 1: *aṃna triti vara Kaṃcakaṣa muli* 4, because the same man is mentioned D 2 and 4.

³ For this reading, see Corrections, p. 290, and for the meaning of *saste*, cf. Sten Konow, *CII*, ii, 1, p. 152, and Burrow, *BSOS*, vii, 515, 783.

and aspiration of the tenuis dental there, corresponding to Skt. *ṣaṣṭhā-*.

7. For Skt. *saptamā-* the NI offer 368 o 4 *sataṃma* (with *maṣasya*).

8. The cerebralization in Skt. *aṣṭamā-* is maintained in *aṭhama* (*divaṣa*) 144 Uo 2, as in Prākṛit *aṭṭhama* and in the Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions of N.W. India.

9. "Ninth" is *navamā* (*maṣami* 500 o 3. *masasya* 663 o 4).

10. As in Skt. "tenth" is *daśama* (*varṣa* 550 o 2), the locative of which is uninflected in the passage 539 o 3: *śa[rataṃ]mi daśama masammi*; therefore, though it is not a deciding proof, *daśammi* 341 o 3 may be the locative of *daśa-*, a word corresponding to *śata-*, both being administrative and fiscal units. On the other hand, *dhaśammi*¹ *masammi* 401 Uo 5 offers a locative, which may be a clerical peculiarity, but also intentionally to avoid a confusion with *daśami* "in the *daśa*".

11. For "eleventh" occurs *ekadaśi* (*masasya*) 341 o 3.

12. As *dvi-* becomes *bi-*, so to Skt. *dvādaśā* corresponds in the NI *badaśi* (*masasya*) in 599 r 1 (cf. above Card. 12: *badaśa*).

15. The next word in 599 r 1 is *pañcadaśammi* which on account of the preceding *badaśi maṣasya* can be nothing else but "on the fifteenth day"; the same wording is met in 368 o 4 *sataṃma-maṣasya pañcadaśami* (15th day of the 7th month). *-daśa(m)mi* must be a locative which is found also in the Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions of N.W. India (cf. *CII*, ii, 1, p. cxiii), being the pronominal termination of Skt. *-asmin*. The correct form of *daśa* to be expected would be *daśama(m)mi*, so that *daśa(m)mi* must be explained as analogy to the ten-numeral composed with the numerals below ten. *ekadaśi*² and *badaśi*, both with following *maṣasya*, look like feminines, but are probably locatives with a debilitated termination *-e > i*, due to the accent on the long quantity of the ending vowel of the first part in the compound.

18. Accordingly in a date, of which only *masasya* is left, *aṭha-daśami* (354 o 2) must be "on the eighteenth (day)".

¹ Comparing (M. A. Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, ii, plate civ) the form of *śa* in line 1 (*iśa*) and of *ya* in line 2 (*khaṇiyammi*) there is no doubt that the reading adopted in the text is correct.

² Cf. *CII*, ii, 1, p. 22; *śodaśe*; *pañcadaśe* (pp. 65, 79). But it is doubtful whether *pañcami*, p. 119, is a pronominal termination, or influenced by such one, as Sten Konow supposes (pp. cxiii and 119); *pañcame* is regular, *ibid.*, p. 28, line 1. No doubt, local peculiarities of the dialect must be taken into consideration, as in *NI*, 661, for the change of *a > i*, or *i > e* see Noble, *BSOS*, vi, 453, and for the use of cases, p. 451 f.

C. ADJECTIVA

The compound adjectives with *-guṇa* as the second part are found in asyndetic connection with *dvi-* (142 r 1) and *tri-* (283 o 2. 351 o 2. 387 o 2. 676 Uo 4) in the meaning "two-, three-fold", especially in the formula that the duty is to be kept two- and threefold according to the order, even at the sacrifice of the life.¹ For *dviti triti ga[na]* in 550 o 3 cf. above, p. 774. *dvaya* "double" occurs 100 r 5, perhaps *traya* (or *treya*?) "triple" r 3.

D. ADVERBIA

ITERATIVA. These are formed by *-vara* which is found with cardinalia as well as with ordinalia in disjunctive sense: *dvivara trevara* (72 r init.) or *dvi trevara* (634 o 2); *tvī trevara* (719 o 2). *pañca ṣovara* literally "five or six times", but the context requires "for the fifth and sixth time" (*evaṃ ca likhami paśava karamṇa p. ṣ. lekha viṣarjemi* "and thus I write with regard to the small cattle, for the fifth or sixth time I am sending a note"). For ordinalia with *vara* may be quoted: *dviti triti vara* "for the second and third time" (45 Uo 3), *biti vara* (56 Uo 3. 58 o 1. 437 Cr 5), *bhiti vara* (120 o 1. 425 Cr 3. 571 Cr 4), *dviti vara* (262 Uo 2), *triti vara* (436 Uo 5); also *bahu vara* "many times" occurs 358 o 8. *varaya* in *ekav. bhuya* (371 r 3)² "once more" is Skt. *ekavārakam*, *ekavara* 534 oB 4 must probably be separated from *ekavaraya* and *dvivara* or *prathame va[re]*³ in 291 o 3, 5. The former inscription contains an inventory (534 oA ff.): [*yo ma*]hi *thavitaḡa huati* (oA 1) which may be "what is to be set up for me", this introductory line is followed by a list of objects with signs of numerals, e.g. *gumoca*⁴ 3, *puṣhama*⁵ 1, *dhamṇu kaḡa*

¹ Thomas, *AO*, xii, 44 f., n. 7; Burrow, *BSOS*, vii, 512. *anada* may be an equivalent for *ājñāpitam*, formally it is *ājñaptam*, cf. *anatena*; but it could be explained also as *ajñā-taḡ*, cf. *ava* 39 Uo 4. 492 Uo 3.

² See Burrow, *BSOS*, vii, 787. *ko pi varaḡa* is, according to Burrow, i.e., *ko pīvaraḡa* "fat", cf. Thomas, *AO*, xiii, 61. In 667 r 5 *varaḡa* is not clear, and seems to have the same sense as *varayaṃ* in 206 Cr 7, where it may correspond to Skt. *varāya*, as the next sentence *ma mahi toḡa kariḡyatu* makes likely.

³ See Burrow, i.e.; Thomas, *AO*, xiii, 60.

⁴ Should it be *guma(m)ca* = *kumbhāḡ*?

⁵ It would correspond to Skt. **puṣhama* which seems to be unknown. In modern East Turkestan exists the word *boḡūma* "knot, bundle", according to Radloff, *Versuch eines Wörterbuchs der Türk-Dialekte, qazag boyḡama*. "1, Kleiner Teppich, 2, Gepäckstück aus Wolle," čagat. *boyḡama* "Packtuch", s. Menges, *SPAW*, 1933, 1272, s.v. Perhaps connected with that is *pōtsh* (*pochu*) "long nightgown-like garment worn by Kāshmiris, when made of cotton cloth is called *pōtsh*", Sir G. A. Grierson, *Dictionary of the Kāshmiri Language*, p. 808.

(bow and arrows), bamboos, knives,¹ silk,² carpets,³ felt rugs,⁴ ropes,⁵ brass cups⁶; in B 4 appear *pothi ekavara* 4 4. In 17 Uo 2-3 *caṃa pothi* is found which may be "skin-garments",⁷ thus *pothi ekavara* would mean "garments made of one piece of cloth".⁸ This cannot be applied to *eka vara* and *dui vara* in 291 o 3, 5; the meaning "part" is not likely on account of line 4 (*dui bhaḡa—eka bhaḡa*). The context shows some resemblance to 272 o 6; in both texts *Kuṽana* and *yatma Parkutena* (in 291: *Porkota*, apparently the same official's proper name) are mentioned. Further, the reading *eka varaya* is impossible, because it would not be in accordance with *dui vara*, then *ya* (= *yā*) corresponds to *sā amna* and relates to *amna* in line 3 (cf. *yo amna . . . sa amna* in 100 r 6 and o 1, 2, being the singular), and denotes the plural, indicated by the passive *aniṣyaṃti* (active: *anītaṃti*). The inscription seems to bring the opinion, i.e. decision of the great king (*ciṃḍiti* [thus to read, see Correct., p. 290] *huati*) *ekavāram* = *prathamam vāram* "once" in the sense of "firstly", about the corn "which will be brought into Kuṽana",⁹ then *dui vara* = *dviti vara* = Skt. *dvitīyam vāram* "second time" in the sense of "secondly" about the gathering of fifteen camel-loads of *masu* in Piṣaliya.¹⁰

E. VARIOUS

For distributive expressions no adverbial formations are used, but the reiterated cardinal as amreḍita-compounds: *ekameka* (above p. 763); *tre tre (milima)* 291 o 4.

Pronominal adjectives are: *ekadara* (307 o 7); Skt. *pratyeka*

¹ *krataḡa* may be Skt. *kṛtayaḡa*, a weapon like knife or dagger.

² *koḡava* = Skt. *kaṡeya*, Thomas, *AO*, xii, 54.

³ *tavataḡa*, Burrow, *BSOS*, vii, 512.

⁴ M. A. Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, 367; Burrow, l.c., 510.

⁵ *raju*.

⁶ *kaṡsiya*, in note 4, -*aki*.

⁷ Thomas, *AO*, xiii, 78; for *potri*, cf. J. J. Meyer, *Arthasā.* trs., p. 656, note 1 (*Arthasā.*, xiv, 3, 178).

⁸ *poṡa* according to *Halāyudha Abhidh.*, ii, 393 (not *pota*, as *PW*, s.v. 3, says, only *Medini* has that form and *Aufrecht's Glossary*, p. 276, in his ed. of *Halāy.*) is "cloth"; *varaka* again is explained (*PW*, s.v. 1) as *potācchādana* "cloak, stuff, tent".

⁹ Cf. Thomas, *AO*, xii, 61, 5, but here it looks like a place-name as in 272 o 6, 7, the locative of which is regular *Kuṽaniyaṃmi* against the locative of the term *khūān-emci* (489 r 2).

¹⁰ For the use of the cardinal with *vara* instead the ordinal see above; that the enumeration of items in a (royal ?) document was used can be seen from the fragmentary text 376 where is found *biti*, *triti*, *cathurtha karya* (o 1, 2, 4).

appears as *pajeka* 349 o 8 and as *paḍeka* 431 Uo 1. 432 Uo 2 (-*ekaṃ*). *aḍha* in 589 Cr 4, 5 and *adha* in 169 oE 3 represent Skt. *ardha*.

Fractions are expressed by *bhaga* or *bhaḡa* (154 oA 3. 211 r 5: *triti bhagade eka bhaga*. 291 o 4: *dui bhaḡa—eka bhaḡa*. Cf. *samabhaga* 528 Cr 1; *sarvabhaga* 18 o 2) and by *pata* (*pāta*) or *pada*, corresponding to Skt. *pāda* "fourth part".¹ 21 Uo 2: *dui pata ... [du] ...*; 71 Cr 1: *dui pada ... dui pada*; 676 Uo 5: *eka pāta ... tre pāta*.

¹ So already Thomas, *AO*, xiii, 78. In 83 Cr 6 *bijī pata* it is "part" (*bijī pādah*) as probably in 152 Cr 4; 666 o 2-3 and 669 o 2 has been restored in the Index, p. 368, s.v. *vamṭati* (-*de*) to: *śirasā pada* (= Skt. *pādayoḥ*) v.

Tathāgata and Tahāgaya

By E. J. THOMAS

THE term *tathāgata* has been the subject of much discussion, but the latest treatment leaves even the etymology undecided. The conclusion reached by the Pali Text Society's *Pali-English Dictionary* is "derivation uncertain". The question of the meaning is also left almost as vague, for what is there said is that Mrs. Rhys Davids, quoting Lord Chalmers, suggests "he who has won through to the truth". But a more important statement in that work is that "the context shows that the word is an epithet of an Arahant, and that non-Buddhists were supposed to know what it meant. The compilers of the Nikāyas must therefore have considered the expression to be pre-Buddhistic". To say that they considered it to be pre-Buddhistic perhaps assumes too much. We can take it that the term was current among the non-Buddhist contemporaries of the compilers of the Nikāyas, but how far it may have been pre-Buddhistic depends upon what non-Buddhist sect or sects used the term. Who were they? Naturally one thinks of the Jains, but investigation in this direction appears to have been hitherto checked by the supposition that the closest corresponding Jain term is *tattha-gaya*. Oldenberg and Rhys Davids in *Vinaya Texts*, i, 82, even suggested this word as the origin of the Buddhist epithet. "Considering the close relation in which most of the dogmatical terms of the Jainas stand to those of the Bauddhas, it is difficult to believe that *tathāgata* and *tatthagaya* should not originally have conveyed very similar ideas.' We think that in the long way from the original Māgadhī to the Pāli and Sanskrit the term *tatthagata* or *tatthāgata* (*tatra* + *āgata*), 'he who has arrived there, i.e. at emancipation,' may very easily have undergone the change into *tathāgata*, which would have made it unintelligible, were we not able to compare its unaltered form as preserved by the Jainas."

The reference given for the word is Bhadrabāhu's *Kalpasūtra* (*Jinac.* 16), where it occurs in some limping verses at the end of a long eulogy uttered by Sakka in praise of the tīrthakaras and Mahāvīra himself. It is also said to occur in the *Rājaprasnī-sūtra*, but there as a repetition in the same eulogy uttered by another god: *Vaṃdāmi*

ṇaṃ bhagavaṃtaṃ tatthagayaṃ ihagae; *pāsaṃ me bhagavaṃ tatthagae ihagayaṃ*. The eulogizer who has "arrived here", i.e. has been born in this world, is contrasting himself with the Lord who has "arrived there", i.e. who has reached emancipation. The term *tatthagaya* is here scarcely an epithet. It is a very loose compound and a natural description of the state of the Lord, just as *ihagaya* describes the state of his worshipper. Such an isolated phrase hardly appears sufficient to explain the origin of the Buddhist term. There is no evidence for *tathāgata*, the word forming the supposed link. Why should the Buddhists have corrupted and made unintelligible a perfectly plain word, and one which harmonized with their theory? Why does no trace of its meaning appear in the scriptural interpretations of *tathāgata*, if the corruption took place in the long way between the Māgadhī and the Sanskrit, that is to say, after it had come to form a part of the Scriptures?

It has been necessary to draw attention to this passage, because the way in which it was adduced in *Vinaya Texts* has led investigators to assume that this was all that the Jain texts had to tell about the matter. Lord Chalmers in his important article *Tathāgata*,¹ and R. O. Franke in the appendix to his translation of the *Dīgha-nikāya*, when dealing with Jain influence, do not go beyond the evidence given by Oldenberg and Rhys Davids. Franke calls *tatthagaya* the corresponding Jain word, yet it was long ago pointed out by Jacobi² that in its Prākṛit form *tathāgata* is common to Buddhism and Jainism, like *jīna*, *arhat*, *mahāvīra*, *sugata*, *buddha*, and even (though he does not mention it) *mahāyāna*.³ Wherever the word originated, it is evidently necessary to find out what there is in common both in use and meaning between Pāli *tathāgata* and Prākṛit *tahāgaya*. The following passages show the term as a regular epithet of the Jain leaders.

*Kau kayāi medhāvī uppajjanti tahāgayā,
Tahāgayā appaḍinnā cakkhū logass' anuttarā.*

Sūyagaḍa, i, 15, 20.

"How at any time can the wise ones, the *tathāgatas*, be born again, the *tathāgatas*, who are free from undertakings, eyes of the world, supreme?"

¹ *JRAS.*, 1898, p. 103.

² *Jaina Sūtras*, i, xix, xx.

³ *Janti vira mahājānam. Āyār*, i, 3, 4.

*Aho ya rāo a samuṭṭhiekhiṃ
Tahāgachhiṃ paṭilabdha dhammaṃ.*

Ibid., i, 13, 2.

"Having received the Dhamma from the tathāgatas, who exert themselves day and night."

*Bhāsanti ege iha māṇavā u : jaṃ ass' aīyaṃ, taṃ āgamiṣsaṃ :
nāīyaṃ addhaṃ na ya āgamiṣsaṃ addhaṃ niyacchanti tathāgāyā u.*

Āyāraṃga, i, 3, 3.

"Some men here say, what was his past, that is his future : not past time nor future do the tathāgatas consider."

Except that the term here appears as a regular epithet of the Jain leaders, there is little to indicate its intrinsic meaning ; but there is no doubt that a prominent tenet of both sects was the tathāgata's omniscience, and the commentary in the *Abhidhānarājendra* on the last of the above passages has a special interest : *tathāgatāni yathā-vasthitāni tathāivāvitatham jānanti na vibhaṅgañjānina iva viparītaṃ paśyanti* ; that is, that the tathāgatas know things as they have really happened and not falsely (*vitatha*), just as in the *Mahāparinibbāna-sutta* (D. ii, 73) it is said of the Buddhist tathāgatas that they speak nothing false, *na hi tathāgatā vitatham bhaṇanti*.

This is in fact the meaning which has been suggested by Lord Chalmers for the Buddhist term, "one who has come at the real truth," but it is not the literal and primitive meaning of *tathāgata*. We find this meaning, "thus gone," or "having come to such a state" not only in the Epics but also in such different works as Kālidāsa's *Mālavikāgnimitra* and the *Rgveda-prātiśākhya*. For the Epics the evidence has been collected by E. Washburn Hopkins, who has also attempted to define the Buddhist meaning from the epic examples alone.¹

That the term started with the literal meaning in Buddhism could only be assumed if the Buddhists invented it. But it is much more likely that like *arhat* and such words it was taken over from the Jains as an already established term. The meaning it would then have would be the dogmatic sense of an epithet already applied to the Master. There are similar instances of terms borrowed from the Jains, as shown by S. Lévi, where it is quite futile to explain the word from its etymology, when it was borrowed as a technical term along with its acquired sense.² With this agrees the fact that although there are

¹ "Buddha as Tathāgata," *AJP.*, 1911, p. 205.

² "Observations sur une langue précanonique du Bouddhisme," *JA.*, 1912, p. 495.

several passages in the Scriptures which show what it meant there, there is no attempt to interpret it according to its literal analysis. Such analysis is found first in the commentaries of Buddhaghosa and Dhammapāla,¹ but they are unable to quote any scriptural passage for their interpretation, as they do for the other meanings. They probably did not invent it, as they give some verses in which it is implied, but they do not attribute these verses even to the porāṇas.² Nor do they lead us to think that they ascribed any special authority to the meaning "gone like previous Buddhas". They give half a dozen etymologies, and impartially take every possible or impossible combination: *tathā + āgata*, *tathā + gata*, *tathā + agata* (he who has not gone to saṃsāra), *tathā + āgada* (*āgadanaṃ = vacanaṃ*), *tathā + agada* (medicine). The two last, though as fanciful as the rest, have the interest that they probably point to the existence of a Prākṛit form *tahagada*, which actually occurs in the Prākṛit of the *Mālavikāgnimitra*.

The really significant items of the commentators are those adopted from the Scriptures. It is not fair merely to put them aside as fanciful, for they at least tell us what was held to be the meaning some centuries earlier. In dealing with the Scripture passages the commentators use the word *tathaṃ*, the meaning of which they make more precise by adding *avitaṭhaṃ*, *anaññathaṃ*. The *tathāgata* is, then, one who has arrived at the truth, *tathāya āgato*, *tathaṃ gato*, or at the (four) truths, *tathāni (tathadhamme) āgato*, or he is one who speaks the Truths. The passage to which Buddhaghosa refers is in the *Pāsādika-sutta* (D. iii, 134). It does not use the word *tathaṃ*, but it emphasizes his omniscience and the truth of his knowledge, and gives five reasons why Buddha is called a *tathāgata*. (1) Wanderers of other schools say that the *tathāgata* (as opposed to their own *tathāgatas*) professes knowledge of the past, not of the future, but they are ignorant. He remembers as far back as he wishes, and for the future he has the knowledge born of enlightenment. He speaks at the right time and speaks the truth, *kālavādī*, *bhūtavādī*; (2) he has been enlightened with all the knowledge that can come through the senses; (3) everything that he speaks since his enlightenment is thus and not other-

¹ Buddhaghosa on *Dīgha*, i, 3. Dhammapāla on *Udāna* and *Itiv*. gives both Buddhaghosa's comment and his own.

² There is a verse in *Th.*, i, 490, where it is said that Gotama went by the same way (*yeṇ' eva maggena*) as previous Buddhas, but no reference to *tathā*.

wise, *tath' eva hoti no aññathā*; (4) as he speaks, so he does, *yathāvādī, tathākārī*, and as he does, so he speaks; (5) he is the Master, the unmastered, the complete seer, the controller.

There is no trace here of any explanation as "thus gone" or as "having come and gone like his predecessors", and the fact that it is also absent from the comment in the *Niddesa* (which also quotes the *Pāsādika* passage) is a further indication that the meaning "thus gone" is not an ancient one. On the other hand, we do not find the word *tatham* in the sense of truth or true. There is an attempt to find significance in *tathā* "thus and not otherwise", "thus doing", and "thus speaking", but it is fairly clear that *tatham* did not exist for the author of this sutta. It exists, however, elsewhere, and in the *Sutta-nipāta* (1115) as an adjective, "true," *etaṃ nāṇaṃ tatham tassa brāhmaṇassa vusīmato*.

The examples of *tathāgata* in the *Sutta-nipāta*, so far as they are significant, all support the *Pāsādika-sutta*. They all refer to his supreme knowledge. He knows the end of birth and death (467), he has infinite wisdom (468), he comprehends all the stayings or stoppings of consciousness, and knows him who stays released (1114), and he is the supreme eye of men (347).

Both the *Pāsādika-sutta* and the *Sutta-nipāta* show in what way the term was understood before the close of the Canon. They do not give any intelligible etymology, nor do they give any grounds for thinking that they knew one. Their first interest was not an etymological explanation, but a dogmatical interpretation; and what they give is far removed from the thought that the *tathāgata* was he who had come and gone like his predecessors. The interpretation that we find agrees with that of the Jains to the extent that by both sects the *tathāgata* was looked upon as a being of infinite knowledge. The disputes turn, not upon the meaning of the term, but upon the question as to which of the rival leaders was truly a *tathāgata*.

But even the etymological sense has not led to any agreement amongst modern interpreters. Though starting from the literal sense they do not accept any one of the commentators' meanings, nor do they agree among themselves. They translate the word literally, and then insert some quite arbitrary interpretation. Childers taking the meaning "sentient being" (*satta*), which the commentators attribute to *tathāgata* when it refers to a released person, took it to mean, "one who goes in like manner, i.e. one who goes the way of all flesh, one who is subject to death, a mortal." For Oldenberg it means: "Der so

Gegangene — nämlich so wie man gehen soll," "der Vollendete." Franke gives: "Derjenige, der diesen Weg zurückgelegt hat, und prägnant, derjenige, der diesen Weg (den er lehrt, zuerst selbst) zurückgelegt hat." His former interpretation was: "zur Wahrheit gelangt," which agrees with that of Lord Chalmers, "one who has come at the real truth." But *tatham* meaning true or truth is rare, and is evidently a secondary formation from *vitatha*. The literal use of *tathā* in the *Pāsādikasutta* rather indicates that the useful word *tatham* was not yet known.

So far it has been assumed that the word in question is *tathāgata*, but the actual word in the Jain Scriptures is *tahāgaya*. Nor could the word have been *tathāgata* in the earliest form of the Buddhist Scriptures, for it is generally agreed that their original language was some form of Prākṛit, and that they were translated into Pāli in some district of Western India. Sir George Grierson has given reasons for holding the north-west with the centre at Takshaśilā to have been the neighbourhood.¹ R. O. Franke put it further south, but still in a region far removed from the home of Buddhism and from Māgadhī, which is claimed by the Buddhists as the primeval language. When the translation into Pāli took place we do not know, but even as late as Asoka and the Bharhut inscriptions we find no trace of the literary Pāli. Schubring confidently declares that old Ardhamāgadhī was certainly the language in which Mahāvīra as well as Buddha preached.² In any case, both the Pāli of the Singhalese and still more the Sanskrit of the Sarvāstivādins show that there is a Prākṛit basis for their common texts.

The word *tathāgata* in this earlier dialect may have been a form like *tahāgaya*, *tahāgaya*, or *tahagada*. *Tathāgata* is the sanskritization of a Prākṛit form, but how do we know that it was a correct sanskritization? The form may have been a non-Aryan word entirely unconnected with *tathā* and *gata*, but mechanically transcribed as *tathāgata*. This would explain why we find no attempt to connect the word with its obvious Pāli or Sanskrit sense until the time of the Singhalese etymologists.

If the word belonged to some non-Aryan language, it is unlikely that it was Dravidian. The Magadha district is still largely surrounded by non-Aryan languages, but they belong to the Muṇḍā group.³

¹ "The Home of Literary Pāli," *Bhandarkar Commemorative Essays*, pp. 117 ff.

² *Die Lehre der Jainas*, p. 15.

³ See the linguistic map in the *Linguistic Survey of India*, vol. i, pt. i.

Several such terms have been traced by Przyluski,¹ and their presence in Pāli would be still more likely, for however artificial a language Pāli may be, the old texts go back to popular vernacular speech.

One such example is a group of names in the Pāli, which have every appearance of being non-Aryan. In *Anguttara*, v. 134, there is a list of theras, and the names of four of them show by the variants and corruptions that they were unintelligible to the scribes. The same four names also occur in a list of lay disciples who had died at Nāḍika (D., ii, 92; S., v, 358). Why they should have been duplicated like this is a curious problem, but this fact makes it more likely that the list is really old and not merely invented *ad hoc*. They are: *kakuda* (*kakudha*, *kakkaṭa*, *kukkuṭa*); *kaḷimba* (*kaṭimba*, *kalimma*, *kaḷibha*, *kālimba*, *kāraḷimba*, *kāliṅga*); *nikaṭa* (*nikata*, *kaṭa*, *nikkha*); *kaṭissabha* (*kaṭissaha*, *kaṭimsaha*, *kaṭimsasaha*). Besides these the Tibetan has *karkata*, evidently a Sanskritized form of *kakkaṭa*.

Some of these (like *kaṭissabha*, **kr̥tim-sabhā*) might be referred to Sanskrit roots, but even then the result would not be intelligible compounds or names like any known Aryan type; and the variants show that the scribes did not find them intelligible. The element *kaṭi-* is evidently common to several of them. The form *karkata* appears to be an attempt to give the word a Sanskrit appearance, but it is one which frequently occurs elsewhere as a place-name, usually in the form *kakuda* or *kakudha*.² We also find the suffix *-imba* in other non-Aryan words. The variant *kāliṅga* is intelligible, and no doubt the result of the scribe trying to find something familiar, and (perhaps for the same reason) the P.T.S. edition has put it in the text.

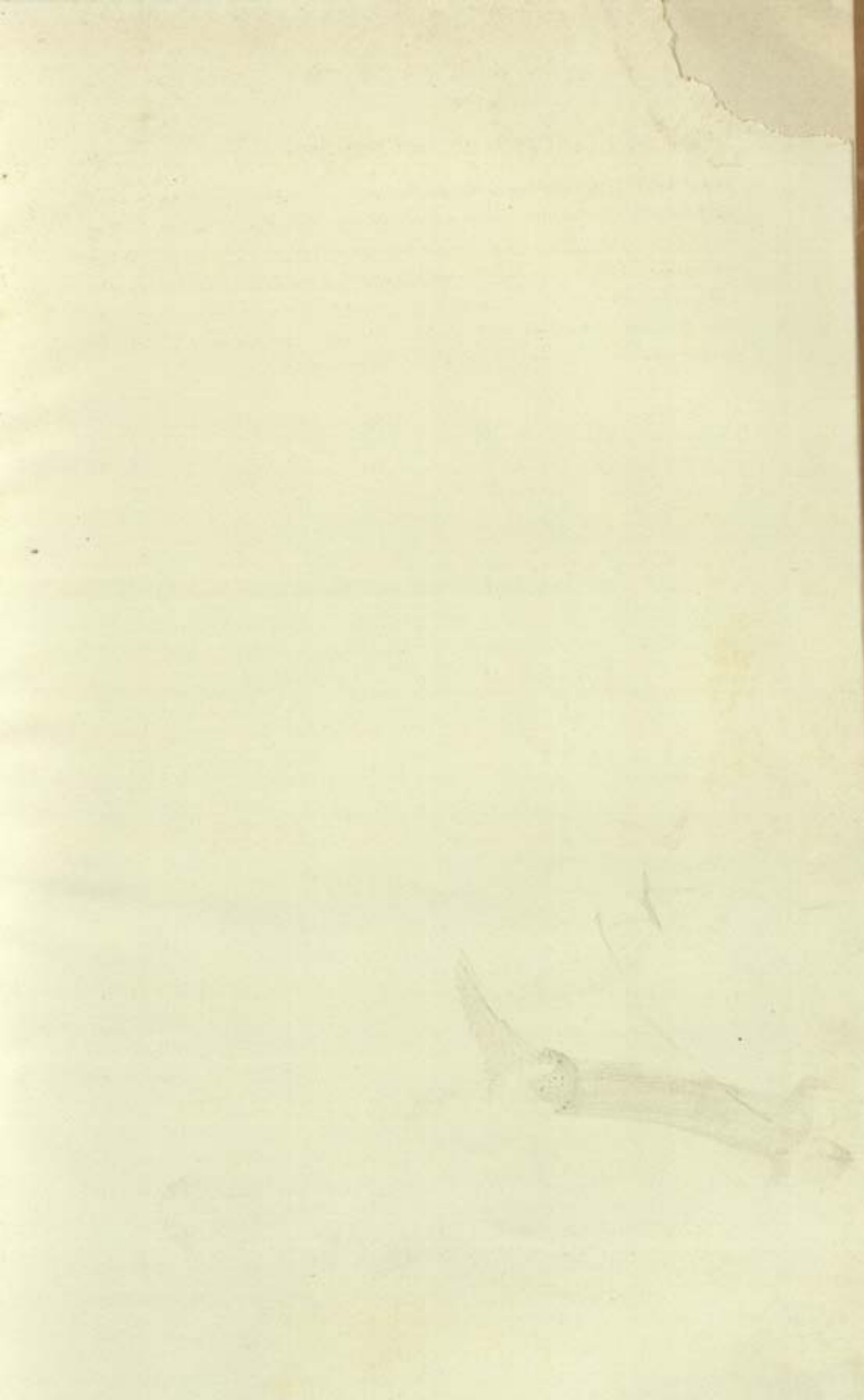
These are examples of words which have resisted attempts to Sanskritize them. *Tathāgata* has been Sanskritized, but in its use in the Scriptures there is no trace of the Sanskrit meaning contained in *tathā* and *gata*. The only safe ground that we stand upon is the meaning that the Scriptures ascribe to it, a meaning that it preserved even in the elaborate tathāgata-doctrine of Mahāyāna. For its real etymology more evidence is needed.

These considerations have largely a negative character, but they may be of use in clearing away unnecessary assumptions. It is not now possible with Franke to call *tatthagaya* "das entsprechende

¹ "Emprunts anaryens en indo-aryen," in *Bull. soc. ling.*, vols. 24, 25, 26; "Noms de villes indiennes dans la Géographie de Ptolomée," *ibid.*, vol. 27.

² Also *pakudha*; this interchange of *k* and *p* has been discussed by M. Cohen, *Bull. soc. ling.*, vol. 28, p. 81, and by Przyluski, *ibid.*, vol. 27, pp. 218 ff.

Jaina-word", or to start with Buddhaghosa's elucidations as if they gave the scriptural use and represented the historical meaning. Nor does the historical meaning of *tathāgata* or *tahāgaya*, as it existed in the Scriptures centuries before Buddhaghosa, show any relation to the meanings deduced by modern interpreters from its etymology. It may be that further examination of the Jain Scriptures will help to decide whether the word is of Aryan origin at all.



sa sa sa sa sa sa sa sam

sim su so so so sta

sya sya sya sya sya sya sya sya sya sya

i*

dha dha dha dha dha dha dha dha

dhi dhi dhi dhi dhi ca cu ce

FORMS OF S, SY, DH, AND C IN KHAROṢṬHĪ DOCUMENT, No. 661.

Some words found in Central Asian Documents

By F. W. THOMAS

1. HINAJHASYA

MR. BURROW'S interpretation (*supra*, *Bulletin*, p. 514) of the word *hinajhasya* in No. 661 of *Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions* . . . transcribed and edited by A. M. Boyer, E. J. Rapson and É. Senart involves a number of conjectural or improbable elements. Thus :

(1) It is not more than probable that the Prākṛit of the document was of a form current in Khotan. The document, found at Endere, a place in the Shan-Shan kingdom, was, no doubt, composed in some area which at the time was subject to the Khotan king Avijitasimpha. But, if that area was not Endere, it may have been any other part of the composite Khotan kingdom.

(2) If the Prākṛit was of Khotan, there is yet no ground for assigning a Saka etymology to the word *hinajha*, unless we have reason to suppose that at the time, or previously, the current speech of Khotan was Saka.

(3) If the word *hinajha* were Saka, and if it were correctly etymologized as *hina*, "army," and *aza*, "leader," so that the whole should mean "general," there would be no reason for supposing it to be a rendering of any foreign word.

(4) If *hinajha* were a rendering of a foreign word, the Greek στρατηγός, which in the Indian sphere occurs only on a coin of Azes of c. 20(?) B.C., is too remote in place and time to have in itself any likelihood. Since Sanskrit and Prākṛit were familiar in Khotan at the time, the word translated would be Sanskrit *senā-nī*, *senā-nāyaka*.

(5) If a Khotan king had a title meaning "General", it would most probably have been conferred by the Chinese court, which was in the habit of bestowing such titles upon rulers within its sphere of influence.

In note 4 to the edition of the text attention is called to a possibility of reading the last syllable of *hinajhasya* as *vye* or *nye*. Whatever

may be thought of these alternatives, it is certain in any case that the syllable is not *sya*. In the document the syllable *sya* has nine occurrences, and in all these it is formed by the same strokes to the same effect. Moreover, there are of *sa* seven occurrences, of *saṃ* one, of *si* one, of *su* one, of *so* three, of *sra* one; and in all these also the formation of the *s* is the same as in the *sya*. The here accompanying photographic reproduction, wherein the occurrences are grouped, will make these facts patent to every eye. The photograph shows also the occurrences of *dha* and *ca*, the only other *akṣaras* having any similarity to the one in question, which is exhibited with a *.

This confrontation affords the certainty that the syllable following *hinajha* is not *sya* and a high probability that it is *dhe*, since it lacks the curve (derived from a loop) in the head of *ca*.

At the recent Congress of Orientalists in Rome Professor Sten Konow, having accepted the reading proposed above and urging that the *akṣara* following the *dhe* is not *a* but *va*, a possibility indicated in the Editors' note 5, propounded a redivision of the words in the form: *hinajha dheva Vijitasimhasya*, with *dh* for initial *d* in *dheva* according to the practice followed in the document. This does indeed seem to posit in *dheva* a semi-dialectical form, since the practice of the document replaces Sanskrit *e* by *i* (e.g. in *dhinātī*, l. 7 = *denātī*) and *dhiva*, = *deva*, is perhaps actually to be found in *Bahudhivā* (l. 7): it also conceives the existence of a king with the name *Vijitasimha*, which I should not have ventured to do. If it should prove necessary to accept a reading *dheva* = *deva*, we might perhaps avoid the second inconvenience by understanding °*devavijitasimha* as a compound, which would leave the personal name *Avijitasimha* intact. *Hinajha-dheva* might then be a surname with *deva* for second member, as in *Svarṇa-deva* (of Kucā), *Vāsu-deva*, and the many Khotan names in *-de* noted in *JRAS.* 1930, pp. 295-6.

In these circumstances it is satisfactory to have at least the certainty of the equation *hinajha* = *senā-nī* or *senā-patī*, which is furnished by the annexed note, kindly contributed by Dr. H. W. Bailey:—

hīnāysā "general"

Stein MS. Ch. c. 001, lines 851-1058, contains the complete *Sumukha-dhāraṇī* = Tib. Kanjur, rgyud xiii, 416b seq. (Narthang edition). In turn divine beings come forward offering long life to the reciter of the *Sumukha-dhāraṇī* beginning with *Brahmānā gyastā*, Tib. *lhañi dban-po brgya byin*.

Sixth is *Mahiśvarā gyastaṣai*, Tib. *lhahi dban-phyug chen-po*, then the following passage :—

986. *ttīyā vā skandhā aysānai*
 mistā hīnāysā kāmā hālai gyastā
 987 *baysā vye hāṣṭā aṃjalā*
dastyām aurga tsve u gyastā
baysā tta hve.

Tib. 421b, 1. *de-nas sde-dpon*
gzonus | bcom-ldan-hdas ga-la-ba
der logsu thal-mo sbyar-ba
btude | bcom-2 -ldan-hdas-la hdi
skad-ces gsol-to ||

Then *Skandha*¹ the youth² the great general, where the *Bhagavān* was, thither with hands forming the *aṃjali* he went with reverence and thus spoke to the *Bhagavān*.

Hence *hīnāysā* (*hainā + az-*, cf. Av. *gav-āza-*, *nav-āza* [read *nāvāza-*]) = *sde-dpon* (*sde* = Skt. *senā*, *dpon* = Skt. *pati*).

2. KHAROṢṬHĪ S < DH

Professor Lüders' identification (Berlin Academy *Sitzungsberichte*, 1933, pp. 1000-1) of the form *masu*, in the Kharoṣṭhī documents, with Sanskrit *madhu*, an identification to which a personal adherence has been expressed in *Acta Orientalia*, xiii, p. 60, n. 2, encounters a certain reluctance by reason of the unfamiliarity of the transition from *dh* to *s*. The change had previously been remarked by Professor Rapson (index) in the word *asimatra*, with variants *aṣimatra*, *aḥimatra*, which can scarcely be different from *adhimātra*, which also occurs. Consideration of the nature of the change, which Professor Lüders refers to Iranian influence, must depend upon further information concerning its range. It is therefore of interest to note some examples occurring in the Indian sphere, probably all at an earlier, and one at a very much earlier, date. Those which I have found are the following :—

1. *sasu* = *sādhu* (Aśoka Edict I, Shāhbāzgarhī, l. 2) in *sasumate* = *sādhu-matā*, etc.
2. *bosi-satva* = *bodhi-sattva* (Taxila Silver Scroll, l. 3; see *Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions*, ed. Konow, p. 77).
3. *Bosa-varuma* = *Bodha-varman* (Lahore Museum Halo Inscription, *ibid.*, p. 115).

In Brāhmī inscriptions I have not found any example, and, so far, therefore, the probability is that the phenomenon was peculiar

¹ Skt. *Skanda* "god of war", called *Skandhakumār* in Tocharian 370, 5, with *dh* as here in Saka.

² Translates Skt. *kumāra*.

to dialects of the north-west. By reason of the dates its origin cannot be placed in Chinese Turkestan. Its real history, in which some Iranian influence may have been exercised, demands for its elucidation further material.

3. NIČIRI, NIČĪĀTRA, PICARA, PICAVETI

These four words, equivalents of **načiri*, Sk. *nakṣatra*, Sk. *pratyarha*, Sk. *pratyarpayati*, have a common feature in so far as they all present the vowel *i* in place of *a*: three of them—*ničġatra*, *picaveti*, *picara* (sometimes *piṃcara*)—have several occurrences, and the first occurs side by side (in No. 565) with the normal *načġatra*. The forms support each other and show that in the milieu wherein they arose—people of the Shan-shan kingdom, of Chinese Turkestan, employing for some purposes an Indo-Aryan tongue—a tendency to pronounce *a* as *i* was able, under some accentual conditions, to fulfil itself when the following consonant was *c* (*cc*) or *ch*. But something should be said concerning three of the four words.

Ničiri, which occurs in the document No. 677, may be regarded as an adjective from the *načira* of Nos. 13, 15, 156, 509 on the ground of (1) the rarity of words containing *č*, (2) the *prima facie* appropriateness of the meaning “not connected with army (*senā*) nor connected with hunting (*načira*)” in the passage: *tasya bhumaṣa na seni na ničiri hargā asti*, where, however, the meaning of *hargā* is unascertained. But naturally the supposition is a conjecture.

Pic[c]ara, occurring in the complimentary phrase—

picara-divya-varṣa-śatāyu-pramāna (Nos. 107, 247, etc.)

and used also in—

lekha prahūda preṣisama yo tehi picara syati (No. 288).

“We will send a letter and present such as may be worthy of you”

and similarly, no doubt, in the defective passage—

atra vi[saji]da ya ja ṣa Priyamāe . . . picara siyati (No. 377)

can scarcely be other than = Sk. *pratyarha* in the phrase (*Mahāvastu*, ed. Senart I, p. 467) *pratyarha-saukhya* “happiness according to desert”. But the loss of *r* seen in *pic(c)ara* < *pric(c)ara* requires consideration. The preposition *prati* shows irregularity in the documents, having variant forms *paṭi*, *paḍi*, and *prati* (see Professor Rapson’s Index, and note *paḍ’eka* = *pratyeka*), in regard to which we may conjecture different explanations. But in the case of *pic(c)ara* it seems reasonable

to admit a dissimulative influence of the following *r*. A dissimulation in the opposite direction may have worked in the case of *caṃdri-ka(r)maṃṭa* (No. 272) and *cāṃdri-ka(r)ṇmaṃṭa* (No. 714), discussed in *Acta Orientalia*, xii, p. 46, n. 3. But independent weakness of *r* preceding consonants seems to be evidenced by such forms as *hī-erṣi* = *hī-aiṣi* (No. 511) and Saka-Khotanī *Armātāya* = *Amitāyu* (*Saka Studies*, by Sten Konow, p. 34), etc.

In the case of the numerous forms of the verb *pic(c)aveti* = *pratyarpayati* it seems difficult to have recourse to dissimulation, since both *r*'s are wanting. If we nevertheless suppose a loss of the second *r*, we might at least expect the *p* to remain, giving *pic(c)apeti*: in Prakrit the forms of the verb *paccappiṇāi* (Pischel, *Grammatik d. Prakrit-Sprachen*, § 557) always have *pp*. But it seems probable that in the dialect which was the source of the verb *pic(c)aveti* there had been a confusion of *arpayati* (from *ar*) and *āpayati* (from *āp*) and that the immediate predecessor of *pic(c)aveti* was *piccāpeti* < *patyāpayati* < *patyarpayati*. That confusion at some early time had taken place between *arp* and *āp* in connection with *prati* appears from the verb-stem of *paccappiṇāi* (i.e. °*noti*), in which Jacobi (*Kuhn's Zeitschrift*, 35, p. 573, n. 2) rightly recognized a suffixal -*iṇa*, rejecting Pischel's supposition of a denominative from *arpaṇa*.

As regards the meaning of *pic(c)aveti* it may be observed that the sense of "deliver", "render", not "render back", is regular in Prakrit (*nivedane*) and is found in Sanskrit (*Raghu-vaṃśa*, xv, 41, ap B. and R., s.v. *ar*).

4. DAPICĪ

This place, named in the Saka-Khotanī document published in *Two Medieval Documents from Tun-Huang* by F. W. Thomas and Sten Konow (p. 148), was not identified either by the editors or in the notes published by Mr. G. L. M. Clauson in *JRAS.*, 1931, pp. 297-309, where I-cū, Phūcamni, and Tśirikyepi, mentioned in the same connection, seem to be correctly referred to Hami, Pichan, and Sirkip. As Dapicī seems to be the first stage on a route from I-cū (Hami), it can hardly be other than the place known to the Chinese as *Na-chih*, at a distance of 120, or 310, *li* west of Hami and at present named Lap-chuk (in Arrowsmith's old map *Labezu*). As Professor Pelliot, who visited the place, points out (*Journal Asiatique*, xi, vii (1916), pp. 116-19), it was founded, probably during the sixth century A.D.,

by colonists from Nob (Charklik), who named it after their home-city, the original form of the name being *Nap-cik*. Professor Pelliot discusses the phonology of the change from *Nap* to *Lap*, which is familiar in other cases (*Lop* from *Nob*, etc.).

It seems that we must recognize in *Dapicī* a third form *Dap* (the *i* of *Dapi* being merely a Saka-Khotanī orthographical (?) expedient, as in *Nāki-chittipū*, etc.). In Chinese transliterations syllables (*na*, etc.) beginning with *n* are frequently used to represent foreign *d*-, and inversely Chinese initial *n* appears in Tibetan sometimes as *hd* (i.e. *nd*, *JRAS.*, 1926, p. 525; 1927, p. 305). Whether in *Dapicī* (eighth century A.D.) the *d* existed in the local pronunciation as a transition stage between *n* and *l* or betrays a Chinese intermediary in the information, we have no means of ascertaining.

It may be remarked *en passant* that, as the places named in the passage here cited seem to form a not very widely extended group, further identifications may be expected. Thus *Ttiyāki* may be Toyuk, an ancient site, as is shown by archæological investigations (Sir A. Stein, *Innermost Asia*, pp. 613-15), and possibly *Šakāhi* may be the *Šōgā* given in a map (Hedin-Herrmann, *Southern Tibet*, viii, pl. xxiii), and others suggest themselves. But there is little profit in such identifications, unsupported by early forms of the modern names.

Sanskrit *ā-kṣeti* and Pali *acchati* in Modern Indo-Aryan

By R. L. TURNER

IN a notice ¹ of an article ² full of new facts and invaluable suggestion like all those of the great scholar, to honour whom this volume is designed, I ventured to suggest that the origin of Pali *acchati* was to be looked for in Skt. *ā-kṣeti*. The assumption of an Old Indo-Aryan form with *kṣ* was necessitated by the Kashmiri *chuh* 'he is': for Ksh. *ch* corresponds (except in loanwords) to Skt. *kṣ*; Skt. (c)*ch* > Ksh. dental affricate *ch* (*tsh*). Professor J. Bloch, ³ while accepting the identity of Ksh. *chuh* with MidIA. *acch-*, appears to recognize the difficulty of equating Ksh. *ch* with *cch*, but passes over the possibility of *acch-* being derived from *ā-kṣeti*. A return, then, to this much discussed question of the derivation of *acch-* is perhaps permissible.

Various forms from five Sanskrit roots had previously been suggested as the origin of *acch-*: *sthā-*, *gam-*, *ṛ-*, *ās-*, *as-* 'to be'.

1. *ā-sthā-* by A. F. Pott, ⁴ approved by G. A. Grierson and A. F. R. Hoernle, ⁵ who supposed a metathesis, **ā-thsā-*.

2. *gacchati* with loss of initial *g-* by A. Weber, ⁶ E. Müller, ⁷ and E. Leumann. ⁸ This was rejected by E. W. A. Kuhn ⁹ and R. Pischel. ¹⁰

3. *ṛcchāti* by Pischel. ¹¹ This has more recently received the support of Sir George Grierson himself. ¹²

4. Hemacandra ¹³ and Pāli grammarians ¹⁴ referred *acch-* to Skt. *ās-*, which was accepted by R. C. Childers, ¹⁵ Pischel, ¹⁶ P. Steinthal, ¹⁷

¹ BSOS. v, p. 137 ff.

² Garbe-Festgabe, p. 24 ff.

³ L'Indo-aryen du Veda aux temps modernes, p. 53.

⁴ Die Zigeuner in Europa und Asien, i, p. 459.

⁵ A Comparative Dictionary of the Bihārī Language, p. 93 ff., where appear most of the references to discussions up to 1885.

⁶ Das Saptaçatakam des Hāla, p. 556.

⁷ Beiträge zur Grammatik des Jainapṛakṛit, p. 36.

⁸ Das Aupapātika Sūtra, p. 93.

⁹ Beiträge zur Pāli-Grammatik, p. 97.

¹⁰ Beiträge zur vergleichenden Sprachforschung herausgegeben von A. Kuhn, viii, p. 144.

¹¹ Grammatik der Prākṛit-Sprachen, § 480, where previous references are recorded.

¹² Garbe-Festgabe, p. 24 ff.

¹³ iv, 215.

¹⁴ Saddanūti, ii, Moggallāna-Vyākaraṇa, v, 173, quoted in Critical Pāli Dictionary, s.v. *acchati*.

¹⁵ A Dictionary of the Pāli Language, s.v.

¹⁶ Hemacandra's Grammatik der Prākṛitsprachen, p. 155.

¹⁷ Specimen der Nāyādharmakāhā, p. 45.

and Hoernle.¹ To explain the presence of *cch* Pischel² had earlier proposed an inchoative with IE. suffix *-ske-* [**ē-ske-*], which was accepted by W. Geiger.³ Before that G. I. Ascoli⁴ had proposed a future **ātsyati* or **ātsyate*. (This appears to be accepted by D. Andersen and H. Smith for Pa. 2 sg. fut. *acchasi* ⁵). Two years later V. Trenckner,⁶ proceeding from Pa. aorist *acchi* suggested **ātsīl*, aorist of *ās-*.

5. Vararuci,⁷ Kramadīśvara,⁸ Rāmaśarman,⁹ and Mārkaṇḍeya¹⁰ referred *acch-* to *as-* 'to be'. E. Kuhn,¹¹ again to explain *cch*, took the inchoative with IE. *-ske-*. In this he has been followed by S. Lévi and A. Meillet,¹² J. Bloch,¹³ Andersen and Smith,¹⁴ E. Senart¹⁵ and Johansson,¹⁶ interpreting the *acchamti* (*amchamti* according to Senart) of Aśoka Shāh. v, 11, as a future, set out from a future of *as-*, viz. **atsyati*.

The basic meaning of *acch-* is 'to abide, sit, remain', seen clearly in Pali (cf. *samacch-* 'to sit down together') and Prakrit¹⁷ and preserved down to the modern languages in Gypsy *ač(h)-*¹⁸ and Old Hindi *āchnā*.¹⁹ Therefore on the score of meaning alone we may dismiss *gáčhati* and *řocháti*.²⁰ Nor is it possible to separate *acch-* 'to abide, sit' from *acch-* 'to be', used so widely in the modern languages both as the

¹ *Comparative Grammar of the Gaudian Languages*, p. 366; or to *as-*.

² *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1875, p. 627 f., and *Beiträge zur vergleichenden Sprachforschung*, viii, p. 144.

³ *Pali Literatur und Sprache*, § 135.

⁴ *Studj Critici*, p. 352, note 49.

⁵ *Crit. Pali Dict.*, s.v. *acchati*.

⁶ *Pali Miscellany*, p. 61.

⁷ xii, 19.

⁸ iv, 10.

⁹ Quoted by Grierson, *Memoirs of the As. Soc. Bengal*, viii, No. 2, p. 88.

¹⁰ Quoted by Pischel, *Gr. Pkt. Spr.*, § 480, note 6.

¹¹ *MSL*, xviii, p. 28.

¹² *La formation de la langue marathe*, p. 289.

¹³ *Crit. Pali Dict.*, s.v.

¹⁴ *Les Inscriptions de Piyadasi*, p. 138.

¹⁵ *IF*, iii, 210.

¹⁶ See especially the evidence collected by Grierson and Hoernle in *Comp. Dict. Bihārī*, p. 93.

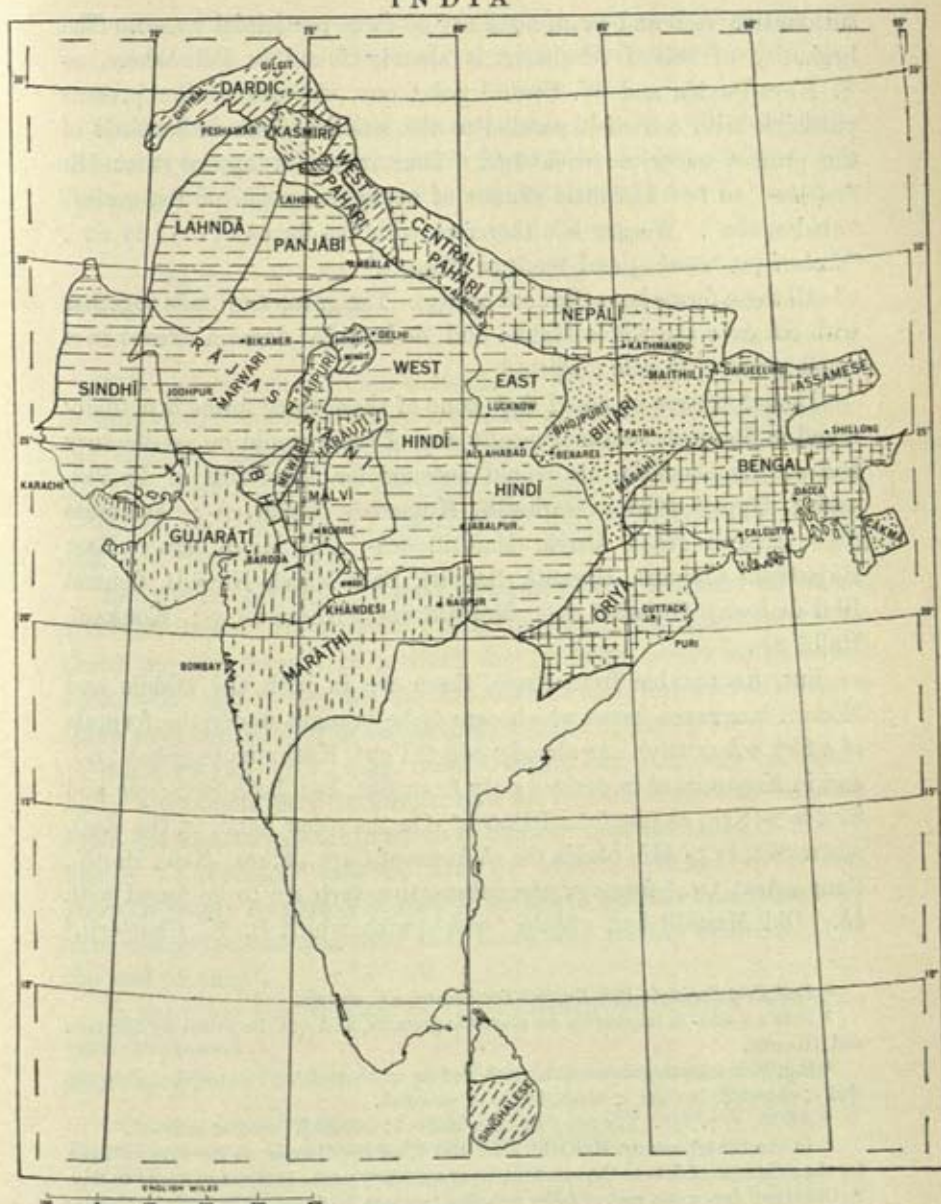
¹⁷ See especially J. Sampson, *Dialect of the Gypsies of Wales*, pt. iv, pp. 1-2.




¹⁸ Śyām Sundar Dās, *Hindī-Śabdasaṅgraha*, s.vv. *āchnā*, *āchnā*.

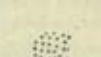
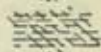
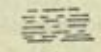

¹⁹ The meanings *indriyapralaya* and *mūrtibhāva* given by the Dhātup. for *ř-* and referred to by Pischel *Gr. Pkt. Spr.*, § 480, are presumably due to the use of *ř-* with abstract nouns in the accusative, e.g. *yuddharangatām ř-* (Nalod. 2, 10) 'to become the battleground of'. It is true, as Grierson in *Garbe-Festgabe*, p. 24, points out, that 'to go' may thus develop into 'to become', as in *gáčhati* > Ksh. *gačhun* 'to become'. But *acchati* means 'abides', not 'becomes'.

MAP SHOWING DISTRIBUTION OF *ḍkṣeti* IN MODERN INDO-ARYAN

INDIA



-  *ch-*, where Skt. *kṣ* > *ch*, Skt. *ch* > *ch*.
-  (*ḍ*)*ch-* or *ās-*, where Skt. *kṣ* > *ch* or *s*.
-  (*ḍ*)*ch-*, where Skt. *kṣ* > *kh*.

-  (*ḍ*)*kh-* sporadically, where Skt. *kṣ* > *kh*.
-  (*ḍ*)*h-*, where Skt. *kṣ* > *kh*.
-  (*ḍ*)*h-*, where Skt. *kṣ* > *ch*.
-  Other verbs: *as-*, *ās-*, *sthā-*, etc.

substantive verb and as an auxiliary to form participial tenses. The beginning of this development is already found in Pali where, as T. Rhys-Davids and W. Stede¹ point out, the use of the present participle with *acchati* is parallel to the similar idiom in Sanskrit of the present participle with *āste*. Thus it would appear that IE. **es(s)ke-* 'to be' has little chance of being the origin of Pa. *acchati* 'abides, sits'. We are left therefore with the forms of *ās-* 'to sit', **ācchati* (< **ēs-ske-*) and **ātsūt* or **ātsyati*.²

All these forms have Skt. *cch* or *ts(y)*. The group *ts(y)* falls together with *cch* over the whole Middle and Modern IA. domain except in a small group of Dardic dialects.³

Though it may be noted that none of these three forms is actually found in Sanskrit, semasiologically any of them would be satisfactory and on the phonetic side would account for the forms of Pa.Pkt. *acch-*; Gypsy *ač(h)-*; Garhwālī, Kumaonī, Nepālī *ch-*; Assamese *ās-*; Bengali *āch-*; Oriyā, Maithilī *ach-*, Old Hindī *āch-*; East Rājasthānī (Jaipurī, Harautī, Banjārī, East Mālvī, Nimāḍī, Central Bhil dialects), Gujarātī *ch-*; Marāṭhī *as-*; Khāndeśī *s-*; Koṅkaṇī, Haḷbī *ās-*.

But, inseparable from these, there are in both the Middle and Modern languages forms which cannot be brought under the formula of a Skt. *cch* or *ts(y)*. As already pointed out, Kashmiri has *chuh* 'is', and in Kashmiri *ch* is derived only from Skt. *kṣ*: both Skt. (c)*ch* and Skt. *ts* > Ksh. *ch* (dental affricate).⁴ On the other hand, in the East, where Skt. *kṣ* > *kḥh*, beside the *ch* forms of Garh., Kum., Nep., Maith., Beng., Ass., Or.,⁵ forms of the substantive verb are to be found with *kh*. Old Maithilī had *akhalu* 'was', with which S. K. Chatterji,⁶

¹ *Pali Text Society's Pali-English Dictionary*, s.v. *acchati*.

² Pott's *ā-sthā-* is impossible on phonetic grounds, and was discarded by Grierson and Hoernle.

³ E.g. Shina distinguishes Skt. (c)*ch* and *ts* as *ch* and *ts(h)*: *chije* < *chidyāte*, *chal* < *chagalāb*, but *uts* < *utsāb*, *batsho* < *vatsakāb*.

⁴ BSOS. v, p. 138. For *ts(y)* we have *wochu* < *vatsakāb*, *mačh* < *mātsyāb*.

⁵ In the Bihārī (except Maithilī), East and West Hindī areas we have no evidence for the existence of *āch-* as the substantive or auxiliary verb. It is not so found to-day. In Old Hindī *āch-* was a verb of fuller meaning 'remain, be found, exist'. Śyām Sundar Dās in the *Hindī Śabdakoś*, s.vv. *achnā*, *āchnā*, gives references to Jaisī, Kabīr, and Bihārī: it thus belonged to the vocabulary of literary Awadhī and Braj; and may have entered from the East Rājasthānī dialects, where to-day it provides the substantive and auxiliary verb. That in Old Awadhī was *āh-* (see, e.g. Grierson and Hoernle's *Index to the Rāmāyan of Tulsī Dās*, pp. 23, 31).

⁶ *Varnaratnākara of Jyotirīśvara-kaviśekharācārya* (reprinted from the *Proceedings of the Fourth Oriental Congress*, vol. ii), p. 69.

although he leaves it unexplained, rightly compares Bhojpuri *khe* 'is', *naikhe* 'is not'.¹ To these may be added Nagpuriā *nakhī* 'am not',² *Madhesī naikhī*.³

Much farther to the East, the existence of a *kh* verb in Bengali is attested by otherwise inexplicable forms of the Cākmā dialect of the Chittagong Hill Tracts. Here the substantive verb is:—

Present		Past	
Sg. and pl. 1	<i>āgi</i> I am	Sg. <i>ēluṅ</i> I was	pl. <i>ēlaṅ</i>
2	<i>āgas</i>	<i>ēlē</i>	<i>ēlā</i>
3	<i>āge</i>	<i>ēl</i>	<i>ēlāk</i> ⁴

This dialect generally has unaspirated voiced stops corresponding to intervocalic voiceless stops, aspirated or unaspirated, of Bengali. The following examples occur in the specimen⁵: *ghadaki* = *ghataki*, *egattar* = *ekatra*, *cāgar* = *cākar*, *nigili* = *nikal*, *bhidar* = *bhitar*, *anudi* = *anuthi*, *hād(at)* = *hāth*. Therefore *āgi* may be derived from **ākhi*, and *ēl* < **āgil* < **ākhil*.

Many years earlier J. Beames⁶ had perceived the unity of the *kh* and (*ā*)*ch*-forms. He invented a Skt. root *akṣ-* 'to appear' (which he based on *ākṣi* 'eye') to account for the correspondence *kh* = *ch*. Johansson⁷ rightly rejected the non-existent *akṣ-*, but with it wrongly threw over the identity of the *kh* and *ch* forms of the verb.

Since Pa.Pkt. *acch-*, Ksh. *chuh*, OMaith. *akh-* can only be united under a common form containing Skt. *kṣ*, it is imperative to examine again the Aśokan passage in which E. Senart⁸ read *aṃchamti*, G. Bühler and A. C. Woolner⁹ *achamti* 'are' or 'will be', Shāh., v, 11, *maa putra ca nataro ca param ca tena ye me apaca achamti avakapam* 'my sons and grandsons and after that those who are my descendants to the end of time'.

In the other four versions in which this sentence occurs there is no verb expressed:

Mān. *maa putra ca natore ca para ca tena ye apatiye me avakapam*.

¹ Grierson, *Linguistic Survey of India*, v, 2, p. 51, and *Seven Grammars of the Bihārī Language*, p. 41, gives only the negative *na(h)ikkh-*.

² *LSI*, v, 2, p. 280.

³ *LSI*, v, 2, p. 305.

⁴ *LSI*, v, 1, p. 324.

⁵ *Ib.*, p. 327-49.

⁶ *Comparative Grammar of the Modern Aryan Languages of India*, iii, p. 183 (cf. i, p. 192 f.).

⁷ *IF*, iii, p. 209.

⁸ *Les Inscriptions de Piyadasi*, p. 138.

⁹ *Aśoka Text and Glossary*, p. 54.

Gir. *mama putā ca potā ca param ca tena ye me apacam āvasam-
vaṭakapā.*

Kāl. *mamā putā cā natāle cā palam cā tehi ye apatiye me āvakapam.*

Dhau. *ye me putā va natī va . . . m ca tena ye apatiye me āvakapam.*

This renders it highly probable that the verb in the Shāh. version is the substantive verb, and at the same time that it is the present tense rather than the future (*achamti* < **atsyanti*) which Senart and Johansson¹ maintained it to be.

But E. Hultsch,² following A. M. Boyer,³ notes that the second akṣara is that which corresponds to Skt. *kṣ* and he transliterates as *kṣ*, though without prejudice as to its pronunciation. E. J. Rapson⁴ agrees with Sten Konow⁵ in interpreting the corresponding form with a line over it of the Kharoṣṭhī documents from Niya as a compound akṣara, viz. *kṣ*. Hultsch, now reading *akṣamti* and finding no Sanskrit equivalent for this word, was apparently tempted to read the first akṣara, which presents certain difficulties, as *vra*, making *vraṣamti*. This he interpreted as future of *vraj-*, **vrakṣyati* (present stem in Shāh. *vrac(c)-*). Neither this form nor this use is elsewhere attested for Skt. *vraj-*, Pa. *vaj-*, Pkt. *vaj-*, *vajj-*, *vacc-*, or for the modern languages.⁶ A close examination of the plate given by Hultsch seems to show that the reading supported by Senart, Bühler, and Woolner as *a* is correct. All the examples of *v* have a rectilinear angle made by the horizontal and perpendicular lines forming it. This one has the typical curve or hook of the akṣara for *a*. Only at the bottom appears to be a stroke which Hultsch read as *r*; but this is possibly a meaningless mark on the rock. The word then is *akṣamti* 'exist, are', and in it we have a word which corresponds exactly with a form of the verb 'to be' found in the Kharoṣṭhī documents from Chinese Turkestan, namely *aḥ-*, which as we have seen is probably to be read rather as *āḥ-*. Of the three certain examples⁷ two are the auxiliary and one the substantive verb:—

¹ *IF*, iii, p. 210.

² *CII.*, vol. i (new ed.), *Inscriptions of Aśoka*, p. 55, note 5.

³ *JA*, 1911, p. 422 f.

⁴ *Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions discovered by Sir Aurel Stein in Chinese Turkestan*, p. 302.

⁵ *Deutsche Literatur-Zeitung*, 1924, p. 1902; *CII.* vol. ii, pt. i; *Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions*, p. cx.

⁶ See *Comparative and Etymological Dictionary of the Nepali Language*, s.v. *bagnu*.

⁷ E. J. Rapson and P. S. Noble, *Khar. Inscr. Turkestan*, pt. iii, Index, s.vv. *aḥati*, *aḥatu*. Of these the first, in No. 506, read by the editors *aḥati* (not *aḥati*) is rather, according to a communication from Mr. T. Burrow, to be read as *aḥa vi*, which the editors give as an alternative.

No. 83. *yam kala tuo nigata rayadvarammi u[kasidavo] ačhati* 'when you must go out down to the king's court'. *yati tuo na ukasida[vo] ačhatu* 'if you should not have to go out'.

No. 188. . . . [*yo*] . . . *tahi karya ačhati, sačhami [a]ham tahi karya karamnae* 'I shall be able to do what business there is of yours'.

Contaminated with *hoti* and *huati* (< *bhāvati*) this verb appears as *hačh*¹ in seventeen documents. Like *ačh*- its use in conditional and relative sentences of the type *yadi bhudārtha ēva hačhati* 'if the fact is so', corresponds closely with the one instance from Aśoka *param ca tena ye me apaca akṣamti*.² As a form of the *modus irrealis*, it is used in the same way as *siyati*, which may account for its appearance in one document (No. 4), like that of *ačhatu* above, as *hačhatu*: *yadi uṭa na viṣarjidae hačhatu* 'if the camel should not be sent'.³ On the other hand *bhaviṣyati* sometimes replaces it, and for the same reason as led Johansson to describe Shāh. *akṣamti* as a future, *hačhati* could be conceived of as a future⁴, whence doubtless the learned spellings in Nos. 223, 366, and 578 as *hačhyati*. Not only its use, but also its form would give it the appearance of a future of the type Skt. *vakṣyati*, *bhakṣyati*, *śakṣyati* (cf. *sačhami* above), etc. In the same way in Prakrit the present stem *gacchaī* became a future,⁵ through the influence of futures like *lacchaī*, *bhecchaī*, *mocchaī* deriving from Sanskrit forms with *-psy-*, *-tsy-*, *-kṣy-*.⁶

In Prakrit a similar contamination of *ho-* with the descendant of *ākṣeti* attests the existence of a *kkh* form of this verb. The reality of AMg. *hokkhaī* which, though frequent, Pischel⁷ wrongly sets down as a false reading of a form resting on a **bhoṣyati*, is proved by the

¹ Rapson and Noble, *Khar. Inscr. Turkestan*, pt. iii, Index, s.vv. *hačhati*, *hačhatu*, *hačhyati*. T. Burrow, *JRAS.* 1935, p. 669, considers *ačh-* to be derived from *hačh-* with the loss of initial *h-* seen occasionally elsewhere in these documents, e.g. *astammi* = *ha°*, *uhati* = *huati*. But there seems no reason to doubt that *ačh-* may be the original form.

² See above, p. 799.

³ Cf. the invasion of the 2 sg. optative by the imperative ending *-su*, Pischel, *Gr. Pkt. Spr.*, § 461. But according to Burrow in his thesis *A Grammar of the Language of the Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions* (deposited in the Cambridge University Library) these, with other forms in *-tu*, are 2 sg. (*-tu* < *tuvām*).

⁴ F. W. Thomas, *Acta Orientalia*, xiii, pp. 61-2, translates two examples in No. 165 as futures: *yo puna tahi karyani hačhamti* 'whatever requirements of yours shall come'; *yo atra śubhāśubhāṇa pravṛti hačhati* 'whatever occurrences of good and bad there shall be'.

⁵ R. Pischel, *Gr. Pkt. Spr.*, § 523: *gacchañ*, *gacchimi*, etc., though Pischel's proposed **gaṣṣyāmi* has no foundation.

⁶ *BSOS.* vi, p. 535; cf. Aśoka Kālsī, etc., *ka(c)chati* replacing ambiguous **kassati*.

⁷ *Gr. Pkt. Spr.*, § 521.

existence of the 'strong auxiliary verb' *hokh-* 'to be, become' in Bhojpuri¹ and in the Magahī west of Gayā.² It might, it is true, be urged that a future *hokkhaī* was formed direct from the root *ho-* after the type *bhōjate* : *bhokṣyati* (cf. Pkt. *bhoyavva-* : *bhokkhaī* = *hoyavva-* : *hokkhaī*). But Magahī of South Patnā and Gayā itself has emphatic forms of the present of the verb 'to be' which correspond exactly in form with *hačhati* of the Kharoṣṭhī documents, viz. 1 sg. *hakī*, 3 sg. *hakai*, 3 pl. *hakhin* : to this last form Grierson³ adds the significant note : 'Forms such as this, containing *kh*, are much used by Kayasth women'. For women especially preserve archaic forms.

A similar, but probably independent, contamination of the two stems exists in the 'optative' of the verb 'to be' in the Nuri dialect of Asiatic gypsy :—

sg. 1 <i>hōcam</i>	pl. <i>hōcān</i>
2 <i>hōci</i> , <i>hōsi</i>	<i>hōcēs</i>
3 <i>hōcer</i>	<i>hōcānd</i> ⁴

In the Middle Indo-Aryan, then, of Shahbazgarhi and of the Kharoṣṭhī Documents we have words for the verb 'to be'—*ākṣ-* and *āčh-*—which correspond in form and meaning with Ksh. *chuh* and Maith. *akh-*, and attest once again that the *cch* of Pa. *acchati* is derived from Skt. *kṣ*, as Beames saw. If he had not had recourse to the imaginary root *akṣ-*, he would have found its obvious origin in Skt. *ā-kṣeti* 'stays, remains, exists'.⁵

Even in causative stems MidIA. *e* < Skt. *aya* was often in Prakrit replaced by *a*.⁶ In most modern languages the inflection is identical

¹ G. A. Grierson, *Seven Gr. Bihārī*, pt. ii, p. 51.

² *Ib.*, pt. iii, p. 31.

³ *Ib.*, pt. iii, p. 31.

⁴ R. A. S. Macalister, *The language of the Nawar*, p. 36. J. Bloch, who was the first to recognize the existence of *acch-* in this dialect, *Journ. Gypsy Lore Soc.*, 3rd ser., xi, p. 32, explains this paradigm a little differently as a compound tense containing 'le radical (ou l'absolutif ?) du verbe *ho-*, suivi d'un verbe conjugué signifiant lui-même 'être'."

⁵ *ā-kṣi-* according to Grassmann occurs six times in RV.; BR. give four references to AV. and none to any subsequent text. *ākṣit-* once in RV., *ānākṣit-* in ŚBr. An **ākṣaya-* m. 'resting-place' possibly survives in Sindhi *ākhero* m. 'bird's nest'. I have found no other surviving verbal form of *kṣi-* in the modern languages. *kṣéma-* (Pa.Pkt. *khema-*, Khar. Doc. *čhema-*, Si. *kṣi* f. 'welfare', Guj. *khem* n. (?) 'well-being', Mar. *kher* m. 'evil accident', Sgh. *semin*, *hemin* 'slowly, softly', *kema* 'magic to avert mischief'; *yogakṣemá-*, see *Nep. Dict.* s.v. *jokhim*) and especially *kṣetra-* (see *Nep. Dict.* s.v. *khet*) have had a considerable fortune.

⁶ Fischel, *Gr. Pkt. Spr.*, § 553.

for both *-a-* and *-aya-* stems.¹ Already in Aśoka in a verb without causative meaning Kāl. has pl. *kalamti* beside sg. *kaleti*² (cf. Shāh. pres. part. *karamtam*³ beside *karoti*). In Pkt. *nei* (< *náyati*) stands in contrast to *ānai* (< *ānayati*). Since the suffix *-e-* (< *-aya-*) is predominantly associated with transitive (causative) verbs, a pre-eminently intransitive verb like *ākṣeti* would all the more easily be replaced by *ākṣati*, a process doubtless assisted by analogies within the form-group itself, such as *carita-* : *carati* = *ākṣita-* : *ākṣati*.

Nevertheless, in the conservative languages of the West and North-West, namely Sindhī and Lahndā, there is evidence that this verb contained an *e*. Sindhī distinguishes the conjugation of *-a-* and *-aya-* verbs of Sanskrit in the old present :—

sg. 1 <i>carā</i> (cf. Pkt. <i>carāmi</i>)	<i>cāriā</i> (cf. Pkt. <i>cāremi</i>)
2 <i>car-ē</i> , <i>-ī</i>	<i>cār-iē</i> , <i>-ē</i> , <i>-ī</i>
3 <i>care</i>	<i>cāre</i>
pl. 1 <i>carū</i>	<i>cāriū</i>
2 <i>caro</i>	<i>cārio</i>
3 <i>carān</i> ⁴	<i>cārīn</i> ⁴

Although the second or *-ī-* conjugation is otherwise confined to transitive verbs, yet the substantive and auxiliary verb *āh-*, which is probably < *ākh-*⁴, belongs to this conjugation :—

sg. 1 <i>āhiā</i>	pl. <i>āhiā</i>
2 <i>āh-ē</i> , <i>-ī</i>	<i>āhio</i>
3 <i>āhe</i>	<i>āhin</i> ⁴

In the Lāṛu⁵ :

sg. 1 <i>āyā</i>	pl. <i>āyū</i>
2 <i>āī</i>	<i>āyo</i>
3 <i>āhe</i>	<i>āhin</i> ⁴

This, so contrary to the conjugational system of Sindhī, can only be the result of a MidIA. form with *-e-*, such as might rest upon a Skt. *ākṣeti*. The retention of *-e-* in the MidIA. ancestor of Sindhī in contrast to Pa. *acchati* is paralleled by *āniā*, etc. (< *ānemī*) beside MPkt. *ānai*.

Lahndā of the Salt Range has 1 sg. *ehwā* (< **āhiwā*), 3 pl. *āhin*⁶ :

¹ Bloch, *L'Indo-aryen*, p. 243.

² Hultzsch, *CII*. vol. i, *Inscr. Aśoka*, p. lxxxii.

³ *Ib.*, p. xcv.

⁴ See below, p. 810.

⁵ *LSI*. viii, i, p. 59.

⁶ *LSI*. viii, 1, pp. 440, 441.

the same dialect contrasts *mārin* < Pkt. *mārenti* with *maresan* < Pkt. *māressanti*.

The existence of the *-a-* form so early and in so conservative an area as Shahbazgarhi may be at first sight unexpected. But we have seen some indication that the plural *-enti* was replaced by *-anti* earlier than the singular *-eti* by *-ati*. It is possible, though not demonstrable, that Aśoka Shāh. had singular **ākseti* to plural *ākṣanti*.

We cannot demarcate with exactness the areas comprising the two main developments of Skt. *kṣ*.¹ In the North-West, from the evidence of the Shahbazgarhi and other Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions² it remained till a comparatively late period as *kṣ*. In the Dardic languages it is still differentiated from Skt. (c)*ch*: e.g. as cerebral *ch* opposed to palatal *ch* in Pashai, Khowar, Palula, Dameli, Bashkarik, and Shina; as *ch* opposed to dental affricate *ch* in Gawarbatī; and as *ch* opposed to *ch* in Tirāhī and Kashmirī.

In Maharāṣṭrī Prakrit as (c)*ch*, and in Marāṭhī as *s*, it has fallen together with Skt. (c)*ch*. It may be that this development was proper to other dialects also: (c)*ch* forms are more common in Ardhamāgadhi than in Śaurasenī,³ but these may be due to the greater influence of Maharāṣṭrī on the former. Nevertheless, there is some evidence that the ancestor of Singhalese, which has some very striking resemblances with Ardhamāgadhi,⁴ was a *ch* language.⁵ As for Gujarātī, which I previously⁶ grouped with the *kh* languages, Bloch points out that it shares with Marāṭhī a small residuum of words in which *kṣ* is represented by *ch* (*s*), and which are not generally found in this form elsewhere.⁷ In the time of Aśoka the language of Gīrnār, where

¹ See J. Bloch, *Langue maratthe*, § 104.

² Sten Konow, *CII*. vol. ii, pt. i, p. cx.

³ Pischel, *Gr. Pkt. Spr.* §§ 317-320.

⁴ *-r-*, preceded by a long vowel, > *-t-* which subsequently was lost like original Skt. *-t-* (see W. Geiger, *A Dictionary of the Singhalese Language*, p. xix); the group *ri(h)* > *aṭ(h)* > *aḷ*.

⁵ W. Geiger, *op. cit.*, p. xxi, and *Literatur und Sprache der Singhalesen*, p. 42.

⁶ *JRAS.* 1921, p. 539.

⁷ He instances, *op. cit.*, p. 113. Guj. *chūdvū* [but also *khūdvū*] 'to pound' = Mar. *sūdṇē*, but Ass. *khundība* 'to pound', Hi. *khūdnā* 'to trample' (Skt. *kṣunatti*, Pkt. *chundāi*, *khundāi*); Guj. *vichālvū* 'to rinse' = Mar. *visaḷṇē* (cf. Skt. *vikṣālita*). Guj. *taras* 'hyena' = Mar. *taras* (Skt. *tarakṣa*, Pk. *taraccha*) and *ūs* 'sugarcane' = Mar. *ūs* (Skt. *ikṣu*, Pkt. *ucchu*) are loans from either Mar. or North Guj. where *ch* > *s* (*JRAS.* 1921, p. 540). I find also Guj. *cho* 'plaster, mortar', *chorū* 'to plaster', but Beng. *kho* 'broken brick', Hi. *khoā* 'broken brick, mortar' (Skt. *kṣoda*, *kṣodati*, *kṣodayati*; Pkt. *khoa* 'powder'); Guj. *lācho* 'fomenting or burning feet with a hot iron' = Mar. *lās* 'mark made by cautery', *lāsē* n. spot, discoloration' (Skt. *lakṣā*, *Nep. Dict.*, s.v. *lākḥ*).

Gujarātī is now spoken, certainly shows $kṣ > cch$.¹ It has only two words with $(k)kh$: *īthījhakha* (cf. Skt. *stryadhyakṣa*-) which with its assimilation of s and r is certainly an Eastern form of an administrative term, and *saṁkhitena* which as a somewhat technical expression may also be an Eastern form. That this development was proper to Gīrnār is strongly supported by the unique *sachāya* (Gir., xiv, 5), which Hultzsch² rightly explains as equal to **saṁkṣāya*. Elsewhere, even perhaps in Sanskrit ($kṣā = khyā$ -) $kṣ > (k)khy$; and even Shahbazgarhi, which still maintained $kṣ$, has kh in *saṁkhaya*. Further, this implies that $ch < kṣ$, since it apparently coincides with $ch < kṣ$, was palatal (a pronunciation borne out by the modern languages, Marāṭhī, Gujarātī and Singhalese in which Skt. $(c)ch$ and $kṣ > (c)ch$ fall together); and that the South-Western change of $kṣ > (c)ch$ was independent of the North-Western $kṣ >$ cerebral $(c)ch$, by which Skt. $kṣ$ is still distinguished from Skt. $(c)ch$.

Forms of Indo-Aryan acquired by non-Aryan jungle tribes sometimes retain archaisms which are lost in the neighbouring standard languages. We have seen the survival of **ākhi* as *āgi* in a jungle dialect on the extreme east of Bengali.³ The survival of a word with $ch < kṣ$ in the Bhīli dialect of Naikaḍī, which is used in the wildest parts of the Panch Mahals and Rewakantha immediately west of the Gujarātī area, and which apparently alone among the languages of the West preserves the archaic *āch*-⁴ is not without significance as to the possibility of an earlier and wider extension of ch forms in the neighbouring Indo-Aryan region. In the specimen from Lunawada State, Rewakantha,⁵ *chetar* occurs for 'field'. The preservation of r in the group *tr*, as in Gīrnār and still in some dialects of Gujarātī, precludes us from supposing an influence of Mahārāṣṭrī *chetta*- ($>$ Mar. *śet*) in which r was assimilated at a much earlier date.

In the East and Centre, but extending into Panjābī, Lahndā, Sindhī, and some of the West Pahārī languages, $kṣ > (k)kh$. Even in our earliest MidIA. documents there is much mixture of vocabulary in this respect⁶; but where ch forms have entered kh dialects as loans the ch is indistinguishable, as in Marāṭhī, from original Skt. $(c)ch$:

¹ Cf. T. Michelson, *JAOS*. 1910, p. 88, quoted by Bloch, loc. cit.

² *CII*. vol. i, *Inscr. Aśoka*, p. 26, note 6.

³ See above, p. 799.

⁴ *āchi* 'is', *āchati* f. 'was' beside *chū* 'am', *LSI*. ix, 3, p. 89.

⁵ *LSI*. ix, 3, p. 89.

⁶ J. Bloch, *L'Indo-aryen*, p. 81.

e.g. Hi. *tāchnā* : *pūchnā* (Skt. *tākṣati*, *prcchāti*) like Mar. *tāsnē* : *pusnē* (contrast Ksh. *tachun* : *prichun*).

It appears, then, that Skt. *ākṣeti* has its proper phonetic form in Shāh. *ākṣamti*, Khar. Doc. (*h*)*ačh*-, Ksh. *chuh*, MPkt. *acchañ* and Mar. *āsñē* and perhaps Guj. *che*, OMaith. *akhalu*, Bhojp. *naikhe*, Nagpuriā *nakhī*, Madhesī *naikhī*, and EBeng. (Cāmkā) *āgi*. It is possible that AMg. *acchañ* also corresponds directly to Skt. *ākṣeti*. It is remarkable that, judging from Pischel's collection of forms,¹ *acch-* did not exist in Śaurasenī (in which *kṣ* > *kkh*); it is most common in Mahārāṣṭrī, coming second in frequency in Ardhamāgadhī.

Among the modern languages the *ch* forms are to be considered loanwords in Hindī, Central and Eastern Pahārī, Mod. Maithilī, Oriyā, Bengali,² and Assamese; perhaps in Gujarātī and Eastern Rājasthānī. This rather extensive spread of a *ch* form over *kh* dialects is not surprising when we find the *cch* form already established in the literary languages of Buddhism and Jainism.

As so often with the individual facts of vocabulary in India, we cannot trace the exact path or paths by which *acch-* spread from the West into this Eastern group. But it occurs twice in the Old Bengali of the Caryās of Kāṇha,³ as the pres. part. *acchante* 'existing, being'. Since generally the language of the Caryās show double consonants shortened with compensatory lengthening of the previous vowel,⁴ the presence of the short vowel with double consonant in this word (contrast, e.g. *nācaa* < Pkt. *nacc-* and *puchami* < *prcchāmi* in No. 3) suggests that it is a loan-word. And, in fact, it occurs quite frequently in the 'Buddhist Apabhraṁśa' of the same school, in the Dohākośa.⁵ Shahidullah⁶ places their composition at the beginning of the eighth century A.D., Chatterji⁷ at the end of the twelfth. P. C. Bagchi⁸ has found in Nepal a fragmentary palm-leaf MS. of the Dohākośa of Saraha dated 220 Nepal saṁvat = A.D. 1100.

The further extension of *ch* forms can be traced in more recent times.

¹ Gr. Pkt. Spr., § 480.

² *ch* forms have not completely driven out the older forms in Bengali as in the negative substantive verb, see below, p. 810.

³ M. Shahidullah, *Les Chants mystiques de Kāṇha et de Saraha*, p. 116 (No. 11). From the other Caryās S. K. Chatterji, *Origin and Development of the Bengali Language*, p. 931, quotes 1 sg. *acchahu*, *acchami*, 2 sg. *acchasi*.

⁴ S. K. Chatterji, *Bengali Language*, p. 118.

⁵ Shahidullah, *op. cit.*, pp. 99, 203.

⁶ *op. cit.*, p. 28.

⁷ *op. cit.*, p. 119.

⁸ *Indian Linguistics*, v, p. 352.

As we have seen, the *Varṇaratnākara* attests the existence in Maithili of *akhalu* till probably the beginning or middle of the fourteenth century A.D.¹ By the end of that century or the beginning of the fifteenth Vidyāpati, who was born in the latter half of the fourteenth century,² regularly uses forms of *ach*.³ Modern Maithili has *ch* forms only.⁴

In Bhojpuri the substantive verb is *bāṭ*-, *bāṛ*- < Skt. *vārtate*. But in North Muzaffapur, on the edge of the Maithili area, forms of *ch* (*chī*, *chā*, *chath*) are also used in the masculine plural.⁵

Elsewhere the contest between (*ā*)*ch*- and (*ā*)*h*- (whether < *ākh*-⁶ or < *ās*- < *āch*-⁷) and the extension of one at the expense of the other can be observed. From the numerous examples of Bhili dialects collected by Grierson⁸ we can establish three areas distinguished by their forms of the verb 'to be'.

1. The Northern with *h*-, comprising Māgrī, Khadak and Kotra (both in Mewar), Nyār, Vāgdī, and Dhar. This forms a continuous area with the *h*-dialects of West Rājasthānī (Mewārī and Mārwarī).

2. The Central with (*ā*)*ch*-, comprising Naikdī, Alirājpur, Baria, Cāraṇī, Ahīrī of Kacch, Barēl, and Pāvri. This forms a bridge between the *ch*-areas of East Rājasthānī (Jaipurī, Harautī, and part of Mālvi) on the east, and Gujarātī on the west.

3. The Southern with (*ā*)*h*-, comprising Māvcī, Norī, Rāṇī Bhili, Codhrī, Gāmtī, and Dhoḍiā Koṅkanī. This is contiguous to the (*ā*)*h*-area of Khāndeśī and Marāṭhī.

Situated on the borders of the Northern and Central areas is the Bhili of Ratlam. Here we find *he* or *chai*.⁹

Lying between the Central and Southern areas the dialect of Rājpiplā shows a mixed paradigm:—

Sg. 1 <i>chū</i> or <i>āhe</i>	Pl. 1 <i>āhe</i> , <i>hē</i>
2 <i>che</i> or <i>āhe</i>	2 <i>āhe</i> , <i>he-rā</i>
3 <i>āhe</i> , <i>he</i>	3 <i>āhe</i> , <i>he-rā</i> ¹⁰

¹ S. K. Chatterji, *Varṇaratnākara*, p. 1.

² G. A. Grierson, *Introduction to the Maithili Language*, pt. ii, p. 34.

³ See references in A. F. R. Hoernle and G. A. Grierson, *Comp. Dict. Bihārī*, s.v. *achh*.

⁴ *LSI.*, v. 2, p. 27.

⁵ G. A. Grierson, *Seven Gr. Bihārī*, pt. ii, p. 44.

⁶ See below, p. 810.

⁷ See below, p. 809.

⁸ *LSI.* ix, 3, pp. 1-201.

⁹ *LSI.* ix, 3, p. 35. In the specimen on p. 36 occur 1 sg. *marū hū*, *nī hū*, *nī ū*; 3 sg. *wāce hai*, *karāyo he*, *karāyo che*.

¹⁰ *LSI.* ix, 3, p. 85.

The East Rājasthānī dialect of Nimāḍī, isolated in the South between the *h*-dialects of Mālvi on its north and the (*ā*)*h*- of Khāndeśī on its south, shows a paradigm in which *āh*- has invaded the 1 pl. :—

Sg. 1 <i>che</i>	Pl. 1 <i>āya</i>
2 <i>che</i>	2 <i>cho</i>
3 <i>che</i>	3 <i>che</i> ¹

Replacement of a homonym is a circumstance favourable to dialectal borrowing. Thus Sindhi, among other languages, in which *rt* > *t(t)*, has *kataṇ*^u 'to spin' (< *kart*-, cf. Skt. *kṛṇātti* and Pkt. *kattai*), but uses an Eastern form *kaṭaṇ*^u 'to cut' (< Skt. *kārtati*, cf. Pkt. *kattai* and *kaṭṭai*). In those languages in which *kṣ* > *kkh*, *ākṣeti* would become homonymous with *ākhyati* 'says', which does, in fact, survive in Pa. *akkhāti*, Pkt. *akkhāi*, Ksh. (Ḍoḍā Sirāji) *ākho* 'word', Pj. *ākkhṇā* 'to say', Lah. *ākhaṇ*, Si. *ākhaṇu*, Guj. *ākhvū*, Bhili and Rājasth. *ākh*-, OHi. *ākhnā*. Conversely, it would seem to be not mere chance that in the East, where on the evidence of dialects in the Bihārī and Bengali areas *akkh*- < *ākṣeti* survived, there is now no trace of **akkh*- < *ākhyati*.

It may now be agreed that a verb, for which in respect both of meaning and form Skt. *ākṣeti* provides an acceptable origin, appears as the substantive and auxiliary verb 'to be' in its expected dialectal form in various parts of the Indo-Aryan domain, although one form, that of the West or South-West, has spread beyond its proper boundaries. Like the verb 'to be' in many other languages, it has been liable to various shortenings which have not affected normal full words. In OMaith. we have *akhalu*, not **ākh*-, though it is impossible to say whether this was a shortening of *ākh*- or an earlier change of **akkh*- to *akh*-. Bhojpurī *khe* has lost the initial vowel altogether, like many of the languages with *ch* forms, such as Ksh. *chuh*, Nep. *cha*, Guj. *che*. If Bengali still has *āche* in the present, it has lost its vowel in the past *chila*, and even in the present when it is used as an auxiliary, *kari(te) āche* > *korce*.

It has been established that not only vowels, but also consonants, in inflectional elements, in certain frequently used adjectives and verbs, in pronouns, and terms of address and postpositions, have experienced changes not found in normal full words. In inflectional elements -*ss*- > -*s*- and -*s*- > -*h*-²; in the adjectives 'big', 'good',

¹ LSI. ix, 2, pp. 315-16.

² JRAS. 1927, p. 232 ff.

'all' double consonants have been shortened, e.g. Panjābī, which maintains double consonants, has *vaḍā*, *bhalā*, *sab* < Pkt. *vaḍḍa*-, *bhalla*-, *savva*-. In the verb 'to say' Pj. *-kh-* > *-h-*, *āhṇā*¹ beside *ākhṇā*; in the verb 'to go' Bhad. *-ch-* > *-h-*: *gāhṇū* < *gacchati*; in the verb 'to be' *-t-* (< *-tt-*) > *-r-* or disappears altogether: Bhojpuri *bāte* > *bāre* and *bā*. In postpositions *-jh-* and *-kh-* > *-h-* in OHi. *māhi* 'in' < *mājhi* (cf. *mājh* 'middle'); OHi. *kāhu* (> Hi. *ko*) < **kākhu*, cf. OBeng. *kakhu*² (beside *kākh* 'armpit'); OGuj. *pāhaīm* 'by, near' is perhaps < *pākhaīm* (cf. Guj. *pākh* 'side, party') rather than OGuj. *pāsaīm*, which survives as *pāse*.³

Similar developments are certainly to be expected in the verb 'to be'; and in Skt. *bhāvati* we have evidence, not only, according to J. Wackernagel,⁴ that *ava* became *o* as early as the Vedic period, but also that in the earliest MidIA. documents the initial consonant has already lost its occlusion, Pa. *hoti*, etc.

Bloch⁵ derives Mar. *asṇē* 'to exist, be', from Pkt. *acchaī*; but, unlike J. T. Molesworth,⁶ he separates this from *āhṇē* 'to be', for which together with Si. *āh-*,⁷ OHi. *ah-*, Pj. Hi., etc., *h-*, he tentatively suggests Skt. *ābhavati*. But *ābhavati* does not occur in Pali, and Prakrit according to the *Pāiasaddamahāṇṇava* of H. T. Seth has only the past participle *āhūa*-. Apart from the fact that the modern languages show no trace of *o* or *u* (< *ava*), it appears unlikely that a verb so widely represented in the modern languages should have left practically no trace in MidIA. Far more likely is it that *asṇē* or **āsṇē* became *āhṇē* in the function of the simple substantive verb. This accords with the difference of meaning as defined by J. Stevenson⁸: *asṇē* 'to be usually, continue to be', *āhṇē* 'to be'. Both forms occur as auxiliaries in the *Jñāneśvarī*, written in A.D. 1290 but revised later.⁹

This assumption is rendered still more probable when we consider

¹ In view of the phonetic weakness of the verb 'to say' in several languages this derivation is far more probable than that it is < Skt. *dha*.

² Beames, *Comp. Gr.*, ii, p. 257; and S. K. Chatterji, *Bengali Lang.*, p. 761.

³ T. N. Dave, *A study of the Gujarātī Language in the Sixteenth Century V.S.*, p. 161.

⁴ *Altindische Grammatik*, § 108.

⁵ *Langue marathe*, p. 289.

⁶ *A Dictionary, Marāthī and English*, s.v.

⁷ The root is more properly *āh-*. The nasalization, when it appears, depends upon the nasalization of a terminational syllable: thus *āhe*: *āhiā*.

⁸ *Principles of Marāthī Grammar*, pp. 113, 114.

⁹ J. Bloch, *op. cit.*, p. 35.

the *kh* forms derived from *ākṣeti*. Magahī beside emphatic and archaic (women's) 3 pl. *hakhin* 'are' has unemphatic *hakin*.¹

It may be observed from the English sentences *he's here* : *he isn't here* ; *they're here* : *they aren't here*, that in the negative sentences the verb may carry more stress than in the positive. In Nepali, where an original monosyllable maintains its length (e.g. *so*, *ko*, *jo* < Skt. *só*, *kó*, *yó*), **chai* (< *acchāi*) became *cha*, but remained in the negative *chaina*. So in the Bihārī dialect of Kuṛmālī Thār² we have *nekhe* 'is not' beside *āhe* 'is', and Nagpuriā³ *nakhe* beside *ahe*. There can be little doubt that in these cases the *āh-* forms are derived from *ākh-* forms. It may be further presumed that in languages, which no longer preserve any trace of *kh* forms, their *āh-* is the unemphatic derivative of earlier *ākh-*. Traces of this *āh-*, not entirely driven out by Western *acch-*, are to be seen even in Bengali ; for corresponding to the present of the positive substantive verb *āchi*, etc., we have the negative :—

<i>nahi</i>	<i>nahi</i>
<i>nahis</i>	<i>naha</i>
<i>nahe</i>	<i>nahen</i> ⁴

Lastly, among these languages some, beside *āh-*, have less emphatic forms beginning with *h-*. Thus in East Hindī : Bagheli 3 pl. *ahen* beside *hai*⁵ ; West Hindī : Bundeli 3 sg. *āy* beside *he*,⁶ Kanauji 1 pl. *āhinu* beside usual *hanu*,⁷ Banāphari 3 sg. *āhai* beside *hai*.⁸ It is clear that the *h-* forms are derived from *āh-*, and that this derivation, as Bloch suggested, must be extended to those languages, such as Standard Hindī, which possess only *h-* forms, e.g. Hi. *hai*.⁹

This (*ā*)*h-* provides the present, and in some cases the past, of the substantive and auxiliary verb over the whole of the Central and North-Western area of India proper, namely Bihārī (except Maithilī with *ch-* and Bhojpuri with *bāt*, *bār-*), East and West Hindī, Panjābī,

¹ G. A. Grierson, *Seven Gr. Bihārī*, pt. iii, p. 32.

² *LSI*. v, 2, p. 148.

³ *LSI*. v, 2, p. 280.

⁴ J. D. Anderson, *A Manual of the Bengali Language*, p. 15.

⁵ *LSI*. vi, p. 22.

⁶ *LSI*. ix, 1, p. 93.

⁷ *LSI*. ix, 1, p. 402.

⁸ *LSI*. ix, 1, p. 483.

⁹ I was clearly wrong in *Nep. Dict.* s.v. *hunu* in connecting these forms with Hi. *honā*, Nep. *hunu*, etc., which are < Skt. *bhāvati*, though the two verbs have exercised mutual influence on each other. There is much chance of confusion when the two words differ only in their vowels : Hi. *hai* 'is' < *ākṣeti*, *hoy* 'may be' < *bhāvati*.

West Pahārī,¹ Lahndā, Sindhī, and West Rājasthānī. It will be observed that except for a small enclave in West Pahārī (viz. Bhadravāhī and Bhalesī in which Skt. *kṣ* > *ch*) this area coincides with that to which the change, *kṣ* > *kkh*, belongs.

To sum up, Skt. *ā-kṣeti*² provides the present tense of the substantive and auxiliary verb over almost the whole domain of Modern Indo-Aryan. It has in a few regions been supplemented, and here and there replaced, by *rah-* 'to remain' and by descendants of Skt. *vārtate*. Only on the fringes are other verbs employed: in Singhalese *as-*, *sad-*, *sthā-*; in Gypsy³ and Dardic⁴ and a little group at the east end of West Pahārī forms of *as-* or of *ās-*. The isolated Rājasthānī group

¹ Maṇḍeālī, *LSI*, ix, 4, p. 724; Maṇḍeālī Pahārī, p. 746; Cameālī, p. 780; Gādi p. 799; Curāhī, p. 825; Paṅgwālī, p. 851; Bhadravāhī and Bhalesī, p. 893; Pāḍarī, p. 906.

² Bloch (*Ind. Ling.*, ii, p. 32) showing that the *s* of Kashmiri 1 sg. *chus* is < (a)mi, supports Grierson's assumption (*Garbe-Festgabe*, p. 30) that this tense with its variation for gender is derived from a past participle, Pkt. *acchia-* [= Skt. *dkṣita-*]. But with the exception of this and perhaps the Hunza Ḍom verb referred to below (note 4), the forms of the present tense everywhere seem to be derived from the present tense of Sanskrit (*BSOS*, v, p. 138). Where, as in Maithilī, there is differentiation of gender, it has been introduced secondarily through the influence of the participial tenses. In the Nepālī paradigm:—

	Sg.		Pl.	
	m.	f.	m.	f.
1	<i>chū</i>	<i>chū</i>	<i>chāū</i>	<i>chāū</i>
2	<i>chas</i>	<i>ches</i>	<i>chau</i>	<i>cheu</i>
3	<i>cha</i>	<i>che</i>	<i>chan</i>	<i>chin</i>

the separate feminine forms may be due to a purely phonetic change, whereby *cha-*, preceded by the final *-ī* of a feminine substantive, adjective, or participle, became *che-* (which before a nasal regularly > *chi-*). The 1 pl. f. *chāū* (instead of **cheū*) is due to the analogy of the 1 sg. *chū*, in which there is no *a* to be influenced by a preceding *-ī*. The present tense with its special feminine forms,

2 sg. m. *carchas* < **caradu* (or *-o*) *chas* < *caramito* (or *-ao*) *acchasi*
 f. *carches* < **caradi* (or *-ī*) *chas* < *caramīti* (or *-iā*) *acchasi*,

provides a marked contrast with the future in *-ne*. Here in the feminine no *-ī* precedes the auxiliary; and consequently, as Rājguru Hemcandra in his *Gorkhā-bhāṣā-vyākaraṇ*, p. 89, specifically points out, there is no change for gender in the auxiliary:—

	Sg.	Pl.
	m. and f.	m. and f.
2	<i>garne chas</i>	<i>garne chau</i>
3	<i>garne cha</i>	<i>garne chan</i>

³ J. Bloch, *Indian Linguistics*, ii, pp. 27 ff.

⁴ Nevertheless, Lieut.-Col. D. L. R. Lorimer in a letter dated 2nd October, 1935, informs me that in the language of the Ḍoms of Hunza, of which the vocabulary is largely Shina or akin to Shina, the present tense of the verb 'to be' is:—

	Sg.	Pl.
	1 <i>cis</i> (or <i>ch-</i>)	1 <i>cō</i>
2	<i>cāi</i>	2 <i>cōt</i>
3 m.	<i>cā</i>	3 <i>cē</i>
f.	<i>cī</i>	

with *s-* in Mewātī and Ahīrwātī and the Bhīlī of Mahikantha, Jhabuā, and the Panchmahals, are perhaps formations from the past tense which Bloch has shown to be very widely based on the imperfect of Skt. *as-*.¹

The descendants of *ākṣeti* appear in their normal phonetic form with *kṣ* in the Shahbazgarhi inscription of Aśoka and in the Kharoṣṭhī documents from Niya; with *ch* (distinguished from *ch* < Skt. *cch*) in Kashmīrī and its closely related dialects of Pogulī, Doḍā Sirājī, and Rāmbanī; with *cch* (which falls together with original Skt. *cch*) in Prakrit (especially Mahārāṣṭrī), becoming *ch* in Gujarātī and *s* in Marāṭhī; with *kh* in isolated parts of Bihārī and the extreme east of Bengali. If *kh* forms existed generally in the East, they have been driven out by *ch* forms of the West. We were able to trace the process of replacement in the Maithilī area.

Where *ākh-* persisted, we observed the tendency in the unstressed forms to change *-kh-* to *-h-*, which supported the derivation from *ākh-* of the (*ā*)*h-* forms found over the whole of the rest of the *kṣ* > *kh* area. The Sindhi *āhi-*, preserving evidence in its paradigm of an original stem ending in *-e-*, added cogency to this assumption.

¹ BSL. xxxiii, pp. 55 ff.

Some Dravidian Prefixes¹

By EDWIN H. TUTTLE

BRĀHUI regularly has *a* for ancient short *e*, and *e* for ancient weak-stressed *ai*. Brāhui *kane* (me) corresponds to a blend of Tamil dative *enakku* and accusative *ennai*, with the dative-formant prefixed instead of being suffixed: *kane* < **kenai*. This inversion of the usual arrangement, parallel with English *thereby* = *by that*, is one of the few cases where a prefix is plainly visible in Dravidian. Another example, explained below, is to be seen in Brāhui *dēr* (who) for **ēr*, and in the equivalent Kanara *dāru* beside *āru* and *jāru*, corresponding to Tamil *jār* < **ehar*. With regard to recognized elements of inflexion and word-formation, Dravidian is nearly always suffixal, not prefixal: this is why I have ventured to compare Dravidian with Nubian, which is likewise usually suffixal and only rarely prefixal (*JAOS.*, 1932, vol. 52, p. 133).

In the *American Journal of Philology*, 1919, vol. 40, p. 84, I have shown that initial *sn* became *h* in Brāhui; *h* (from *s*) in Gōndi; *s* in Kui; *t* in Malto; *n* in Kanara and Tamil; *t* in Telugu; *t*, *s*, and *h* in the three dialects of Tulu. Afterward, in order to explain a similar variation of initial sounds, I evolved the theory of an ancient *zn*, supposed to make *n* in the southern tongues; *d* in Brāhui; *h* or zero in Gōndi; *s* in Kui; *t* in Kurukh-Malto (*A. J. Ph.*, 1923, vol. 44, p. 71). The evidence for the assumed developments was taken mainly from the following words: Kanara *nālige*, Tamil *nā*, *nākkū*, Telugu *nālike*, *nāluka*, Tulu *nālāji*, Brāhui *duī*, Kurukh *tatxā* (tongue); Kanara *nettar*, Telugu *netturu*, Brāhui *ditar* (blood); southern *nīr* and *nīru*, Brāhui *dīr*, Gōndi *ējar*, *ēr*, *jēr*, *jār*, Kui *sīru* (water); Telugu *nōru*, Brāhui **dōr*, Kui *sudā*, Malto *toro* (mouth), Gōndi *mussōr* (nose). Brāhui **dōr* is apparently represented by Dardic *dōr* (mouth); former contact of Brāhui and Dardic is shown by Brāhui *dū* = Dardic *dui* (hand). Gōndi *mus-* in *mussōr* corresponds to Malto *muso* (nose), *ss* being kept where a simple *s* should have become *h* or zero. The ending of Kui *sudā* seems to have come from a Kolarian equivalent **moda* or **muda* represented in the compound *tomod* (*JAOS.*, 1926, vol. 46,

¹ In the following remarks, as in my other writings on Dravidian, I use *j* with the value of Dutch *j*.

p. 310). The ending of Tulu *nālāji* was evidently taken from Tulu *bāji* (mouth).

Singhalese regularly has *d* for an ancient initial voiced palatal occlusive, as in *dana* (knee), *diva* (tongue); the development was probably through *dž*, *dz*, *ḍ*. Apparently an older form of Brāhui *duī*, such as **diu* or **div*, was taken from Singhalese before that tongue emigrated from Northern India. In constructing the *zn*-theory, I overlooked the probable source of Brāhui *duī*. The word must be removed from the list. Contact of Brāhui and premigrational Singhalese is apparently shown by Brāhui *ē* (that) and *ō* (that), corresponding to the equivalent Singhalese *ē*- and *ō*-.

The *zn*-theory, upset by a belated discovery of Gōndi *nattur* (blood), must be discarded. Such a word as "hare" might well travel—with the thing so named—from Gōndi to other Dravidian tongues: Kanara *mola* (hare), instead of a normal **mosal* corresponding to Tamil *mujal* and *muṣal*, is evidently based on an older form of Gōndi *malōl* < **molal*, and Brāhui *murū* likewise looks like a borrowing from the Gōndi word. But it is hard to believe that tribes of hunters could have lost their word for "blood" and then taken it from another Dravidian tongue.

In literary Kanara the word *adu* (that thing) is sometimes prefixed to an interrogative, as *adār* (who) for simple *ār*. This queer construction is probably derived from the sentence *ad ēn* (that [is] what?), misunderstood as a simple word (what), and explains the *d* that is prefixed to Brāhui *dēr* and Kanara *dāru* (who). It also gives a clue to the explanation of *d* in Brāhui *ditar*, *dīr*, **dōr*.

In most varieties of Dravidian we find at least two simple vowels used as demonstrative adjectives. Ordinary Gōndi has lost the demonstrative adjectives, and uses pronouns instead, as *ad malōl* beside Kanara *ā mola*, Tamil *a mmujal* or *a mmuṣal* (that hare). We may assume such a use of pronouns in other varieties of early Dravidian. Thus it is easy to explain Brāhui *dīr* as owing its *d* to **ad *īr*; compare English *the tother* from *that other*. I now believe that an initial *d* in Brāhui nouns, where it corresponds to a southern *n*, or to southern zero (if there are any such cases), is a prefix of the kind just stated. It is also possible that a sentence like **ad *īr* (that [is] water) was mistaken for a simple noun (water) and reduced to *dīr*.

Ancient *s* has generally disappeared in Southern Dravidian, and seems to be lost medially in Gōndi-Kui and initially in Kurukh-Malto (A. J. Ph., 1919, vol. 40, p. 83). The lost medial *s* may be replaced by

hiatus-filling $v < w$ or $g < gw < w$. Thus **asan* (he) is the basis of Kurukh *ās*, Gôndi *ôn-* < **aun* < **awan*, Kui *aan-*, *avan-*, Telugu *vān-* < **awan*, Kanara *ava*, Tamil *avan*. Kurukh has added *n* to *nē* (who) by misdivision of **asan* **ē* (he [is] who?): when **asan* was reduced to **asa* before consonants, the group **asan* **ē* kept *n* and was misdivided as **asa nē*. English was formerly encumbered with sexless genders like those of Latin; it has lost them, aside from a feminine applied mainly to artificial objects. We may assume that early Dravidian possessed sexless genders, and that in *nir* and perhaps other such words the *n* came from the end of a prefixed **asan*, the masculine demonstrative; compare English *a newt* from *an evele*.

Another explanation of prefixed *n* is possible. Beside the inflected genitive *ena*, Tamil has *en* (my) without any suffix. This form becomes *enn* before a vowel. If a similar **enn* was formerly used in the other Dravidian tongues, we might assume that its final *n* became by misdivision the initial *n* of words often combined with "my", such as *nālige*, *nettar*, *nōru*.

Ancient initial *sn* became *s* in early Gôndi-Kui and *t* in Kurukh-Malto. By assuming a reduction of prefixed **asan* through **asn* to **sn*, or a misdivision of **asn* combined with a noun, we have an explanation for the *s* of Kui *sudā*, Gôndi *-sōr*, and for the *t* of Kurukh *tatxā*, Malto *toro*. Kui *siru* seems to represent **asir* < **icar*, beside Kanara *esaru* < **icar* (boiled water); but **icar* is apparently a compound corresponding to Gôndi *aťjār* (boiling water), from *aťtānā* (boil) and a variant of *ēr* not otherwise in use.

In conclusion I would assume that, aside from *duī*, the words listed above may have had the basic forms **ālak* (tongue), **idhur* or **udhir* (blood), **ihar* (water), **or* (mouth). The word for "tongue" is similar to Kolarian *alayg* or *lāyg*. The word for "water" is similar to Malay *ajēr*. The word for "blood" looks like Aryan *rudhira*.

It is probable that further research would reveal other Dravidian words having consonants prefixed in some way or ways like what I have suggested. An obvious example is Tamil *neruppu* (fire) beside *eri* (burn).

Joan Josua Ketelaar of Elbing, author of the First Hindūstānī Grammar

By J. PH. VOGEL

IN his *Linguistic Survey of India*,¹ Sir George Grierson has drawn attention to the first Hindūstānī grammar, and given some particulars about its author, Joan Josua Ketelaar, who was a German in the service of the Dutch East India Company. In the present paper I wish to supplement the information regarding Ketelaar's career by means of some biographical data mostly drawn from the Company's records preserved in the "Rijks Archief" at The Hague.²

Ketelaar's real family name was Kettler. He was born at Elbing on the Baltic, 25th December, A.D. 1659, as the eldest son of the bookbinder Josua Kettler. The future ambassador to the Great Mogul and to the Shāh of Persia started his career in the humble profession of his father. But while a bookbinder's apprentice, he grossly misbehaved, robbing his master and even trying to poison him. It may be that the master-bookbinder was a disagreeable person. Anyhow, young Kettler was dismissed, and went off first to Dantzig, where he committed another theft, and then to Stockholm. This happened in the year 1680.

Two years later we meet him again at Amsterdam, where he takes service under the East India Company, which used to draw a large number of its lower personnel from Germany. Kettler now becomes "Ketelaar", and it appears that with his name his conduct also changed. In May, 1682, he sailed to Batavia in the ship '*t Wapen van Alkmaar*', and in 1683 was sent from there to Surat, where he started as a "pennist" or clerk. Evidently he did well, for he made quick promotion. In 1687, his chief, Anthony Vogel, who was Senior Merchant and Deputy Director of the Dutch factory at Surat, made him "Assistant" at fl. 20 p.m.

¹ *L.S.I.*, vol. ix, Calcutta, 1916, part i, pp. 6-8. Cf. also *Proc. A.S.B.*, May, 1895.

² I wish here to give expression to my gratitude for assistance kindly rendered by Dr. R. Bylsma, Keeper of the State Records, The Hague, Dr. F. W. Stapel, and Dr. A. J. Bernet Kempers. To Dr. Stapel I owe most of the information regarding Ketelaar's career in India.

In 1696 he was promoted to the rank of accountant ("boekhouder") on a monthly pay of 30 guilders. In this capacity he was employed first at the Company's head office at Surat, subsequently as deputy ("secunde") in the factory at Aḥmadābād and, from 1700, as chief of the factory at Agra. In 1701, on account of his ability, he was raised to the rank of a Junior Merchant ("onderkoopman") at fl. 40 p.m. for a period of five years.

During the years 1705–8 he was twice deputed to Mokka in Arabia, with the object of purchasing coffee. Notwithstanding great difficulties, including an encounter with a French pirate, Ketelaar fulfilled this task to the satisfaction of his superiors. After his return from his first voyage to Arabia he was promoted to the rank of "Merchant" on a salary of fl. 65 p.m. This happened by a Resolution of the Governor-General in Council, dated 15th December, 1706.

Ketelaar was still away on his second Arabian expedition when the Central Government at Batavia decided to employ him again at Surat, "on account of his experience and capacity in the Moorish language and customs." This was on 7th September, 1708. By the same Resolution he was appointed "Senior Merchant" at a monthly salary of 75 guilders. About this time, the Governor-General and his Council had projected an Embassy to be sent to the successor of Aurangzeb, who had died in the preceding year, as soon as the chance of war would have decided who of his sons was to be that successor. It was thought that Ketelaar might be usefully employed in this important mission.

The man first intended to be the Company's ambassador to the Great Mogul was Cornelis Besuyen, the Director of the Surat factory, and Ketelaar was selected to be his deputy. But when the former died after a lingering illness, Ketelaar took his place, both as Director of Surat and as head of the Embassy. The respective Resolution of the Governor-General in Council is dated 1st August, 1711.

By this time Ketelaar had already started on his expedition,¹ which took him to Lahore, where Shāh 'Ālam Bahādur Shāh was encamped. While the negotiations were still in progress, that emperor suddenly died on 28th February, 1712; the Dutch Ambassador then became a witness of the series of fights fought under the walls of

¹ An English translation of the journal of Ketelaar's Embassy was published in the *Journal of the Panjāb Historical Society*, vol. X (1929). An edition of the original document is in preparation.

Lahore by the four sons of the deceased emperor, and ending with the victory of the eldest son, Jahāndār Shāh. The Dutch Embassy accompanied the new emperor on his march to Delhi in the hot season of 1712, and stayed in the capital during the ensuing rains. All the time the negotiations about the *firmāns*, the acquisition of which was the chief aim of Ketelaar's mission, were protracted, and at last, after incredible procrastination, the coveted documents were obtained.

In October, the Ambassador started on his return journey by way of Agra, Gwalior, Narwar, Sārangpur, Ujjain, Dohad, and Godhra. On their journey from Surat to Agra the Hollanders had travelled through Rājputānā not by the usual road, but by a shorter route, which took them through Mewār. The rulers of Rājputānā, whose territories they passed, and especially the Rānā of Udaipur facilitated their progress. It was the high-handedness of an imperial officer subordinate to the *shāh* of Ajmīr, which caused serious trouble. They also had to pay considerable sums on account of *rāhdārī*, especially when crossing the dominions of the Jāt chief Churāman.

On their return journey through Central India they met with much more serious difficulties, and had repeatedly to fight their way through the peasantry in revolt. They encountered almost every species of brigands by which the highways of India were then infested—Mewātīs, *grasias*, Bhils, and Kōlis. Besides, large sums had to be spent to secure the necessary escorts from the Rājput chiefs of Mālwa, although on the whole these petty rulers were friendly. The passage through the mountainous regions of Jhabua and Bāriya was attended with great hardships. When, at last, the Embassy reached Gujarāt, they were greeted with the unpleasant news of Jahāndār's defeat. The victory of Farrukhsiyar meant that all hardships had been sustained in vain, for it was not to be expected that the new emperor would acknowledge the privileges granted by his uncle. This was all the more disappointing, as the expenditure incurred on the Embassy had been enormous. No wonder that the authorities at Batavia were little pleased with the negative results of the costly mission. The blame was laid on the ambassador, although it could not be denied that Ketelaar had shown throughout a remarkable courage, tact, and patience.

That this was silently recognized we may infer from the fact that in 1715 he was entrusted again with an important mission to the Persian Court. We do not wish here to give an account of Ketelaar's

Persian embassy.¹ It may suffice to state that on this occasion, too, he exhibited a remarkable ability. But both on the journey from the coast to Ispahān and during his prolonged stay at the capital he suffered from ill-health, and after his return he died at Gamroon (Bandar Abbās) on 12th May, 1718. His remains were buried in the Dutch cemetery outside the town, and a monument, described as a "pyramid, 30 cubits high", was erected over his grave. This monument is no longer extant.²

Ketelaar had bequeathed a large sum of money to the Protestant churches in his native town, Elbing. One of these churches, named "Zum heiligen Leichnam", purchased for the money a new organ, which was erected against the western wall. The cost was 1,562 florins 29 groschen. An oil-painted portrait of the donor may still be seen at the side of the organ. It shows a full face, with a straight nose and resolute chin, covered with a profuse periwig according to the fashion of the period. In a Latin work, *Elbinga Litterata* (Elbing, 1742), p. 90, it is recorded that Ketelaar's nephew, Samuel Grütner, who had accompanied his uncle on his Persian embassy, and was the executor of his will, thus became the owner of three large-sized volumes in which Ketelaar had given his own biography in the Dutch language. The author calls these volumes "publica luce, si quid recte judico, dignissima"; but, unfortunately, they are no longer traceable. It is very much to be hoped that some day they may come to light again.

A manuscript copy of Ketelaar's Hindūstānī grammar is preserved in the "Rijks-Archief" at The Hague. It has the following title: "Instructie off onderwijsinghe der Hindoustanse, en Persiaanse Talen, nevens hare declinatie en conjugatie, als mede vergeleykinge der hindoustanse med de hollandse maat en gewichten mitsgaders beduydingh eenieger moorse namen etc. door Joan Josua Ketelaar, Elbingensem en gecopieert door Isaacq van der Hoeve, van Uytreght.

¹ Sir George Grierson has quoted some particulars from the curious account of a German soldier, named Johann Gottlieb Worms, who belonged to the ambassador's bodyguard. It was published with some other writings of the same author at Dresden in 1737 under the title *Ost-Indian- und Persianische Reisen* by a German pastor, M. Crispinus Weisen. A second edition appeared at Leipzig in 1745.

² The British Consul at Bandar Abbās has informed me that there existed "a very old ruin in the shape of a monument situated on the border of the oldest part of the town (once Gambroon), which was known as 'Goor-i-Ferangh' (Europeans' grave), but this ruin, and others in close vicinity to it, were demolished about twenty-five years ago, when it was decided to build new houses on the site."

Tot Leckenauw A° 1698." In English: "Instruction or Tuition in the Hindūstānī and Persian languages, besides their declension and conjugation, together with a comparison of the Hindūstānī with the Dutch weights and measures, likewise the significance of sundry 'Moorish' names, etc., by Joan Josua Ketelaar, Elbingensem, and copied by Isaac van der Hoeve of Utrecht. At Lucknow, A° 1698."

We have seen that in 1700 Ketelaar was put in charge of the Dutch factory at Agra. In a letter dated 14th May of that year the Director and Council of Surat sent instructions to Ketelaar and his deputy Isaac van der Hoeve regarding the management of the Agra factory which was then re-established. From this letter it is evident that both Ketelaar and his assistant had been employed in those parts before for a considerable time. This is a point of some importance, as we may conclude that Ketelaar had acquired his knowledge of the language not only in Gujarāt, but also at Agra and Lucknow, where Hindūstānī is spoken in a much purer form. The copy now at The Hague was written by Ketelaar's assistant at Lucknow in 1698, and we may perhaps assume that the grammar had been completed by its author in the same year or shortly before.

The Dutch original was never printed and the manuscript copy at The Hague is the only one known to exist. A Latin translation of it was published by David Mill(ius), professor of Oriental languages in the University of Utrecht, in his *Miscellanea Orientalia*.¹ It is through this work that the grammar has become known.

Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji² has given a detailed account of Ketelaar's Hindūstānī grammar in its Latin garb. He arrives at the conclusion that the Hindūstānī on which the grammar is based is not a very pure language, but the patois spoken in the bāzārs (bāzārū bōlī) at Bombay and Surat. I doubt whether this qualification is quite correct. It is perhaps largely due to the transliteration of the Hindūstānī words which is necessarily unsatisfactory and clumsy, as it is not based on a scientific system. In all probability Ketelaar could neither read nor write Hindūstānī; he had to depend on hearing and produced the sounds in writing as best as he could, according to the spelling of the Dutch language. The difficulty came in when he had to deal with phonetic values which do not exist in that language, such as the palatal and cerebral consonants.

¹ Mill's *Miscellanea Orientalia* forms part of his *Dissertationes Selectae*, published at Leyden in 1743.

² Drivedi Abhinandan Granth, Benares, 1933, pp. 194-203.

It does not seem very likely that a man in Ketelaar's position derived his knowledge of Hindūstānī mainly from the bāzār. He had no doubt daily dealings with people of the lower classes, such as the "peons" in the service of the East India Company, but his work brought him also into contact with respectable Indians belonging to the commercial caste. These were in the first place the brokers (*dalāl*) or agents (*wakīl*) who played such an important part in the trade of the Europeans in India. They were invariably merchants of good standing, such as Mohan Dās whose fame for charity was so great that his house was spared when Shivaji plundered Surat.

In the course of his mission to the Imperial Court, we see Ketelaar in touch with the highest dignitaries. In the journal of the Embassy, it is mentioned that, when paying a visit to the amīr-ul umarā Zulfiqār Khān, he conversed with the latter in Hindūstānī, whilst his deputy, Rogier Beerenaard, made use of Persian. We also find it stated that the ambassador was on friendly terms with a man like Amānat Khān, who was the *ṣūbahdār* first of Gujarāt, and later of Mālwa.

It occurs to me that the versions of sacred texts reproduced from Ketelaar's grammar by Sir George Grierson and Dr. S. K. Chatterji do not reflect the language of the bāzār. How far his Hindūstānī has been influenced by Gujarātī or by the patois of the Western ports I am unable to decide. As a first attempt Ketelaar's "Instructie" may be regarded as a creditable production. Although obviously intended to serve the practical purposes of trade, it betrays a scholarly curiosity which is also noticeable in the account of his Indian Embassy.

Altindische und mittellindische Miszellen

Von J. WACKERNAGEL

1. SUBHRTAM BHR-

ALTPERS. *ubrtam abaram* ist von Tedesco, *Zschr. für Indol.* 2, 44 ff., und von Altheim ebenda 3, 33, zu richtiger Deutung ähnlicher Awesta-Stellen verwertet worden. (Vgl. auch Lommel, *Or. Literatur-Ztg.* 1934, 180, der eine leise Abweichung zwischen den beiden Sprachen in der Verwendung der Phrase feststellt.) Merkwürdiger Weise hat keiner der beiden Gelehrten darauf hingewiesen, dass sich dieselbe Wendung auch im Indischen findet. Schon der Rigveda bietet 4, 50, 7c, *bṛhaspátim yáḥ súbhṛtam bibhárti* „der den Bṛhaspati hoch in Ehren hält“ und 9, 97, 24d *ṛtām bharat súbhṛtaṁ cārv induh* „Indu trägt gut die schöne Ordnung“. Dazu kommt aus der Brähmaṇa-Prosa PB. 8, 8, 16, *tā abruvan „súbhṛtaṁ no abhārṣīr“ iti; tasmāt saubharam* „sie sagten: „wohl gepflegt hast du uns“; daher der Name saubhara“; und die entsprechende Stelle JB. 1, 187, so 'bravīt „súbhṛtaṁ vā imāḥ prajā abhārṣam“ iti; tad eva saubharasya saubharatvaṁ, súbhṛtaṁ prajāṁ bibharti, ya evaṁ veda.

Die Überlieferung gibt an diesen Stellen das mit *su-* beginnende Wort nicht ganz gleichmässig wieder. Im PB. neben dem pluralischen Akkusativ *naḥ* mit der Endung *-tam*; im JB. an der ersten Stelle neben dem pluralischen *imāḥ prajāḥ* ebenso (allerdings in der Entstellung zu *svratam*), während an der zweiten Stelle neben dem Singular *prajāṁ* die Handschriften zwischen *súbhṛtam* und *sabḥṛtām* schwanken. Caland schreibt im JB. durchweg *súbhṛtam*; es wäre dann anzunehmen, dass in der Prosa das mit *su-* beginnende Adjektiv, das im RV. wie im Iranischen mit dem substantivischen Objekt kongruierte, erstarrt wäre. Man könnte geneigt sein statt dessen vielmehr die Kongruenz des Adjektivs auch an den Stellen der Brähmaṇas durchzuführen, also im PB. *súbhṛtā(h)*, im JB. *súbhṛtā(h)* und *súbhṛtām* zu schreiben. Aber das Schwanken der Endung wiederholt sich, wie wir gleich sehen werden, anderwärts.

Die Wendung erhält sich in weiterer vorklassischer Prosa mit *su-sambhṛta-*: Baudh. 2, 6 (p. 43, 8), *etān susambhṛtān sambharān punar eva sambharati*; 7, 6 (p. 208, 8), *susambhṛtaṁ sambharanyām sambhṛtya* (Caland, *Das rituelle Sūtra des Baudhāyana*, p. 52).

Also mag die altpersisch-awestische Wendung *hubrtam bar-* zwar „une locution traditionnelle et religieuse“ sein, wie Benveniste in *Bull. Soc. ling.*, 31, 63 f., und S. 220 Anm. seiner Neubearbeitung von Meillets *Grammaire du Vieux Perse* meint; aber man hat kaum einen Grund mit ihm dahinter „une action mède“ zu vermuten. Vielmehr liegt darin ein viel älteres den Indern und Iranern gemeinsames Erbstück vor.

Eine Menge solcher den beiden Sprachen gemeinsamen Wortgruppen und Phrasen ist längst nachgewiesen. Noch neuerdings hat Lommel (*Zschr. für Indol.*, 8, 270 ff.) auf den schon von Bartholomae bemerkten Parallelismus zwischen jAw *ərəduwā hištanta* „standen hilfsbereit“ und vedischem *ūrdhvó asthāt* usw. hingewiesen. Vgl. auch *azd(ā)-karā* „Kundmacher“ in Elephantine mp. *azdegar* (Schaefer, *Iran. Beitr.*, 1, 66) gegenüber ai. *addhā-kr-*¹, das zu der Entsprechung zwischen gAw. *vistō . . . azdā*: ved. *addhā vid-* „zuverlässig wissen“ hinzukommt; nicht zu gedenken der zahlreichen gemeinsamen nominalen und verbalen Komposita. (Vgl. *upari-šyena-* unten.)

Übrigens ist weder die Wendung *hubrtam bar-* im Iranischen, noch deren indische Entsprechung im Indischen isoliert. Schon Benveniste aaO. hat auf das völlig gleichartige altpersische *ufraštam* (bzw. *ufraštā*) *pars-* hingewiesen, das neben singularischem und pluralischem Objektakkusativ „gründlich strafen“ bedeutet. Aber auch awestische Parallelen sind, allerdings in anderem Sinne, schon beigebracht worden. So Yt. 10, 68, *yať dim hu-irixtəm irinaxti* „wohin er ihn mächtig dahinschiessen lässt“; Visp. 14, 1, *gāθq huframarəta framarəmnq, hufrāyaštq frāyaēzyantq* (ähnlich 16, 0 *yasnam . . . -əm*) „die Gāthā gut hersagend, gut Weihend“.

Aus dem Altindischen liefert die Brāhmaṇa- und die Sūtraprosa weitere Beispiele: KB. 2, 1 (4, 8 L.) *supratyūdhān aṅgarān pratyūhet* „er schiebe die Kohlen gehörig zurück“ (vgl. ŚŚS. 2, 8, 15 [aṅgarān] *supratyūdhān pratyuhya*); Vādhūlas. 59 (ed. Caland, *Acta or.*, 4, 165 f.) *etat supratimriktaṃ pramicya* „diesen (Kopf) tüchtig ausgekocht habend“. Ferner (Caland, *Das rituelle Sūtra des Baudhāyana* 52 u. Pitṛmedh. p. xiii) Baudh. Śr. 5, 1, 18 (27, 4) *tryaṅgulam . . . saṃ-tryptaṃ saṃtarpya*, 6, 25 (185, 16) *athainām . . . sūparibaddhām upanibadhnāti*; Baudh. Pitṛmedh. 3 (7, 10) *cārusthalīm susambhinnām bhinatti*, 11 (16, 10) *etat ādahanam . . . savokṣitam avokṣya* und (17, 1)

¹ ai. *addhā* mit *kr-* ist bis jetzt anscheinend nur in dem Gaṇa *sāksāt* bezeugt; nun dient die iranische Entsprechung zum Beweis dafür, wie echt das Zeugnis des Gaṇapāṭha und wie alt die Verbindung ist.

athainam susamcitam samcītya; Hiranyak. Pitṛmedh. 3 (36, 4) *kapalāni susambhinnāni sambhinatti*; 10 (42, 5) *śarīrāṇi susampiṣṭāni peṣayitvā*; vgl. auch 9 (41, 11) *susamcitam samcinvanti*.

Sogar dem Pāli ist diese Ausdrucksform nicht fremd; z.B. Jāt. 1, 222, 26 *taṃ sugahitaṃ gahetvā* „dich fest packend“, und so mehrfach in demselben Text.

Verwandt damit sind die Fälle, wo kein substantivisches Objekt da steht, sondern bloss *su-tam* das Verbum bestimmt: TS. 1, 6, 10, 5 *yāthā vāi parjanyaḥ sūvr̥ṣṭam vārṣati* „wie Parjanya tüchtig regnet“ (ähnlich TB. 3, 11, 10, 3 *yāthā vāi parjanyaḥ sūvr̥ṣṭam vṛṣṭvā prajd̥bhyah sārvaṇ kāmān sampūrāyati*). Aus dem Iranischen steht diesem Beispiel zur Seite Yašt 10, 21 *yaṭ čit hvastem anhyeiti* „wenn er gut wirft“.

Gewiss werden besser belesene Forscher noch weitere indische, vielleicht auch iranische, Belege aufstöbern können. Dringender ist die Frage nach Alter und Herkunft der Wendung. Was Benveniste *Mém. Soc. ling.* 23 (1935), 396 bemerkt: „l'iranien ne possédait pas d'adverbes tels que *bene, male, εὖ, κακῶς*, mais seulement des préfixes *hu-duš* . . . Le participe aura donc pour seule mission de fournir un support au préfixe,“ erklärt zwar gut, warum man gern nach der Wendung griff, lässt aber (abgesehen von der irrtümlichen Beschränkung des Ausdrucks auf das Iranische) die Frage offen, wie man dazu kam, die Wendung so zu formen, und ob ausserhalb des Indoiranischen Spuren von ihr zu treffen sind. Noch immer verdient Beachtung, was Zubatý IF. 3, 125 ff. (und schon vorher in einer 1884 in Prag erschienenen Abhandlung) über sie vermutet hat. Er knüpft sie an eine Form der sogen. „figura etymologica“ an, bei der einem Verbum oder Nomen verbale der Instrumental eines mit *su* zusammengesetzten Verbalabstraktums aus derselben Wurzel beigelegt wird, wie im Rigveda z.B. *susamīdhā sām īdhire, susamīdhā sāmīddhah, sunīdhā nīhitah, sunirmādhā nīrmathitah, sánema tát susanītā sanītvabhiḥ, surūcā rūcānāḥ*. Auch den Sprüchen ist diese Form nicht fremd. Vgl. etwa TS. 2, 5, 9, 4 *suyājā yaja*; KŚS. 2, 2, 23 *suvimucā vi muñca*; und besonders, in Rücksicht auf die Wendung mit *sūbhṛtam*, von der wir ausgegangen sind, TS. 1, 1, 2, 2 *susambhṛtā tvā sām bharāmi*.

Zubatý lässt auf jetzt nicht mehr gangbarem Wege, unter Annahme von alten Instrumentalen auf *-m*, unsere Wendung auf solche alte Instrumentale zurückgehen. Besser wird man sich damit begnügen die Ähnlichkeit und innere Verwandtschaft dieser Ausdrucksformen zu betonen, und dabei anzunehmen, dass sie schliesslich in grundsprachlicher Neigung zu derartigem Ausdruck wurzeln. Vgl. über

diese in vielartigen Wortverbindungen zu Tage tretende Neigung (ausser den Ausführungen Zubatý's) besonders Schulze *Quaest. epicae* 509 (Nachträge zu 57 f.) und was Delbrück *Vergl. Syntax* 1, 256 f. über den „ausmalenden“ Instrumental beim Verbum vorträgt. (Vergleiche auch *Bartholomae Stud.* 2, 141 über umbrisch *subocau suboco*).¹

Daneben sei noch auf RV. 1, 162, 10c hingewiesen: *sukṛtā tām chamitdrah kṛṇvantu* „das sollen die Zurichter wohl beschaffen machen“. Gemäss den oben besprochenen Ausdrücken erwartet man *súkṛtam* statt des oxytonierten *sukṛtā*; Grassmann hätte Lust jenes in den Text zu setzen. Aber Geldner in einer Anmerkung seiner Übersetzung meint, dass in dem überlieferten *sukṛtā* vielmehr der Anfang der merkwürdigen noch unerklärten Adverbialbildungen auf -ā vorliege, die nach Pāṇ. 5, 4, 58–67 in Ausdrücken mit *kṛ-* gebildet werden.

2. ZUM JAIMINĪYA BRĀHMAṆA

Über die sprachliche Ausbeute, die dieses altertümliche Brāhmaṇa liefert, hat teils Caland in den Abhandlungen der Akademie von Amsterdam, 1915 („Verslagen en Mededeelingen Letterkunde“ v, 1, 1915, p. 20 ff.) und in den Anmerkungen zu seiner Auswahl Bericht gegeben, teils Oertel in verschiedenen Abhandlungen, zuletzt im *Journal of Vedic Studies*, i („Roots and Verb-forms from the unpublished parts of the Jaiminiya Brahmana“). Es sei mir gestattet, hier aus demselben Texte ein paar einzelne Wörter und Formen, die einer sprachgeschichtlichen Betrachtung rufen, herauszuheben.

2, 37. *prāṇapānāv utkhidanti; sa yaḥ brūyāt, prāṇāpanāv udaktvāsuḥ . . . mariṣyanti . . .* sie zerstören den Aus- und Einhauch. Wenn einer sagen würde „Sie haben den Aus- und Einhauch zerstört, sie werden sterben . . .“ Caland Auswahl S. 134 hat erkannt, dass in der unförmlichen 3. pl. *udaktvāsuḥ* ein Aorist stecken muss und zwar ein zu dem unmittelbar vorausgehenden Präsens *utkhidanti* gehöriger; er schreibt *udakhāsuḥ* und führt diese Form auf eine Wurzel *khā-* zurück.

Aber wenn es eine solche Wurzel überhaupt gegeben hat, kann sie hier nicht in Betracht kommen. Das im Dhātupāṭha verzeichnete

¹ Unter den griechischen Belegen der „figura etymologica“, die Lobeck Paralip. 2, 501 ff. aufführt, kommt den obigen Fällen am nächsten ἡχῆν ἐδηχέτους ἑμους bei Euripides (Ion 883), unterscheidet sich aber von ihnen dadurch, dass das mit ἐ- beginnende Adjektiv nicht als sogen. prädikatives Attribut dient, sondern einfach adjektivische Bestimmung zu ἑμους ist: „wohlklingende Lieder erklingen lassen“.

khai- ist nur in Bhaṭṭ. 17, 58, und zwar in der Form *prodakhāyan*, mit der von Vopadeva gelehrten Bedeutung des Grabens belegt: „Sie gruben aus“; also, obwohl auch hier *ud* erscheint, in einem für die obige JB.-Stelle nicht verwendbaren Sinne. Übrigens ist ein solches *protkhāyati* „gräbt aus“ von dem synonymen *prot-khanati* nicht zu trennen. Das junge Präsens *khāyati* wird aus dem von der TS. und MS. an belegten Passiv *khāyate* von *khan-* zurückgebildet sein; vgl. *tāy-* aus *tāyate*.

Caland hat das in der Überlieferung gegebene *t* nicht verwertet, es gehört vor das *s*; offenbar ist der geforderte Aorist zum Präsens *utkhidanti* in der Form *udakhātsuḥ* herzustellen. Pāṇini 6, 1, 52 lehrt, dass „im Chandas“ bei *khid-* in Formen mit hochstufiger Wurzel *ā* statt *e* und *ai* eintreten kann. Danach muss man in einem vor-klassischen Text als *s-* Aorist von *khid-* neben oder statt des von den indischen Erklärern des Dhātupāṭha gebildeten *akhātsam* die Form *akhātsam* geradezu erwarten. Solch ein Aorist stimmt zu dem ebenfalls zu *khidati* gehörigen Perfektum *cakhāda*, das, von der Kāśika zu P. 6, 1, 52 gebildet, von Eggeling, *Sacred Books* 26, 151 Anm. aus ŚB. 3, 6, 2, 12 (p. 282, 10) *ā cakhāda . . . ākhidat* nachgewiesen und schon 1879 von Saussure Mém. 176 (= *Publications scientif.* 165) in den richtigen sprachlichen Zusammenhang gestellt wurde. Aus dem Rigveda gehört wohl *ā-cakhāda* 6, 61, 1c auch dahin. Dass der vedische Nominalstamm *-khāda-* entsprechend der Lehre Pāṇinis ebenfalls zu *khid-* gehört, erkannte wohl zuerst Aufrecht bei Böhrtlingk *Wörterbuch Nachtr.* 5, 246 s.v. *avakhāda-*. Auf dieser Erkenntnis haben dann weitergebaut Fleet *JRAS.* 1909, 426 f. (im Anschluss an eine begrifflich zutreffende Feststellung von Keith S. 423) und Charpentier ebenda 1928, 132.

Erst verhältnismässig spät wird *khād-* als Hochstufenform von *khid-* durch *khed-* verdrängt. Zwar lehrte einst Roth für *khédā* im Rigveda, als ob es zu *khid-* gehöre, die Bedeutung „Hammer“; aber diese Deutung des Substantivs ist längst aufgegeben, vgl. Oldenberg Anm. zu 10, 116, 4 (p. 337) und Geldner. Ältester Beleg von *khed-* als Hochstufenform von *khid-* ist anscheinend *utkhedana-* bei Baudhāy. 21, 5 (3, 78, 1); vgl. Caland Baudh. p. 59. (Doch verdient die Variante *utkhidana-* ernsthafte Beachtung; Tiefstufe der Wurzelsilbe bei Bildungen auf *-ana-* neben tiefstufigem Präsens und unter dessen Einfluss ist von vedischem *kirāṇa-* und *pṛśana-* neben *kirāti* bzw. *spṛśati* an in allen Typen des Altindischen zu treffen). Diese späten Bildungen beweisen natürlich nichts. Es ist unbegreiflich,

dass noch in neuesten indogermanischen Etymologika *khid-* ohne Berücksichtigung der Hochstufe *khād-* mit lat. *caedere* gleich gesetzt wird. (Falsch auch Kuiper *Acta orient.* 12, 200 Anm. 2.)

JB. 2, 238. *Abhipratāraṇa ije prajākūmaś ca khalatī ca daivovātī avacichitsamānaḥ; tato vai so 'va khalatī daivovātī (-tī Handschr.) acchintta; 239 khalatī* (drei oder vier Wörter) *daivovātī avācchaitsi [sic!]* „Abhipratāraṇa opferte, als er sich Nachkommen wünschte und khalatī daivovati von sich wegzuschneiden suchte; darauf schnitt er Kh.D. von sich weg“; 239 „ich habe Kh.D. von mir weggeschnitten“. Was ist mit den Akkusativen *khalatī daivovātī* gemeint, die in drei Sätzen als Objekte des medialen *ava-chid-* genannt sind? Caland übersetzt *khalatī-* mit „Kahlköpfigkeit“, obwohl das Wort nur an zwei späten von Böhtlingk-Roth v, 1358 aus Sāyaṇa angeführten Stellen diesen Sinn hat, sonst immer, von VS. und TS. an, „kahlköpfig“ bedeutet. Unter dem sonst gar nicht belegten *daivovātī-* versteht er fragend die Bezeichnung einer körperlichen Abnormität oder Krankheit. Wie man immer von dieser Auffassung von *khalatī-* urteile, höchst bedenklich ist die diesen Wortdeutungen zu Grunde liegende Voraussetzung, dass die beiden Nomina ein Dvandva bilden und als Glieder eines solchen Kompositums Dualform haben. Aber Dvandvas mit dualischer Form beider Glieder hat es in der Brāhmaṇa-Prosa wie in der klassischen Sprache nur in Bildungen gegeben, die aus den Samhitās ererbt oder einer ererbten Bildung nachgeformt waren. Ein ganz neu gebildetes Dvandva hätte *khalatī-daivovātī* lauten müssen. Weiterhin ist für die alte Prosa so gut wie undenkbar eine Tmesis der beiden Glieder des Dvandva, wie sie im ersten und besonders im dritten Beispiele vorliegen würde. Das vereinzelte *dhasre vai puruṣantī* PB. 13, 7, 12 „Dhasrā und Puruṣanti“ bezieht sich auf ein Menschenpaar, das schon RV. 9, 58, 3a, mit einem Dvandva nach altem Typus bezeichnet ist: *dhasrāyoh puruṣāntyoh*, und bei dem daher im Brāhmaṇa eine alte Freiheit weiter angewandt werden konnte. Zudem ist Tmesis mit *vai* viel harmloser als die in JB. 2, 239 es wäre.

Die Dualform und die Anordnung der beiden Wörter werden verständlich, wenn *daivovātī* Apposition zu *khalatī* ist. Das würde zu der Annahme verlocken, dass *khalatī* die eigentliche Bezeichnung von zwei Personen, *daivovātī* etwas wie das Patronymikum dazu darstellte. Ob *khalatī-* und das regierende Verbum *ava chid-* eine solche Auffassung zulässt, soll hier nicht untersucht werden. Jedenfalls wäre *daivovātī-* eine ganz normale Ableitung aus einem Mannsnamen

divovāta- mit *i* als Endung und *Vṛddhi* der Anfangssilbe, wie z.B. in KB. *daivodāsi-*, Patronymikum von vedischem *divodāsa-*. Ein Name **divovāta-* ist bis jetzt allerdings nicht belegt, aber durchaus denkbar. Er wäre Parallelbildung von *devāvāta-*, das im RV. zugleich als Mannsname und als Adjektiv in der Bedeutung „von den Göttern begehrt, den Göttern angenehm“, belegt ist; als Mannsname liegt es dem vedischen Adjektiv und Patronymikum *daivavātá-* zu Grunde.

Zu diesem *devāvāta-* verhält sich der hier angenommene Name **divovāta-* genau wie im Rigveda das Adjektiv *dyúbhakta-* zu dem Adjektiv *devābhakta-*. Mit jenem *dyúbhakta-* wurden die Übersetzer und Lexicographen des Veda nicht recht fertig. Die von Roth eingeführte Wiedergabe „vom Himmel zugeteilt“ (oder „geschenkt“) lässt nicht erkennen, was man dabei unter „Himmel“ verstehen soll; deutlicher kommt dies zum Ausdruck in Geldners Wiedergabe (zu 1, 73, 6) „von den Himmlischen geschenkt“, nur dass man nicht ersieht, wie *dyu-* „die Himmlischen“ bedeuten kann; Ludwigs „vom Tage geschenkt“, von *ratna-* 4, 1, 18, fällt wohl ganz ausser Betracht. Da „schenken“, „zuteilen“ einen persönlichen Agens voraussetzen, muss bei *dyu-* in *dyúbhakta-* an einen wirklichen Gott gedacht werden, ähnlich wie bei *divodāsa-* als Mannsnamen und *divó duhitṛ-* (oder *duhitṛ- diváh*) als Bezeichnung der Morgenröte. *divah-* als Vorderglied in **divovāta-* gegenüber *dyu-* in *dyúbhakta-* darf nicht befremden. Von alters her kann bei Adjektiven auf *-ta-* der Agens durch den Genetiv gegeben werden (Delbrück *Altind. Syntax* 153 u. *Vergleich. Syntax* 1, 348), und es ist verständlich, wenn auch dem Altindischen sonst nicht geläufig (*Ai. Gramm.* ii, 1, 213 [§ 89c Anm.]), dass ein solcher Genetiv auch im Vorderglied eines Kompositums erscheint, vgl. griech. *Διόδωρος* u. dgl.

Das Adjektiv *dyúbhakta-* und der Name **divovāta-* stützen sich gegenseitig. Sie haben auch das gemein, dass sie isoliert sind, während die begriffsverwandten Komposita mit *deva-* als Vorderglied vom Veda an sehr beliebt und gebräuchlich sind; klass. *devadatta-* ist sogar typisch für Mannsnamen überhaupt. Dies hängt damit zusammen, dass *div-* als Gott schon in der Zeit des Rigveda am Aussterben ist. Daher ist der in *Zēv* und *Ju(piter)* fortlebende urindogermanische Vokativ den Indern verloren gegangen. Zum alten Himmels Gott wurde von den Frommen der vedischen Zeit nicht mehr gebetet. Wo die Dichter eines zu *div-* gehörigen vokativischen Ausdrucks bedurften, griffen sie nach dem ja auch sonst so angewandten Nominativ, und gaben diesem vereinzelt den Vokativakzent:

d(i)yauḥ neben häufigem *dyáuḥ* (mit dem alten Beisatz *pitar* RV. 6, 51, 5a und AV. 6, 4, 3c; parallel mit dem Vokativ *pṛthivi* RV. 6, 51, 5a; 6, 68, 4d; 10, 59, 8=9=10; alleinstehend RV. 8, 100 (89), 12b *dyáur dehi lokám*).

Demgemäss ist **divovāta*- jedenfalls ein sehr altertümlicher Name.

3, 66 (bei Caland *Auswahl* p. 293 Anm. 15) *atharvāna upariśyenaṃ svargaṃ lokam āyan* und 3, 269 (zweimal) *imam upariśyenaṃ svargaṃ lokam jigīṣāma*, enthält auch wieder einen Ausdruck, der zum gemeinsamen indoiranischen Erbgut gehört. Dem altindischen Ausdruck „den oberhalb des Adler(flug)s befindlichen Himmelsraum“ entspricht genau jAw. *upāirisaēna-* phlv. *apārsēn* als Name eines Gebirges. Das Kompositum ist gleichartig mit *uparibudhna-uparimartya-* „über den Boden“ bzw. „über die Menschen sich erhebend“ im RV. und mit *upairizēma-* „oberhalb der Erde befindlich“ und *upairidahyu-* „der über den Ländern ist“ im jüngeren Awesta; verwandt sind die Avyayībhāvās *uparibhūmī* und *uparinābhi* im Śatapathabrāhmaṇa.

Das lange *ā* der zweiten Silbe in der iranischen Form kann natürlich nicht Vṛddhi-Vokal sein, wie Bartholomae Altir. Wörterbuch s.v. meinte; die ableitende Vṛddhi eignet bekanntlich nur der Anfangssilbe der Wörter. Und richtig hat schon Horn KZ. 38, 292 bemerkt, dass auch die Bedeutung des Kompositums keine ableitende Vṛddhi erwarten lässt. Nun wird durch die altindische Entsprechung das *ā* als iranische Neuerung erwiesen. Längst schon hat Andreas erkannt, dass in solchen Fällen das *a* durch *e* hindurch aus dem epenthetischen *ai* entstanden ist.—Gemäss der sonstigen Entsprechung *aḍairi*: *upairi* (*Berliner Sitzungsber.* 1918, 392) bieten die awestischen Texte dieselben Zusammensetzungen mit *aḍairi-* „unterhalb der Erde, . . . der Länder befindlich“.

3, 247. Zweimal hinter einander liest man hier die 1 pl. (*na vai dāre*) *ʾsṛṇma*; eben dasselbe PB. 15, 3, 7. Es ist deutlich eine Aoristform, da etwas soeben selbst erlebtes berichtet wird, und zwar eine solche von *sṛ-*. Caland *Auswahl*, p. 287, Anm. 2 fragt, wie die Form grammatisch zu erklären sei. Nun klassisch müsste es dafür *asarāma* (oder *asārṣma*) heissen; von *asarāma* (3 sg. *asarat*) aus ist aber *asṛṇma* zum Teil zu verstehen. Die Aoristform *asarat* folgt in der Weise der Bildung den Wurzeln auf *r*, mit denen auch *dṛs-* zusammengeht: obwohl der Aorist auf *a* im allgemeinen Tiefstufe der Wurzelsilbe fordert, (z.B. *alipam*, *asicam*), ist bei jenen die Wurzelsilbe gupiert und udättiert. Diese Seltsamkeit ist schon längst erklärt.

(Festschrift Jacobi 16 f., vgl. Whitney § 847 a.) Sie beruht darauf, dass jene Aoriste mit *ar* aus alten Wurzel-Aoristen von Wurzeln mit auslautendem oder inlautendem *r* herausgewachsen sind, bei denen *ar* dem Singular activi, insbes. der 1 sg. eignete z.B. *akaram akar*. An diese 1 sg. auf *-aram* hatte sich mit Übergang in die sogen. thematische Flexion eine 2 sg. auf *-arah*, eine 3 pl. auf *-aran* usw. angeschlossen. Ebenso war *adarśan* nach altem *adarśam* an Stelle von vedischem *adrśan* getreten.

Sonach muss auch als ursprüngliche Grundlage von *asarat* (das allerdings schon im RV. und zwar in augmentlosen Formen mit Udättierung der Wurzelsilbe belegt ist und vereinzelt als Imperfektum verstanden worden sein muss) einstiges Dasein eines normal abstufenden Wurzelaorists mit *asaram* als 1 sg. und *asr- asr-* im Dual und Plural gefordert werden. Demnach hätten wir also gegenüber dem klassischen *asarāma* eine einstige 1 pl. **asṛma* zu fordern. Offenbar liegt eine solche Form unserm *asṛnma* zu Grunde. Es wäre bloss noch zu fragen, wieso jene konstruierte Idealform **asṛma* um ein *n* vor der Personalendung erweitert werden konnte.

Ich glaube, es lässt sich aus dem alten Sprachgebrauch heraus eine Erklärung finden. Das konstruierte **asṛma* hätte im vorklassischen Verbum ganz allein gestanden. Merkwürdigerweise ist bei keinem alten Wurzelaorist eines *r*- Verbums eine 1 plur. auf *-ṛma* belegt, sondern nur *-arma* mit hochstufigem *ar*: vedisch *karma, akarma*; vgl. TS. 3, 2, 5, 4 *adarśma* gegenüber JB. *adrśma*. Hienach wäre es zwar denkbar, dass vorklassisch eine Form **asarma* aufgekommen wäre. Aber der Wunsch nach schwerer Mittelsilbe konnte sich auch in anderer Weise Luft machen. Auch das mit *sr-* sinnverwandte *gam-* besass einen alten Wurzelaorist. Und da lautete die 1 plur. vedisch *aganma*. An diese Form eines begrifflich verwandten Verbums schloss man die 1 plur. von *sr-* an und ersetzte *-ma* durch *-nma*.

Auf eine andere Erklärung ist Caland in der später als die Auswahl aus dem Jaiminīyab. veröffentlichten Übersetzung des Pancavimśa-brāhmaṇa- (p. 394, Anm. 1) verfallen. Ohne auf eine Urform **asṛma* zu rekurrieren, dachte er sich die Form *asṛnma* aus dem Wunsche entsprungen, den verbalen Ausdruck für *dāre sr-* „in eine Spalte geraten“ dem *-sṛt* des zugehörigen *adārasṛt* anzupassen, als ob dessen auslautendes *t* wurzelhaft wäre; man hätte also anzunehmen, dass *-nm-* nach der Weise des Satzsandhi für *-tm-* eingetreten wäre. Aber ein zweites Beispiel von *nm* für *tm* im Wortinnern ist aus dem Altindischen nicht bekannt, und ebensowenig eine solche Einwirkung

einer Nominalform auf eine Verbalform. Übrigens wäre auch diese Erklärung Calands vielleicht verständlicher, wenn man dem *aṣṛṇma* ein altes **aṣṛma* zu Grunde legen dürfte.

Auffällig ist das sowohl in PB. als in JB. überlieferte *n* statt *ṇ*. Man kann es phonetisch erklären gemäss *Ai. Gramm.* 1, 187 (§ 167b) oder aus dem Vorbilde der Musterform *aganma* bezw. des *t* von *adārasṛt*.

3. PRĀKR. UVVŪḌHA-, UVVĪḌHA-

In einer Māhārāṣṭrī-Strophe der bengalischen Rezension der Sakuntala liest man das Wort *uvvūḍha-* in der Bedeutung „ausgerissen“ (p. 88, 2 ed. Pischel: *muha-uvvūḍha-muṇālo . . . cakḥāo*).¹

Der indische Erklärer führt das Wort auf Sanskrit *udvyūḍha-* zurück, leitet es also aus *ud-vi-vah-* ab. Pischel (*Grammatik der Prakritsprachen*, § 126, p. 100) tritt dieser Deutung bei; sie ist aber unmöglich. Erstens ist die Verbindung *ud-vi-vah-* dem Indischen fremd; sie ist nicht bloss unbelegt, sondern widerstreitet einer der Regeln, die für die Anordnung der mit einem Verbum oder einem Nomen verbale verbundenen Präverben gelten: wenn *vi* und *ud* mit einem Verbum verbunden werden, geht *vi* regelmässig voran; so schon im RV. *vyud-* mit *sthā-*, in der TS. mit *ūh-* und *hṛ-*. Weiteres in der ganzen Literatur.

Dagegen ist die Folge *ud-vi* nicht bloss in der vorklassischen Sprache fast unerhört; aus der epischen und klassischen wüsste ich nur *ud-viḥ-* nachzuweisen, das sich aus der Engigkeit der Verbindung erklärt, die zwischen *vi-* und *iḥ-* eingetreten ist, sodass *vīḥ-* fast als Simplex empfunden wurde. Dazu kommt aus der jüngeren Sanskritprosa *ud-vikāsin-* „aufblühend“ in der Kādambarī. Nur ein Text macht eine ausgesprochene Ausnahme, das Bhāgavata Purāṇa; hier treffen wir Verbindungen wie *ud-vi-ghoṣayati*, *ud-vi-ḥakṣ-*, *ud-vi-dārayati*, *ud-vi-varhaṇa-*; ja sogar 4, 7, 44, doppeltes *ud* in *ud-vy-ud-asyet*. Aber durch seine erkünstelte Sprache scheidet dieses Werk überhaupt als Zeuge für lebendigen Sprachgebrauch aus.

Weiterhin ist unersichtlich, wie man von einem *ud-vi-vah-*, wenn es ein solches wirklich gab, die an der Sakuntala-Stelle geforderte Bedeutung „ausgerissen“ herleiten könnte.

Dazu kommt eine dritte Schwierigkeit; Hemacandra 1, 120 lehrt

¹ Pischel (§126, p. 101 oben) weist dieses Wort auch aus der Ardhamāgadhī der Jaina nach. Der Text, den er dafür zitiert, ist mir leider unzugänglich, ebenso wie der eine der Texte, aus denen er § 489 (p. 346) *uvvīḥai* belegt.

ir vodvūḍhe „in udvūḍha kann ū zu ī werden“. Also gab es eine Nebenform *uvvīḍha-*; aber diese lässt sich mit keiner Kunst an *vah-* anknüpfen. Pischel hilft sich hier mit der Annahme, dass *uvvūḍha-* und *uvvīḍha-* trotz dem Zeugnis Hemacandra's zwei ganz verschiedene Wörter seien, jedes von anderer Herkunft; aber wer wird ihm auf solch verzweifelten Ausweg folgen?

Den Weg zum Richtigen weist Pischel selbst durch die Erklärung, die er für *uvvīḍha-* gibt. An der von ihm a.a.O. § 126, p. 100 angeführten Stelle Vivāhap. 1388 gehört es mit einem Präsens *uvvihaī* und einem Absolutiv *uvvihittā* zusammen und wird von einem aus dem Köcher herausgezogenen Pfeil (*tassa usussa . . . uvvīḍhassa*) gebraucht. Pischel führt dieses *uvvīḍha-* *uvvihaī* auf ai. *vyadh-* zurück (§ 489, p. 346); das ist sichtlich irrig. Das Präsens von *vyadh-*, das altindisch vom Rigveda an *vidhyati* lautet, ist im Prākṛit teils durch Formen mit *vindh-* vertreten, die sich aus dem lautverwandten *vindati* ergaben; teils durch solche mit *vedh-*, zu denen schon das Sanskrit Anhaltspunkte lieferte. Dagegen für Pischels Präsens *vihati*, das eben nur hinter *ud* eingetreten wäre, bietet sich als Präsens von *vyadh-* keine Erklärung. Insbesondere aber lässt sich die Bedeutung „herausziehen“ aus *ud-vyadh-* nicht ableiten; dieses bedeutet im Sanskrit eigentlich „in die Höhe schlagen“, das zugehörige *ud-viddha-* „hoch“; vgl. pāli *ubbedha-* „Höhe“.

Einfach wird alles, wenn man *uvvihaī uvvīḍha-* auf ai. *ud-vṛhati* und dessen schon in den Sūtras belegtes Adjektiv *ud-vṛḍha-* zurückführt. Dieses Verbum bedeutet „ausraufen“, wird aber gerade auch von dem Herausziehen der Waffe aus der Scheide gebraucht, wofür ich auf die Wörterbücher verweise. Dass die Verbindung *ud-vṛh-* bis ins Mittelindische fortgelebt hat, wird durch pāli *ubbahati* „ausreißen“ verbürgt; für den lautlichen Übergang von *vi* aus *vṛ* vergleiche man z.B. AMg. *vicchuya-* aus ai. *vṛścika-*.

Dieses *udvṛḍha-* „ausgerauft“ passt nun ganz vorzüglich auch als Grundlage von *uvvūḍha-* „ausgerissen“, wie es an der Sakuntala-Stelle gebraucht wird, und macht weiter das für Pischel im Grunde unerklärliche Schwanken zwischen *uvvūḍha-* und *uvvīḍha-* verständlich; man weiss, wie buntscheckig die mittelindische Vertretung von ai. *ṛ* ist.

Bemerkenswert ist bei beiden Formen die Länge des für ai. *ṛ* eingetretenen Vokals. Bei *uvvīḍha-* erklärt sie Pischel aus dem Vorbild von Adjektiven wie *līḍha-* *mīḍha-* gegenüber *līh-* *mih-*, eine Erklärung, die möglich bleibt, auch wenn man *uvvihaī* anders als Pischel erklärt.

Was aber die Form *uvvūḍha-* betrifft, so hat sie, wenn richtig erklärt, ihre ganz genauen Entsprechungen in den Päliformen *abbūḷha-paribbūḷha-* für ai. *āvṛḍha-parivṛḍha-*, und diese erklärt Bartholomae ZDMG. 50, 685, auch in dieser Weise: nach *mūḷha-rūḷha-* u. dgl. neben *muh-ruh-* sei *būḷha-* zu den im Pāli erhaltenen auf *vṛh-* zurückgehenden *buh-* Formen wie *abbuhya* (ai. *ā-vṛhya*) und *abbuhi* hinzugebildet worden. Neben diesen beiden unter sich gleichwertigen Möglichkeiten der Erklärung der Länge darf immerhin daran erinnert werden, dass in der vorklassischen Sprache die erste Silbe von *vṛḍha-* aus **vṛḷḍha-* gewiss als Länge gerechnet wurde, so gut wie die von *ṛḍha-dṛḍha-* usw. (*Ai. Gramm.* 1, 31 [§ 28], 44 [§ 40], 275 [§ 238a]). Dieses vorklassische *ṛḍh-* kann sich sehr wohl in mittelindischem *-ṛḍh-ūḍh-* fortgesetzt haben.

Wortkundliche Beiträge zur arischen Kulturgeschichte und Welt-Anschauung. II.

Altindoar. *Gobhila*-, m.n.pr. : altpers. $\sqrt{g(a)ub}$ „dicere“.
(Als Zusammenfassung dient der 10. Abschnitt: p. 873.)

Von WALTHER WÜST

DIE nachfolgende Studie, die ich bereits im Sonderabschnitt zur „Vorrede“ meines „Vergleichenden und etymologischen Wörterbuchs des Alt-Indoarischen“ p. 86 angekündigt habe, verfolgt einen dreifachen Zweck persönlicher und sachlicher Art. Sie will, zuvörderst, im Rahmen dieses Festbandes und, wohlverstanden, mit ihrem ganzen Zubehör ehrerbietige Huldigung sein, dargebracht dem grossen, hochverdienten Altmeister indoarischer und indischer Sprachwissenschaft, Sir George A. Grierson. Sie will, zweitens, Ergiebigkeit und Richtigkeit des von mir aufgestellten „Analytischen Monographie-Schemas“ (des betrachtend-zergliedernden Denkverfahrens für wortkundliche Einzelveröffentlichungen) erneut unter Beweis stellen, eine Absicht, die ich in Überlegung und Beispiel schon an so ziemlich allen entscheidenden Punkten obgenannter Wörterbuch-Vorrede durchgeführt habe. Und diese Studie will schliesslich, drittens, das Gesamtgewebe der so ungewöhnlich wichtigen indoiranischen Beziehungen um einen weiteren Einschlag vermehren, allerdings nicht um einen so bunten, gleissenden, wie sie neuerdings J. Przyluski¹ bereithält, sondern um einen von der webechten Gediegenheit, die wir J. Wackernagels vorbildlicher Humanistenhand verdanken. Wackernagels überzeugende, das eine Mal mit litauisch-germanischen, das andere Mal (nach dem Vorgang Bartholomae's) mit rein iranischen Sprachmitteln arbeitende Deutung der vedischen Eigennamen *Nodhás*- und *Pedú*-² bleibt zusammen mit anderen Aufsätzen desselben Forschers die beste Erläuterung des Satzes: „das Altindische wird

¹ Ich denke hiebei etwa an folgende Aufsätze des französischen Gelehrten: „Un dieu iranien dans l'Inde“ = *Rocznik Or.* 7, p. 1-9; „La théorie des Gupa“ = *Bull. School Or. stud.* 6, p. 25-35; „Les noms de la Grande Déesse“ = *Rev. de l'hist. des rel.* 105, p. 185-92; „La diaspora tyrrhénienne et sa limite orientale“ = *Rev. Hittite et Asiatique* 3, p. 58-64, lauter Veröffentlichungen, die ich z.B. zusammen mit P. Chantraine, *Idg. Jb.* 19, p. 168, oder mit Wilh. Printz, *Idg. Jb.* 16, p. 118, 18, p. 99., 19, p. 97 für mindestens sehr gewagt, wenn nicht für durchaus verfehlt ansehe.

² Vgl. „Indoiranisches“ p. 405 f.

wohl noch in manchen Fällen der Erforschung des Awesta Hilfsdienste leisten können“¹ (eine Aussage, die man gelegentlich auch wird umkehren müssen). Die dabei durchgeführte Betrachtungsweise ist nicht nur hervorragend geeignet, allen geistreichen Attacken zum Trotz das Feld zu behaupten, sondern sie erweitert auch eine von Hilka angeführte, wissenschaftsgeschichtlich zu enge Ansicht Edward Schröders, die in der Warnung gipfeln zu müssen glaubt, ja nicht „die Namendeutung als das höchste, oder gar als das nächste Ziel der Namenforschung hinzustellen. Die grossen Aufgaben auf diesem Gebiete [seien vielmehr] Geschichte der Namensschöpfung und der Namenwahl“².

1. Name und Person des *Gobhila* sind innerhalb des altindoarischen Schrifttums eine feststehende Grösse. *Gobhila* ist — und Friedrich Knauer hat dies in seinen Ausführungen über „Sprache und Stil“ (2. Heft p. 50 unten und f.) unterstrichen — der Verfasser des *Gobhila-grhyasūtra*, das „als eines der ältesten, vollständigsten und interessantesten *Grīhyawerke* bezeichnet werden“³ darf, in verschiedenen Ausgaben uns heute vorliegt⁴ und, „selbstverständlich mit Ausschluss der Sprüche“, in einem durchwegs klassischen, die Grammatik nicht verletzenden Sanskrit (Knauer a.a.O. p. 50) abgefasst ist. Das *Gobhilagrhyasūtra* gehört zum Verbands des *Sāmaveda*, eine Tatsache die, wie wir weiter unten noch sehen werden, für seinen Verfasser selbst nicht ohne Bedeutung ist. Angesichts dieses Sachverhaltes sollte man meinen, dass der Name des *Gobhila* auch sprachgeschichtlich immer wieder untersucht worden wäre, mit anderen Worten, dass

¹ J. Wackernagel, *Studia Indo-Iranica*. Ehrengabe für Wilhelm Geiger p. 233 oben.

² Alfons Hilka, Beiträge zur Kenntnis der indischen Namengebung. Die altindischen Personennamen (= Indische Forschungen, 3. Heft), p. 77, wobei die Quelle „Verhandlungen der 46. Versammlung deutscher Schulmänner und Philologen in Strassburg 1901“ (Leipzig 1902), p. 36 ist.

³ Leopold von Schroeder, *Indiens Literatur und Cultur in historischer Entwicklung* (Leipzig 1887), p. 190³.

⁴ Ich nenne die Ausgabe „with commentary by Chandrakānta Tarkāṅkāra“, 2. Auflage in der „Bibliotheca Indica“ 1906-8 erschienen (erste Auflage ebenda 1880), ferner die bekanntere Friedrich Knauers, *Das Gobhilagrhyasūtra* herausgegeben und übersetzt, Leipzig 1885-6, schliesslich die Übersetzung H. Oldenbergs in „Sacred books of the East“, Bd. 30. Am übersichtlichsten verzeichnet den *Gobhila-Schriftumskomplex* Louis Renou in seiner „Bibliographie Védique“ p. 76 f. Für die *Parīṣiṣṭas*, die dem *Gobhilagrhyasūtra* angehängt sind und von denen eines unter dem Titel *Grhyasaṅgrahaparīṣiṣṭa* einem *Gobhilaputra* zugeschrieben wird, sei auf M. Winternitz, *A history of Indian literature* I, p. 281 verwiesen (vgl. derselbe, *Geschichte der indischen Litteratur* I, p. 223, Anm. 2 unten). — Nach Monier-Williams⁵ s.v. hat *Gobhila* auch ein *Puspasūtra*, ein *Śrautasūtra* und ein *Naigeyasūtra* verfasst.

aus dem Gesamtverlauf der Indologie und indoarischen Philologie sich eine geschlossene Erforschungsgeschichte (oder die von mir so genannte Traditionslinie) lückenlos herausarbeiten liesse. Leider ist diese Erwartung vollkommen irrig. Ich habe dutzende und aberdutzende von Stellen und Werken durchgesehen ohne das geringste Ergebnis und muss aus Platzmangel darauf verzichten, die gesamten Fehlanzeigen hier *in extenso* vorzuführen. Eine Stichprobe aus dem wichtigsten, insbesondere dem lexikographischen, Stoffgebiete genüge! Schon T. H. Colebrooke erwähnt an drei Stellen seiner „Miscellaneous essays“ (London 1837, und zwar I, p. 100*, 314; 2, p. 8) den *Gobhila*, aber die Erwähnung geschieht im Rahmen einer blossen Aufzählung, ohne den dürftigsten philologischen oder sprachgeschichtlichen Hinweis, und auch der zuverlässige „Index“ führt uns für keinen der beiden Bände weiter. Ebenso verhält es sich mit dem Böhthlingk-Roth'schen PW., welches den Eigennamen „eines Verfassers von liturgischen und grammatischen Sūtra“, *Gobhila*, für eine kleine Gruppe uns schon bekannter Texte belegt (vgl. p. 836⁴), aber keinerlei Deutung, keinerlei Nachträge, Verbesserungen und sonstige Zusätze beisteuert. Das pw. tritt ihm, gleichfalls schweigend, zur Seite, nicht anders Richard Schmidts „Nachträge“, C. C. Uhlenbecks „Kurzgefasstes etymologisches Wörterbuch der Altindischen Sprache“ (gleichfalls ohne „Nachträge und Berichtigungen“), Ernst und Julius Leumanns „Etymologisches Wörterbuch der Sanskrit-Sprache“, Lieferung 1. Die Sonderveröffentlichungen zum *Gobhila*gṛhyasūtra verändern die merkwürdige Sachlage nicht. Friedrich Knauer hat sich nicht über den Namen *Gobhila* geäußert, auch Oldenberg nicht in seiner vorhin genannten Übersetzung, Bloomfield und v. Bradke nicht in einschlägigen Aufsätzen der ZDMG. (35, p. 533 ff. beziehungsweise 36, p. 417 ff.) und schliesslich nicht die Verfasser der gangbaren Literaturgeschichten, Bhagavadatta, H. v. Glasenapp, V. Henry, A. B. Keith, A. A. Macdonell, L. v. Schroeder, M. Winternitz (deutsche und englische Bearbeitung). Hermann Oldenberg in seiner „Literatur des Alten Indien“ erwähnt noch nicht einmal den Namen *Gobhila*¹. Angesichts eines solchen Tatbestandes wird es voll erklärlich, warum sogar Louis Renou in seiner reichhaltigen „Bibliographie Védique“ nur eine einzige Deutung verzeichnet (p. 300, Abteilung 194, No. 9),

¹ Ebensowenig Richard Pischel in seiner Darstellung „Die indische Literatur (= Die Kultur der Gegenwart. Ihre Entwicklung und ihre Ziele. Hrsgg. von Paul Hinneberg. Teil I. Abteilung VII. Die orientalischen Literaturen. II. B. I, p. 160–213). Berlin und Leipzig 1906.

diejenige M. Bloomfields, auf die ich nachher noch ausführlich zu sprechen kommen werde. In Wirklichkeit hat sich schon mehr als ein halbes Jahrhundert früher Lieut.-Col. James Tod, Late Political Agent to the Western Rajput States, in seinem berühmten Werke „Annals and antiquities of Rajasthan or the Central and Western Rajput States of India“ mit der Deutung des Wortes *Gobhila* befasst, freilich ohne auch nur annähernd vollständig die Zusammenhänge zu überschauen. In dem genannten Werke¹ nämlich, dessen 1. Band dem englischen König Georg IV. dediziert worden ist am 20. Juni 1829, schreibt Tod über die *Gohil's* (I, p. 137 f.), wie folgt: „This was a distinguished race: it claims to be Suryavansi, and with some pretension. The first residence of the Gohils was Juna Khergarh, near the bend of the Luni in Marwar. How long they had been established here we know not. They took it from one of the aboriginal Bhil chiefs named Kherwa, and had been in possession of it for twenty generations when expelled by the Rathors at the end of the twelfth century“. Die weiteren Entwicklungsstufen, in deren Verlauf dann noch als geographische Fixpunkte die Namen Saurashtra, Piramgarh, Bhagwa, Nandod, Si-hor, Bhaunagar, Gogha, Gohilwar eine Rolle spielen, gehen uns in diesem Zusammenhang hier nichts an. Für uns ist nur von Wert, dass Tod aus vorstehendem Anlass anmerkungsweise, I, p. 137 Anm. 2, den Eigennamen *Gohil* bezeichnet als „a compound word from goh, 'strength'; Ila, 'the earth'“. Diese Deutung, welche nur unter Vorbehalt die „zeitlich erste“ genannt werden darf, weil sie ja den für uns wesentlichen Zusammenhang mit dem altindoarischen Personennamen *Gobhila* weder erwähnt noch erkennt, ist heute nur noch wissenschaftsgeschichtlich lehrreich. In der Tat gibt ihr Crooke a.a.O. p. 137 Anm. 2 den Zusatz: „[This is out of the question: cf. Guhilot.]“, und nicht anders urteilt Irach J. S. Taraporewala in seinem nachher noch eingehend zu behandelnden Aufsatz²: „The word अहुर (ahura) in Sanskrit and the Gobhilas“, wenn er schreibt: „Colonel Tod in his immortal *Rajasthan* [Popular edition in two volumes (1914), I, p. 95, fn. 1.] derives the word from 'goh (strength) and ela (the earth)'; but this

¹ Ich benutze die Ausgabe, die von William Crooke, C.I.E., „with an introduction and notes“ in drei Bänden (Oxford University Press 1920) bearbeitet worden ist.

² In „Indo-Iranian studies, being commemorative papers contributed by European, American and Indian scholars in honour of Shams-ul-Ulema Dastur Darab Peshotan Sanjana (London-Leipzig 1925), p. 143-8.—Beames a.a.O. I, p. 92 (bei Elliot) sagt kurz und bündig: „and his etymologies are not worthy of the slightest notice“.

seems rather of the folk-etymology variety“ (a.a.O. p. 147 unten und f.). Dabei haben weder Crooke noch Taraporewala überhaupt auch nur die Frage gestellt, welche Bedeutung denn dies derart beschaffene Kompositum besitzen solle — die Antwort würde gleichfalls gegen Tods Analyse ausfallen — und keiner von beiden hat darauf aufmerksam gemacht, dass *Gohil* (*Gohel*) doch in einem Form-Verband mit ähnlich gebauten Eigennamen zu stehen scheine, wobei etwa die Rājputāna-Personennamen *Bāghel*, *Chandel*, *Jugel*, *Mohil*, *Patel*, und *Vādhel* hätten genannt werden müssen. Insbesondere die beiden letzten sind morphologisch eindeutig: *Patel* gehört zu altindoar. *paṭṭa-*, m. „Tafel, (Urkunden)platte“ (tatsächlich ist auch **paṭṭila-* bezeugt, allerdings nicht als Eigennamen), und *Vādhel* führt auf so gegenständliche geschichtliche Vorgänge¹ zurück, dass die Ableitung des Namens „from *badh*, *vadh*, ‘to slay’“, wie schon Tod (2, p. 943) erkennt, unausweichlich ist. Tods Zerlegung *Goh-il* besteht also formal wohl zu Recht, aber *-il* kann im Wortganzen nicht als selbständiges Nomen, sondern nur als Ableitungssuffix gefasst werden, eine Tatsache, die schon jetzt als sehr wesentlich für die folgenden Gedankengänge unter allen Umständen festgehalten werden muss. Ein bedeutender Abstand nicht nur zeitlicher, sondern vor allem sachlich-wissenschaftlicher Art trennt den zweiten Versuch, mit dem Eigennamen-Komplex *Gobhila-* fertig zu werden, von dem ersten. Konnte James Tod nur mit Vorbehalt als Glied der Traditionslinie behandelt werden, so liegt uns, ganz im Gegensatz dazu, ein vollgültiger, sozusagen dreiteiliger Ansatz vor in dem, was Sir Henry M. Elliot, John Beames und Fitzedward Hall zur Sache ermittelt haben². Da die Einzelangaben der drei Forscher, soweit unser eigenes Verhandlungsthema, *Gobhila-*, nicht berührt wird, da und dort im Texte der Untersuchung selbst untergekommen sind, ist hier unmittelbar nur das zu erörtern,

¹ „Aja [ein Abkömmling der Rāthor-Dynastie von Mārwar, Rājputāna], another brother, invaded Okhamandal, in the extreme west of Kāthiāwār, and established himself there by murdering the Chāvada ruler of the country. His descendants bear the surname which he assumed, and are still known as Vādhel, ‘the Slayers’“ (Sir Walseley Haig, *The Cambridge History of India* 3, p. 521 unten).—*Bāghel* und *Gohil* erscheinen auch in der Gedichtstrophe, unten p. 840¹, unmittelbar nebeneinander.

² Es handelt sich dabei um folgende Veröffentlichung: „Memoirs on the history, folklore, and distribution of the races of the North-Western Provinces of India: being an amplified edition of the original Supplemental glossary of Indian terms, by the late Sir Henry M. Elliot, K.C.B. . . . Edited, revised, and re-arranged by John Beames, M.R.A.S. In two volumes. Vol. i (London 1869), p. 90-2, drei Seiten, an deren einer, p. 91 f., „Dr. Fitzedward Hall, the well-known erudite scholar“ massgeblichen Anteil hat.

was Hall den Namen *Gobhila*- betreffend denkt. Er steuert folgende Notiz bei: „It seems probable that the term Gahlot [worüber unten p. 849¹ f.] is connected with Guhila, the name of the second king of the Udaypur dynasty. See the ‘Asiatic Researches’, vol. xvi, pp. 292, etc. The apparent eponymist of the Gahlots is called Gobhila in an inscription from Chedi, which I have published and translated in the ‘Journal of the American Oriental Society’, vol. vi. Guhila may have been corrupted from Gobhila, a name occurring in ancient Sanskrit literature; or, which is rather more likely, Gobhila may have been Sanskritized out of Guhila. In popular pronunciation, Guhila must have become Guhil; and we know that *gotra* was broken down into *got*“ Elliot-Beames fahren anschliessend fort: „In support of this opinion, I may add, that throughout the Prithvi Raja Rasa, Chand always uses the form *Gohil*, गोहिल¹“. So dankenswert diese Angaben auch sind, im wesentlichsten Punkte können sie nicht gebilligt werden: die beiden Eigennamen *Guhila*- und *Gobhila*- haben weder in der einen noch in der anderen Weise etwas miteinander zu tun. Ganz abgesehen davon, dass dies auch das, später noch vorzuführende, Urteil Charpentiers ist — vgl. unten p. 846¹ —, wird uns ein eigener Untersuchungsabschnitt darüber belehren, dass die beiden in *Guhila*- bzw. *Gobhila*- zutagetretenden Wurzeln reinlich geschieden sind². Dies ist der einzige, nochmals aufzugreifende Ansatz, den wir von dem zweiten Deutungsversuche mitnehmen. Noch weniger fruchtbar kann das ausgestaltet werden, was Albrecht Weber, Akademische Vorlesungen über Indische Literaturgeschichte (zweite, vermehrte Auflage; Berlin 1876, also mehrere Jahrzehnte nach Tod), p. 92 unten zum *Nomen proprium* *Gobhila*- beibringt. Es besteht in der ohne jegliche Nachweise auftretenden Bemerkung: „Sein Namen hat einen sehr unvedischen Klang, und findet sich durchaus nichts demselben irgendwie Entsprechendes in der übrigen vedischen Literatur vor“. Taraporewala

¹ „The following passage from the ‘Ala údal prastáv’ of that poem is interesting, as shewing the Gohil in good and valiant company at an early date, in spite of the later imputation of cowardice. It will be seen that they are decidedly on the side of Parimál, the Chandel king of Mahoba, and opposed to Prithí Raja, though the author above says their chief, Govind Rao, was an ally of the Chauhán:—

‘The monarch shouted his commands,
To battle marched the Ráwat bands;
Chandel, Banáphar, heroes leal,
Baghel and Gohil, fierce as steel’ “.

² Man kann sagen: *Guhila*- ist von *Gobhila*- noch mehr verschieden als **gupila*- von **gopila*-.

hat, a.a.O. p. 147 u., diese Notiz Webers aufgenommen und glossiert sie mit den Worten: „The remark of Weber that the name *Gobhila* has an ‘unvedic ring’ is worth considering“. Ich kann Taraporewala keineswegs beipflichten. Bei aller Anerkennung der Weber’schen Verdienste muss man doch betonen, dass er im allgemeinen ein schlechter Wortkundler war und dass seine obige Bemerkung nicht nur irrig (vgl. p. 861^{1, 3}), sondern im besonderen unklar ist. Sollte der Ausdruck „unvedischer Klang“ sich auf die Endung beziehen, so wäre auf die mehrfach bereits im Veda belegten Nomina mit dem Ausgang *-ila-* hinzuweisen; sollte er auf ausserindoarische Lehnbezugsmöglichkeiten anspielen, so wären Einzelnachweise zu fordern; und die Schlussworte endlich, es finde „sich durchaus nichts . . . irgendwie Entsprechendes in der übrigen vedischen Literatur vor“, sind so mehrdeutig, dass man sie am zweckmässigsten auf sich beruhen lässt. Denn wer will entscheiden, ob damit nun Verbalbezüge oder Nominalbezüge oder beides zugleich oder schliesslich ganz allgemeine morphologische Beziehungen gemeint sein sollen! So stösst man, wenige Jahre nach Weber, auf M. Bloomfield, der bis dahin das Namensrätsel *Gobhila-* am entschiedensten anpackt, und zwar in einer kleinen Mitteilung „On the etymology of *φίλος* [abstract of a paper read at a meeting of the University Philological Association, April 6, 1883] (= The Johns Hopkins University Circulars. Baltimore. November 1882-October 1883, Baltimore 1883, p. 141 f.)“. Bloomfield geht, wie ersichtlich, von altgriech. *φίλος* aus und betont: „no less than six distinct etymologies have been proposed for this word, and none has secured for itself the acceptance of scholars generally. With the exception of Vaniček, who ventures to accept the pronominal derivation of the stem (from *sva-* the reflexive), no larger work ventures to accept any of the proposed etymologies. Fick’s Comparative Lexicon and the fifth edition of Curtius’s Etymology are silent on the subject. The latest etymology propounded by Osthoff in the Morphologische Untersuchungen, Vol. iv, p. 229, according to which *φίλος* is derived from the preposition *ἐφί* (in *ἐφίλορκος*) = skr. *abhi*, and means ‘beigehörig, zugethan’, is based upon wide-reaching new theories about Indo-European vocalism which are far from certain. [Absatz.] Thus a suggestion which may secure for the word a Sanskrit equivalent can be made without attacking any well-established explanation. There are two proper names in Sanskrit, *Gobhila* and *Rebhila*, whose first syllable may possibly be the diphthongal stems *go* ‘cow’ and *re* ‘property’ (Lat. *rēs*). In that case

the remainder of the words, *-bhīla*, would be sound for sound the Greek *φιλο-* and *go-bhīla* would be 'fond of cattle'; *re-bhīla*, 'fond of wealth'. *Gobhīla* is a name which occurs in the Vedic period and is otherwise totally unexplained"¹. Bloomfields Deutung ist ein Musterfall bestechender, blendender Kombination, und wie alle derartigen Kombinationen zerrinnt sie einem bei näherer, unbefangener Prüfung unter den Händen. Ich will mich nicht dabei aufhalten, dass der Urheber selbst seine Anknüpfung mit einem wenig ermutigenden „may possibly“ einleitet und dass er uns nur ein „abstract“ hinterlassen hat, bei dem wir das Fehlen genauerer philologischer Einzeluntersuchungen angelegentlich bedauern. Entscheidend ist Anderes. Entscheidend ist einmal, dass die heutige wissenschaftsgeschichtliche Beurteilung des altgriechischen *φίλος* um keinen Deut von der verschieden ist, die Bloomfield selbst vorfand. Gewiss gibt es einige Gelehrte, so F. Muller Izn in seinem „Grieksch woordenboek“² s.v. (Groningen — Den Haag 1926), Walde-Pokorny 2, p. 185 und Prellwitz² s.v., die noch bis in die neueste Zeit hinein an der Verbindung des altgriech. *φίλος* mit irisch *bīl* „gut“, niederländ. *billijk*, mhd. *unbilde*, n. „Unrecht, das Unbegreifliche, Wunder usw.“ festhalten und eine idg. Ausgangsform **√bhil* oder **bhilo-*, mfn. rekonstruieren. Aber schon Boisacq lehnt diesen Zusammenhang ausdrücklich ab als nicht „favorisé par la sémantique“ und stellt fest: „Etym[ologie] obscure“ (auch nichts unter „Additions et corrections“). Und A. M[eillet], dessen Führung wir uns gerade in einem Fall wie dem vorliegenden unbedenklich anvertrauen dürfen, betont in seiner Besprechung des Walde-Pokorny'schen Wörterbuches, BSLP. 28, Comptes rendus, p. 89: „Gr. *φίλος* est sans doute ancien. Mais il en faudrait déterminer la valeur sociale précise, et l'existence d'une forme isolée i.-e. **bhilo-* est invraisemblable“, ganz abgesehen davon dass durch einen Bedeutungsansatz „in gutem Sinne ebenmässig, angemessen, gut, freundlich“ (so Walde-Pokorny a.a.O.) der Bloomfield'schen Auffassung von altindoar. *Gobhīla*- einigermaßen der Boden entzogen wird. Tatsache ist und bleibt — und deswegen schweigen sich manche Handbuchverfasser ja über *φίλος* gänzlich aus —, dass das anlautende *φ-* dank seiner entwicklungsgeschichtlichen Mannigfaltigkeit zu den zweideutigsten innergriechischen Lauten gehört (vgl. Boisacq p. xvii unten, Prellwitz² p. xix unten), eine Tatsache, die ihrerseits wieder zur unausbleiblichen

¹ Ich habe Bl.'s Meinung ungekürzt vorgeführt, weil ich glaube, dass nicht jeder-mann diese einigermaßen entlegene Veröffentlichung zurhand haben wird.

Folge hat, dass jede mit $\phi\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ arbeitende Wortverbindung an dieser Zweideutigkeit eben teilhat. Es ist deshalb auch nicht weiter verwunderlich, dass — ein Kuriosum für Graezisten! — E. W. Hopkins, JAOS. 28, p. 129, altgriechisch $\phi\lambda\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu$ „to love“ und $\phi\acute{\iota}\lambda\eta\mu\alpha$ „kiss“ eng verbindet mit Rājasthānī *piār*, Hindī *piyār* „love“ und „kiss“, „containing the root of $\phi\acute{\iota}\lambda\eta\mu\alpha$ “, womit die Fragwürdigkeit der Bloomfield'schen Gleichung recht kräftig dargetan wird, und zwar nach Laut und Bedeutung. Soviel zum Griechischen (vgl. noch p. 861 f.)¹. Von der altindoarischen Seite her spricht gleich Mehreres ebenfalls entscheidend gegen Bloomfields Vermutung. Da es sich hiebei um schlichte Tatsachen handelt, lasse ich sie in der gebotenen Kürze sprechen. Erstens hat Bloomfield nicht bedacht, dass die relativ späte Bezeugtheit der beiden altindoarischen Eigennamen *Gobhila-* und *Rebhila-* zu dem geforderten erbverwandtschaftlichen Zusammenhang mit altgriechisch $\phi\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ nicht sehr glücklich passt. Unter der Bloomfield'schen Voraussetzung wäre vielmehr der älteste Veda, also der Rgveda, gerade geeignet genug gewesen, *Gobhila-* und *Rebhila-* zu beherbergen. In Wirklichkeit beherbergt er sie natürlich nicht. Zweitens hat Bloomfield mit keinem Worte auch nur angedeutet, dass das dem altgriechischen entsprechende altindoarische **bhila-* nirgends sonstmehr nachzuweisen ist, ausser eben in den so zerlegten Eigennamen *Go-bhila-* und *Re-bhila-*. Von diesen zwei einzigen Belegen aber ist — drittens — einer von Bloomfield handgreiflich missdeutet worden: *Rebhila-*, n.pr., das einfach mit dem funktionell noch später genau zu bestimmenden Ableitungsformans *-ila-* zu dem bereits im Rgveda öfter vorkommenden *rebhā-*, m. „Sänger, Sprecher, auch Eigenname eines Mannes“ gehört. Sollte Ähnliches etwa auch für den zweiten Beleg *Gobhila-* zutreffen? Auf diese Frage endgültig zu antworten, ist hier noch nicht der Ort. Aber wir können die Antwort wenigstens von der negativen Seite her schon vorbereiten, indem wir folgende Überlegung anstellen. Angenommen die Bloomfield'sche Zerlegung *Go-bhila-* wäre richtig. Dann würde der Eigenname *Go-bhila-* eo ipso zwei Wortgruppen angehören, einer ersten morphologischen, in welcher das Nomen *go-* in Verbindung mit Nominibus des Anlauts *bh-* ° aufträte, einer zweiten, semasiologischen, welche Wörter der Bedeutungen „Besitzer, Freund,

¹ Vgl. noch Franz Dirlmeier, $\phi\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ und $\phi\acute{\iota}\lambda\alpha$ im vorhellenistischen Griechentum. Münchener Inauguraldissertation 1931; Paul Kretschmer, IF. 45, p. 267-71 (hält Boisacqs Zweifel für gerechtfertigt und sieht in $\phi\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ Lehnwort aus dem kleinasiatischen Lydischen; Referat: Glotta 18, p. 238 unten und f.).

Herr, Meister, Verwandter " mit dem Vorderglied *go-* vereinigt zeigte. Prüfen wir das Material! Es besteht in der Gruppe I aus folgenden Worten: †*go-bhaṇḍīra-*, m. „ein bestimmter Wasservogel“, †*go-bhartṛ-*, m. „Stier“ (Galanos!), *go-bhāj-*, adj. „ein Rind verdienend“, *Go-bhānu-*, m. n. pr., *go-bhuj-*, m. „Fürst, König“, *go-bhrt-*, m. „†Berg, Fürst, König“. Der formale Befund ist eindeutig; bei jedem der sechs Komposita, welche das Nomen *go-* mit *bh-* Anschlüssen zeigen, ist das Nachglied unkomponiert entweder Laut für Laut oder in einer durch die Kompositionsregeln geringfügig veränderten Lautgestalt belegbar, und bei jedem der sechs Komposita ist die vorgenommene Auflösung deshalb auch zwanglos möglich. Ich stelle fest, dass *Go-bhila-* (und seine Ableitungen) in diesem Form- und Sippen-Verband die einzige Ausnahme ist. In ganz derselben Linie verläuft die vorhin näher bestimmte semasiologische Untersuchung. Die Beispiele sind: †*gaviśa-*, m. und †*gaviśvara-*, m. „Besitzer von Kühen“, *gavendra-*, m. „†Besitzer von Kühen“, †*gaveśa-*, m. „Besitzer von Kühen“, †*gaveśvara-*, m. „Besitzer von Kühen“, *gōpati-*, m. „Herr der Rinderherden, Anführer, Herr, †Fürst, König“, *gōbandhu-*, adj. „mit der Kuh verwandt“, *Gobalā-*, m. n. pr. eines Mannes, *Gobhaṭṭa-*, m.n.pr. eines Dichters¹, *gōmant-*, adj. „Rinder —, Kühe besitzend, reich an Kühen“, *gomanta-*, m. „†Rinderbesitzer“, *Gomitra-*, m.n.pr. eines Mannes, *gomin-*, m. „Besitzer von Rindern oder Kühen“, *gōśakhi-*, adj. „Rinder besitzend“, *gosvāmin-*, m. „Besitzer einer Kuh, — von Kühen“. Selbst wenn man die durch ihre Bedeutungsentwicklung etwas abrückende Gruppe *gaviś-*, adj. „(nach Kühen) begierig“, *gaviśā-*, adj. dasselbe, *gaviṣṭi-*, adj. „(Rinder) begehrend“ dazunimmt, verändert sich das Gesamtbild nicht. In jedem der achtzehn Belege ist die in Gestalt eines selbstständigen Wortes oder unselbstständigen Formans auftretende zweite Komponente sauber ablösbar und sonst nachweisbar²; nur bei *Go-bhila-* wäre das nicht möglich. Zusammen mit dem schon durchgesprochenen morphologischen Befund ergibt der gesamte Tatbestand

¹ Ich halte die Zerlegung *Go-bhaṭṭa-* für die natürliche. An sich liesse sich im obigen Gesamtzusammenhang auch die Analyse *Gobh-ṭṭa-* erwägen. Aber gibt es sichere Beispiele für ein derartiges Formans *-(a)ṭṭa-*? Gekünstelt schiene mir Annahme von Haplogie: *Gobhaṭṭa-* < **Gobha-bhaṭṭa-*.

² Insbesondere gilt dies für *gōśakhi-*, adj. < *gō-śakhi-*, ein Kompositum, das zu *Go-bhila-* nur scheinbare und zufällige Parallelität aufweist. Auch die bei Hilka a.a.O. p. 120 in der Abteilung „Pferde- und Rinderbesitz“ aufgezählten Personennamen, die mit *go-* (und seinen Kasus), *°gava-*, *°gu-*, *°gra-* zusammengesetzt sind, bieten nichts entfernt zu *Gobhila-*. Passendes. *Gobhila-* selbst ist gar nicht aufgeführt.

wohl eine eindrucksvolle Wahrscheinlichkeit dafür, dass *Gobhila*-eben nicht in die zwei Bestandteile *Go* + *bhila*- aufgelöst werden darf. Anhangsweise bemerke ich noch, dass eine genaue Durchforschung der *re*-Komposita zur selben Einsicht führt. Das Adjektivum *revánt*- „besitzend, reich, wohlhabend usw.“ ist zu beurteilen wie obiges *gómant*-, und Typen wie **re-ṣakhi*- und Ähnliches fehlen überhaupt gänzlich. Abschliessend muss somit festgestellt werden, dass Bloomfields *Gobhila*-Deutung restlos verfehlt ist, wie namentlich die genaue Prüfung des Anklang- und Sippen-Verbandes der *go*-Komposita gezeigt hat. Bloomfield hat bemerkenswerterweise den Eigennamen *Gobhila*- genau so missverstanden, wie er auch den vedischen Eigennamen *Pedú*- missverstanden hat (J. Wackernagel, *Indoiranisches* p. 406). Brauchbar aus der übrigen Darlegung Bloomfields ist nur etwas sozusagen Äusserliches, die durch ihn zum erstenmal hervorgehobene enge Beziehung zum Eigennamen *Rebhila*-. Hierin liegt ein von mir sogenannter sachlich-logischer Rest, den wir im Laufe der weiteren Untersuchung noch aufzugreifen haben. *Gobhila*- aber erweist sich auf Grund der vorhergegangenen Erwägungen als ein Trickbeispiel in der Gruppe der wirklichen *go*-Zusammensetzungen und verbindet sich in dieser Eigenschaft mit drei anderen Worten, mit: *godhūma*-, m. „Weizen“, das ja, wie gerade das Iranische zeigt, gleichfalls ganz andere Vorstufe hat; *goldātikā*-, f. „ein bestimmtes Tier“, was vor noch nicht langer Zeit von J. Charpentier falsch bestimmt worden ist; **gohira*-, n. „Fusswurzel“, das mit unserem *Gobhila*- wirklich nichts zu tun hat, auch über den bekannten *-bh-/h*- und *-r-/l*- Austausch nicht, sondern von Hjalmar Frisk, *Zur indoiranischen und griechischen Nominalbildung* (Göteborg 1934), p. 48 wohl bedingt richtig zu \sqrt{guh} gezogen worden ist. Im Zusammenhang damit gewinnt dann schliesslich die von mir bis jetzt nicht gebuchte Tatsache an Bedeutung, dass schon Monier-Williams² *Gobhila*- nicht unter den *go*-Kompositis aufführt, mit anderen Worten dass er nicht an eine Zusammensetzung mit *go*- geglaubt hat. Alle bisher vorgebrachten Tatsachen, die der Ermittlung der Wahrheit förderlichen wie die ihr abträglichen, spielen keine Rolle bei dem nunmehr zu erörternden fünften Deutungsversuche, welcher von dem gerade vorhin genannten schwedischen Indologen Jarl Charpentier herrührt und IF. 29, p. 380 f. zu lesen steht. Charpentier, der — dies sei noch einmal betont! — weder die Ansicht Tods noch die Albrecht Webers noch die M. Bloomfields erwähnt, kommt mittelbar auf *Gobhila*- zu

sprechen. In der Hauptsache nämlich ist es ihm, wie schon die Überschrift seines kleinen Versuchs zeigt, um „Pkt. *goha* usw.“ zu tun, das er an vier, noch eingehend von mir zu besprechenden, Stellen des indoarischen Schrifttums (Deśināmamālā ii 89; Jacobi, Ausgewählte Erzählungen in Māhārāṣṭrī p. 31, Z. 35 f.; Mṛcchakaṭikā ed. Stenzler p. 31, Zeile 3 von oben; Devendragapis Vṛtti zu Uttarādhyāyanasūtra iii) aufzeigt und folgendermassen erklärt: „‘Mann’ ist also wahrscheinlich die ursprüngliche Bedeutung des, soviel ich weiss, noch nicht gedeuteten Wortes“ (p. 380 unten). „Ich erkläre *goha*- aus **gobha*- und führe es zu **g^uōu*- ‘Kuh’, also eigentlich ‘Stier’, dann ‘männliches Tier’ im allgemeinen, ‘Mann’. Man vergleiche besonders *vṛṣabhā*-, *ṛṣabha*-, pkt. *Usabha*-, *usaha*-, durch welches Wort *goha*- wohl in seiner Bildung beeinflusst worden ist. Zu *goha*- stelle ich weiter ein Paar ai. Eigennamen, nämlich *Gobhila*-, N. des bekannten Sūtraverrassers (*Gobhila*:-*goha* = *Pakṣila*:-*pakṣa*-, usw.) . . .“¹ (p. 380 unten und f.). Es ist festzustellen, dass diese Darlegungen einiges Brauchbare und Wichtige enthalten, was sich für die Gesamtheit des Untersuchungsganges verwerten lässt. Ich rechne hierher, dass Charpentier als erster innerhalb der ganzen Traditionslinie Prākṛit *goha*- nebst den dazugehörigen Literaturbelegen herangezogen und altindoar. *Gobhila*- zu *goha*- in ein bestimmtes Form-Verhältnis gebracht hat, wobei *goha*- augenfällig in seiner Rolle als Ausgangs- und zugleich Mittelstück hervortritt. Ich rechne weiter hierher, dass durch die Proportion *Gobhila*:-*goha* = *pakṣa*:-*Pakṣila*- gleichfalls zum erstenmal das Bildungsprinzip des Eigennamens *Gobhila*- angegeben, wenn auch durchaus nicht schärfer bestimmt worden ist. Aber diesen brauchbaren Einzeltatsachen stehen grobe Mängel gegenüber, die viel nachdrücklicher ins Gewicht fallen und unbedingt hätten vermieden werden müssen und können. Merkwürdigerweise hat Charpentier selber teilweise auf diese schwachen Punkte hingewiesen, indem er a.a.O. p. 381 f. folgende Einwände gegen seine eigene Deutung erhebt und unbereinigt stehen lässt: „Es scheint offenbar, dass **go-bha*-

¹ Charpentier fährt fort: „und vielleicht auch *Guhila*- n. pr. eines Fürsten, JAOS. 6, 518, was statt **Gohila*- stehen kann, also eigentlich mit *Gobhila*- identisch sein sollte“. „Doch wird dies ein wenig fraglich durch das lex. Wort *guhila*- n. ‘Wald’, eigentlich ‘Versteck’, das zu *guh* ‘verbergen’ gehört. Es ist nämlich schwierig zu entscheiden, ob auch der Name *Guhila*- zu dieser Wurzel gehören soll“ (a.a.O. p. 381¹). Charpentiers Zweifel ist berechtigt; denn tatsächlich wird *Guhila*- Kurzform zu Namen wie *Guhasena* sein, was William Crooke — siehe unten! — ausgesprochen hat.

unter Anlehnung an *vr̥ṣa-bha-*, *ṛṣa-bha-* zustandegekommen ist; da es sonst eine Bildung voraussetzte, für die kaum ein zweites Beispiel hervorgezogen werden könnte [sic !]. Denn wir haben ja das Suffix *-bho-* in Tiernamen hinter *-n-* Stämmen, z.B. *vr̥ṣa-bha-*, *ἔλαφος* usw., hinter *-i-* Stämmen, z.B. *ἔριφος*, und *-o-* Stämmen, z.B. *gardabha-*, daneben finden sich Worte, wo die Vorsilbe wurzelhaft aussieht, s. Brugmann Grundr.² ii, 1, 388 f. Für eine Bildung **gʷōu-bho-* fehlt aber in anderen Sprachen jede Stütze [sic !], sie muss also auf speziell indischem Boden entstanden sein. Es wäre interessant zu wissen, ob die Prākṛt-Sprachen noch andere derartige Bildungen ins Leben gerufen haben; augenblicklich sind mir keine bekannt [sic !]“. Eines Kommentars bedürfen die vorstehenden Sätze, welche von einer geradezu unbegreiflichen Sorglosigkeit zeugen, wohl kaum. Charpentier hätte wahrhaftig besser daran getan, auf die Etymologisierung des mittelindoarischen *goha-* ganz zu verzichten und sich damit zu begnügen, statt dessen schlicht auf die Möglichkeit eines Zusammenhangs mit altindoarisch *Gobhila-* aufmerksam zu machen. Denn bewiesen hat Charpentier diesen Zusammenhang ebensowenig, wie er die Ausgangsform **gʷōubho-* bewiesen hat, ein richtiges Wortungetüm vergewaltigender, konstruktiv-theoretischer Sprachbetrachtung, das ich hiemit ein für allemal auf sich beruhen lasse¹. Aber damit nicht genug, hat sich Charpentier auch noch andere

¹ Charpentier hat sich noch nicht einmal die doch wirklich naheliegende Frage vorgelegt: falls *-bho-* in dem postulierten **gʷōubho-* nicht das Tiernamenformans ist, kann es dann nicht die in der Nominalkomposition gern verwendete Ablautstufe *-bha-* der altindoarischen $\sqrt{bhā}$ „glänzen, scheinen, strahlen“ sein, wie z.B. in altindoarisch **ābha-*, „ähnlich“, oder **nibha-*, „ähnlich, gleich“? Für **gobha-* = mittelindoarisch *goha-* ergäbe sich unter dieser Voraussetzung die Bedeutung „wie das Rind (die Kuh, der Stier) aussehend“. Ich habe an Charpentiers Stelle die Prüfung dieser Frage mir vorgenommen und völlige Ergebnislosigkeit ermittelt. Erstens weist der ganze Nominal-Verband der $\sqrt{bhā}$ samt ihren zahlreichen Praepositionalbildungen gar nichts Entsprechendes auf, insbesondere nichts mit dem zu fordernden, sekundären Ausgang *-ila-* (wegen *Gobhila-*), und zweitens findet sich auch in der doch viel umfangreicheren allgemeinen Gruppe der *-ila-* Nomina, wie wir noch sehen werden, ebenfalls kein einziger Parallelfall. Da also Wortformen wie **ābhila-*, **nibhila-* nicht vorkommen, wäre es unsinnig, *Gobhila-* < **gobha-* < **go + bha* (< $\sqrt{bhā}$) erklären zu wollen. Nimmt man diesen Befund mit dem vorne gegen Tod ermittelten (p. 838 f.) zusammen, so ergibt sich erneut die Notwendigkeit, *-bh-* in *Gobhila-* zur Lautung *Go-* und nicht zum Ausgang *-ila-* zu ziehen. Durch die weiter unten vorzunehmende Prüfung des Silbengrenze-Verbandes wird uns diese Notwendigkeit erhärtet werden. Ich mache noch darauf aufmerksam, dass die igvedischen *-bha-* Formans-Beispiele (vgl. Grassmann, Wörterbuch Sp. 1709, Kolonne 4 von links) sämtlich dreisilbig sind und dass die sonstigen *-bha-* Belege (Grassmann a.a.O. Sp. 1699, Kolonne 2 von links) lauter verbale *-bh-* Ausgänge zeigen. Auch dieser Tatbestand spricht entschieden gegen **gʷōubho-*.

Nachlässigkeiten zuschulden kommen lassen, die ihn ihrerseits gehindert haben, der Wahrheit entscheidend nahe zu kommen. Ich formuliere die wesentlichen Verstösse kurz und bezeichne damit ebenso viele wesentliche Untersuchungsaufgaben, denen wir zum Teil nachher noch zu genügen haben: erstens hat Charpentier keine kritische Behandlung der bis zu seiner Zeit vorliegenden Deutungsversuche zum altindoarischen Eigennamen gegeben, ein Versäumnis, das im vorstehenden 1. Abschnitt meiner eigenen Studie ausgeglichen wird; zweitens hat Charpentier die Ausgangsform zu altindoarisch *Gobhila*- wie auch mittelindoarisch *goha*-, **gobha*-, falsch und ohne genügende Unterlagen als *go-bha*- < **g^hōubho*- analysiert, wie ich bereits dargetan habe; insbesondere fehlt — drittens — jeglicher Beweis dafür, dass dieses Nomen **go-bha*- morphologisch durch (v)*ṛṣabha*- usw. massgebend beeinflusst worden sei; die Ursache dieses Versagens ist — viertens — unschwer darin zu erkennen, dass Charpentier überhaupt keine scharfe, saubere Analyse der Grundbedeutung und der Bedeutungen des Nomens *goha*- versucht hat, nicht hat versuchen können, weil er den Stellen-Verband keiner vertieften Betrachtung würdigte; und all dies war schliesslich — fünftens — bedauerlicherweise unausbleiblich, weil Charpentier, in unbekümmertem Drauflos-etymologisieren der junggrammatischen Schule, eine rein individualistisch-subjektive, atomisierende Betrachtungsweise pflegte, statt sich in die geheimen Lebensregeln der Einzelsprache und ihrer assoziativen Gemeinschaftsverbände sorgsam einzufühlen. Gegenüber dem so zu kennzeichnenden fünften Deutungsversuch tritt der sechste und letzte mit weit weniger Ansprüchen auf. Er stammt von Taraporewala, ist oben bei Besprechung Tods und Webers bereits teilweise herangezogen worden und besagt (a.a.O. p. 147 unten und f.): „We begin at once to think of the famous Rajput clan — the Gohils — in connection with this name [*Gobhila*]. There seems hardly any doubt that the two names are identical. . . . The meaning of the word *gobhila* itself is doubtful, and no guess could be ventured as to its etymology. The legend of their founder Goha, the ancestor of Bappā Rāwal, is evidently another attempt at popular etymology to connect the name Goha with the sanskritic word *guhā* (cave) [Op. cit., pp. 180 ff.]“. Zu dieser Darlegung ist zu sagen, dass sie wissenschaftsgeschichtlich genau so von dem durch Taraporewala anscheinend unabhängig gemachten, glücklichen Fund des Zusammenhangs zwischen dem Rajputen-Namen *Gohil* und dem altindoarischen Namen *Gobhila*- beherrscht wird, wie in Charpentiers Versuch der

Hinweis auf mittelindiarisch *goḥa-* als brauchbarste Feststellung hervortritt. Im einzelnen wird zwar dieser Fund *Gohil* = *Gobhila*- noch einiger Bestätigung bedürfen, aber die Gleichung ist, auch aufgrund des p. 839 f. Vorgetragenen, so augenfällig, dass ich für die weitere Untersuchung damit fest rechnen werde. Dass Taraporewala die Bedeutung des Wortes *Gobhila* selbst dann für zweifelhaft erachtet und hinsichtlich der Deutung keine Vermutung vorschnell wagt, ist im Rahmen des von ihm Gewollten als weiterer Gewinn zu buchen wie nicht anders auch seine kritische Haltung gegenüber der Tod'schen Erklärung des Eigennamens *Goha*. Hierin ist ihm, wie im Fall *Gohil* selbst, William Crooke mit gesundem Urteil vorausgegangen, indem er a.a.O. p. 259¹⁾ Tod's Auffassung, *Goha* bedeute soviel wie „cave-born“ (a.a.O. 1, p. 259), unnachlässig als „folk-etymology“ bezeichnet¹⁾.

2. Der erste Teil des diachronistischen Untersuchungsweges ist damit zu Ende gegangen. Wir haben den altindiarischen Eigennamen *Gobhila*- durch das abendländisch-nordamerikanisch-kolonialenglische Fachschrifttum hindurch verfolgt, die Traditionslinie durch Ausscheiden alles irgendwie Unrichtigen und Wertlosen sauber herauspräpariert und daneben ein paar richtig-wertvolle Tatsachen gefunden. Diese Tatsachen aber waren bedauerlicherweise von so vielen unscharfen Gedankenelementen durchsetzt, dass noch eine Reihe besonderer Untersuchungen sich als notwendig erwies, solche des Sach-Verbandes (zum Rajputen-Namen *Gohil*), des Silbengrenze-Verbandes, des Bedeutungs- und Stellen-Verbandes (zu den Wortformen mittelindiarisch *goḥa-*, altindiarisch *Gobhila*-), schliesslich solche des Klang- und Form-Verbandes (*-ila*- Bildungen, insbesondere *Rebhila*-, $\sqrt{\text{guh}}$). Erst wenn diese Sonderprüfungen

¹⁾ In das *Guhilot/Grahilot*-Problem lasse ich mich hier nicht ein, da mich diese Erörterung zu weit führen würde. Ich verweise statt dessen auf Crooke bei Tod 1, p. 259¹⁾, wo an Ableitung beider Namen vom Herrschernamen Guha oder Guhasena (559–567 a. D.) gedacht ist. Ausserdem belehrt uns Tod 1, p. 260¹⁾ selber, dass die alte Bezeichnung *Gohil*, nicht *Gehlot* (durch Umschrift bedingte Seitenform zu den obigen *Guhilot/Grahilot*) sei. Auch aus diesem Grunde erweist sich eine Erörterung des Problems als nicht vordringlich. Schliesslich sei noch auf Elliot-Beames a.a.O. 1, p. 90–2 aufmerksam gemacht, die von einer Form गहलोट = *Gahlot* ausgehen und nützliche geschichtliche Einzelheiten bringen, aber in der sprachwissenschaftlichen Erläuterung des Namens sicher in die Irre gehen. Denn weder die Ableitung von dem Namen eines Sklavenmädchens, *Gahla*, noch die von Beames befürwortete Herkunft „from a form *Guhilāvanta*, or ‘*Guhila*’s people“ wird heute mehr anerkannt werden, ganz zu schweigen von dem volksetymologischen Versuch, den Höhlennamen zu Ehren zu bringen. Ich selber denke an *Guhilaputra*-, n. pr., das ja tatsächlich belegt ist (vgl. pw. s.v. *Guhila*-).

befriedigend geklärt sind, brauchen wir nicht mehr von den von mir so genannten sachlich-logischen Resten zu sprechen, die sich aus der Erforschungsgeschichte des Eigennamens *Gobhila* so mannigfaltig entwickeln liessen.

3. Stellen wir zu diesem Zwecke die Vorfrage, ob uns die Fortsetzerin der diachronistischen Gesamtlinie, die einheimisch-indische Sprachwissenschaft, nicht doch bei der Bereinigung dieser sachlich-logischen Reste behilflich sein könne, so ist mit einem runden Nein zu antworten. Soviel ich sehe, spielt die Frage des Namens *Gobhila* bei Nairuktas und Vaiyākaraṇas gar keine Rolle, und dies aus einer ganz verständlichen Sachlage heraus: man fand für *Gobhila* nicht den traditionell notwendigen Anhalt an einer Verbalwurzel¹. Es ist deswegen auch erklärlich, warum das Mittel-Indoarische nicht weiter Notiz von dem Namen nimmt, eine Tatsache, die etwa durch das Verhalten des Pāli beispielhaft belegt wird². Ungehindert, aber auch ungehindert stehen wir damit vor den nun folgenden synchronistischen Betrachtungsweisen, die uns dem endgültigen Ziele zuführen sollen.

4. Als erster Aufgabenkreis ist sinngemäss in Angriff zu nehmen der Sach-Verband, der den *Gohils* angeschlossen ist und seinerseits wiederum in mehrere Teilaufgaben zerfällt. Leider fliesst das Material sehr spärlich. Eine Reihe sonst ausgezeichnete Einzel- und Sammelwerke versagen völlig³, und Sri Muni Jinvijayas Studie „*Kāṭhiyāwār ādi ke Gohil*“ (erschieden in der Zeitschrift „*Nāgarī*“ 13, No. 4, Māgh, Sam. 1989 und angezeigt in „*Annual bibliography of Indian archaeology for the year 1933*“, p. 84, No. 358), die vermutlich tiefer

¹ Ich brauche in diesem Zusammenhang nicht eigens zu betonen, dass mit der Grammatikerwurzel **bhil* „*bhedane*“ (dazu die Formen *bhīlati*, *bhelayati*) umso weniger anzufangen ist, als *√ bhl* mit *go-* so gut wie nichts zu schaffen hat.

² Man vergleiche die einschlägigen Wörterbücher sowie Edward Muller, *Pali proper names* (= *Journal of the Pali Text Soc.* 1888, p. 1–107, besonders p. 29 f.).

³ „*The Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. xxi. Pushkar to Salween“. New edition (Oxford 1908) enthält nichts, weder etwas unter *Goha*, noch etwas zu dem Stichwort *Gohil(s)*, noch auch etwas in dem grossen Artikel Rājputāna. Ebenso versagt Sir Athelstane Baines, *Ethnography (castes and tribes)* (= Grundriss der Indo-Arischen Philologie und Altertumskunde II. Bd., 5. Heft); der Name *Gohil* wird auch nicht im „*Caste index*“ (p. 153–165) erwähnt. Vergeblich sucht man schliesslich Belehrung bei Sir Herbert Risley, *The people of India* (Calcutta-London 1908), bei H. H. Wilson, *Glossary of judicial and revenue terms and of useful words occurring in official documents* . . . (London 1854), bei Hermann Goetz, *Epochen der indischen Kultur* (Leipzig 1929), bei K. P. Jayaswal, *History of India 150 A.D. to 350 A.D.* (Lahore 1933), in der sonst vorzüglichen „*Enciclopedia Italiana*“, in Hastings, „*Encyclopedia of religion and ethics*“ (Edinburgh 1908–1926). Wie oft doch muss ein Gelehrter, der mit wichtigen oder mindestens nicht unwichtigen Einzelfragen beschäftigt ist, bekennen dass er nahezu allein auf sich gestellt ist!

in die ganze Sache eingeführt hätte, ist mir leider trotz allen Bemühungen nicht zugänglich gewesen. Nichtsdestoweniger ist, namentlich auch wenn wir das vorne p. 838 f. aus Tod 1, p. 137 f. und p. 839 f. aus Elliot-Beames(-Hall) Angeführte hier einbauen, eine einigermaßen geschlossene Tatsachenlinie skizzierbar. Die *Gohils* sind ein hervorragendes Geschlecht, das seinen Ursprung vom Sonnengott Sūrya selbst ableitet und das in verschiedenen, von Tod a.a.O. näher bezeichneten Landschaften Rājputānas und überhaupt Vorderindiens eine wichtige Rolle gespielt hat . . . und noch heutigen-tages spielt. Denn „the chief . . . [z.B. des Native state Bhavnager oder Bhaunagar „in the Kathiawar agency, Bombay“] is head of the famous clan of the Gohel Rajputs of Kathiawar. The Gohel Rajputs are said to have settled in the district about 1260“¹ A.D. Mit diesem Doppel-Datum kommen wir zu dem zweiten, wichtigen zeitlichen Stützpunkt, zu dem kurzen, viel zu kurzen Satze Sir Walseley Haigs in „The Cambridge History of India“ 3, p. 521 oben, wonach „in Mārwar communities of Gohels, Chauhans, and Pawārs disputed the authority of the Pratihāras or Parihārs“. Leider gibt Sir Walseley Haig keine genaue Jahreszahl, aber unmittelbar vorher nennt er in anderem Zusammenhang „1156 n. Chr.“; das ganze 20. Kapitel zudem, dem die Stelle entnommen ist, behandelt „The native states of Northern India from A.D. 1000 to 1526“, sodass wir mithilfe schliesslich der Gesamttafel „Chronology“ (z.B. p. 666 o., 667 f.) in eine geschichtliche Teilage uns hineinversetzt sehen, welche durch die Jahreszahlen 1128, 1210, 1212 A.D. ungefähr abgegrenzt wird. Zwischen das Rājātum der Gegenwart und das Clantum des 12. und 13. Jahrhunderts n. Chr. aber schiebt sich eine bisher völlig übersehene Tatsache ein, welche nicht nur literargeschichtlich Sanskrit und Prākrit miteinander verbindet, sondern auch zwischen altindoarisch *Gobhila*-, mittellindoarisch *goha*- und neuindoarisch *Gohil* die bisher fehlende Brücke schlägt. Diese Tatsache erscheint in einem Variantenvers des für Edelleute bestimmten epischen Gedichtes Viracaritra des Ananta (vor 1400 n. Chr.), ist uns durch H. Jacobis verdienstliche Ausgabe in den „Indischen Studien“ 14 (pp. 97–160, genau a.a.O. p. 99¹) zugänglich gemacht worden und stammt letzten Endes von dem Jaina Bhāvaratna, dem Verfasser des Kommentars

¹ Einzige Angabe aus „The Encyclopædia Britannica. Fourteenth edition. 1929“ 3, p. 494, Sp. 2, die unter dem Stichwort *Gohel* selbst gar nichts bringt. Zeitlich etwas später ist der Inhalt der Gedichtstrophe anzusetzen, die p. 840¹ in Übersetzung wiedergegeben ist. König Pṛthvirāja ist 1193 a. D. gefallen.

Sukhabodhikā (1712 n. Chr.). Der Variantenvers, der, wie gesagt, eine Zufügung Bhāvaratnas ist, lautet:

„Yudhiṣṭhiro śbhūt kila rājavamśajāḥ,
sa rājaputraḥ Paramāravamśabhūḥ |
śrī Vikramārko, nanu Śālivāhano
Gohillabhūr vai, Vijayābhinandanah |
Śīśodarānvayabhavo bhaviṣyati,
tato śtra Nāgārjuna samjñako nṛpaḥ
.....“

Es ist klar, dass dieser zu einem mittelalterlichen Texte spät bezeugte Vers mit genealogisch-kosmogonischen, ja geradezu rein mythengeschichtlichen Vorstellungen spielt¹, aber es ist sprachgeschichtlich ebenso klar, dass im sonst nirgends mehr belegten Eigennamen *Gohilla-* inmitten altindoarischer Wortstaffage ein Präkritismus auftritt, dass nach guten Regeln der Wortbildungslehre *Gohilla-* = *Gobhila-* ist, dass zu beiden mittelindoarisch *goha-*, m. die Ausgangsform bildet², und dass durch obigen Vers auch die sachliche Bindung mit dem ebenfalls Laut für Laut gleichen Rajputennamen *Gohil* gewonnen ist. Mit diesem Ergebnis ist ein grosser Schritt vorwärts getan. Sofort stellt sich uns aber folgende Erwägung in den Weg: das im Sanskrit auftretende Präkrit-Lehnwort *Gohilla-* steht wohl zweifellos mit einem fürstlichen Stammbaum in engem Zusammenhang

¹ So im wesentlichen nach A. Weber, ZDMG. 24, p. 398 f., besonders p. 399¹, wo kurz auf Elliot, Memoirs on the North-Western provinces of India 1, p. 91, 92 (ed. Beames) aufmerksam gemacht ist; p. 839 und p. 839² f.; Webers Lesarten und Lesartenvermutungen sind übrigens in Jacobis Abdruck grossenteils berücksichtigt. Eine Übersetzungswiedergabe des sprachlich ziemlich einfachen Verses erübrigt sich wohl. Über den Eigennamen *Gohilla-* nur das Nötigste im pw. s.v. (nichts im PW. und in Richard Schmidts Nachträgen). — Zum Viracaritra bringen lediglich das Landläufige: Victor Henry, Les littératures de l'Inde (Paris 1904), p. 250 f.; A. Berriedale Keith, A history of Sanskrit literature (Oxford 1928), p. 292 unten; M. Winternitz, Geschichte der indischen Litteratur 3, p. 342 f., 342² (ohne „Nachträge und Verbesserungen“).

² Pischel, Grammatik der Prakrit-Sprachen § 595 (p. 402-4): „Dialektisch überaus häufig ist -illa, das für -ilā steht (§ 194)“. Als Beispiel nenne ich aus vielen: *gaṇṭhilla-* = *granthila-*. Über das Suffix -illa- handelt auch Alfred C. Woolner, Introduction to Prakrit² (in den „Panjab University Oriental Publications“), Calcutta 1928, p. 77 unten und f. Ihm zufolge ist -illa- üblich in Māhārāṣṭrī, Jaina-Māhārāṣṭrī und Ardha-Māgadhī. An Beispielen bringt er *kesarilla-* (zu *kesara-*), *bāhirilla-* „external“, *gāmilla-* „peasant“, *puvella-* „previous“. Wiederum ist an der Gleichung *Gohil* = *Gohilla-* = *Gobhila-* ebensowenig zu zweifeln wie an der Ableitung dieser Namendretheit aus einem vorauszusetzenden **gobha-*.

und das mit ihm identische Rajputenwort *Gohil* bezeichnet ebenso zweifellos ein Adelsgeschlecht hohen Rangs, aber ist es angesichts eines so klaren Sachverhalts denn nicht kulturgeschichtlich haltlos, beide Wortformen mit *Gobhila-* zu verbinden, dem altindoarischen Eigennamen, der zwar sprachlich seinen Fortsetzern genauestens gleicht, aber doch eben einen Brahmanen, einen Priester, einen schriftstellernden Theologen meint? So merkwürdig es klingt: der Widerspruch, der in dieser Frage liegt, ist nur scheinbar, er ist auflösbar im Lichte klarerhellter kulturgeschichtlicher Vorgänge. Die *Gohils* waren, wie uns Tod erzählt, „a distinguished race: it claims to be Suryavansi, and with some pretension“ und „the ancient Gohils ‘of the land of Kher’, expelled and driven to Gohilwal, have lost sight of their ancestry“ (Tod I, p. 266 unten und f.)¹. Diese drei Umstände, aus denen ich den mit dem Stichwort „Suryavansi“ besonders hervorhebe, rücken die Möglichkeit sehr nahe, dass die *Gohils* (*Gohillas*) samt ihrem Stammvater *Goha* ursprünglich überhaupt keine Kṣatriyas und Rājanyas waren, sondern Angehörige des Brahmanenstandes, ein Übergang, der uns in der Tat für mehrere Rajputen-Clans einwandfrei bezeugt ist. Crooke erzählt nämlich in der „Introduction“ des I. Tod’schen Bandes p. xxxiii f. folgende lehrreichen Hergänge: „Hence arose the legend . . ., which describes how, by a solemn act of purification or initiation, under the superintendence of one of the ancient Vedic Rishis [*sic*!] or inspired saints, the ‘fire-born’ septs were created to help the Brāhmans in repressing Buddhism,

¹ Aus diesem Grunde wäre es auch ein vergebliches Bemühen, die Lehrerliste des zum Sāma-Veda gehörigen Vamśa-Brāhmaṇa heranzuziehen, auf die nach dem Vorgang Albrecht Webers Taraporewala a.a.O. p. 147 f. aufmerksam macht. Diese Liste zählt insgesamt 59 Lehrer auf, die von Brahman Svayambhū selbst angeführt werden und als ersten menschlichen Vertreter Kaśyapa haben. Der 26. Lehrer in Deszendenz von diesem ist Rādha Gautama, der seinerseits zwei Schüler hat; einer davon ist *Gobhila*. Vgl. noch Max Müller, A history of ancient Sanakrit literature (London-Edinburgh 1859), p. 436 f. und p. 442 unten. So wenig wie diese Lehrerliste führt auch die von Crooke bei Tod I, p. xxxiv f. und von Tod I, p. 259 f. selbst erzählte *Goha*-Sage weiter, welche die Übertragung der Königswürde von den Bhīls an den Stammvater *Goha* berichtet. Wer annehmen wollte, dies legendäre Ereignis habe eine Spur in dem Namen *Gobhila-* hinterlassen, der würde schnell durch die Überlieferungsgeschichte des Bhīl-Namens widerlegt. Denn alt und richtig bezeugt ist eben nur die Form *Bhīla-* (vgl. PW., pw., Schmidts Nachträge, Hobson-Jobson s.v.). Damit scheidet auch die schon in anderem Zusammenhang berührte Möglichkeit einer Haplogie, Annahme einer Form **Gobha-bhila-*, aus, ganz abgesehen von all den gewichtigen Gründen, die bisher schon für eine Auflösung *Gobhila-* gesprochen haben. Auch der zeitliche Abstand spricht gegen die Annahme einer derartigen Beziehung zwischen *Gobhila-*, *Goha* und dem Namen der *Bhīls*, da die Herrschaftsübernahme nach allem, was wir wissen, wesentlich später als der vedische Name *Gobhila-* anzusetzen ist.

Jainism, or other heresies, and in establishing the ancient traditional Hindu social policy . . . This privilege was, we are told, confined to four septs, known as Agnikula, or 'fire-born', the Pramār, Parihār, Chālukya or Solanki, and the Chauhān“. Ähnlich berichtet Crooke „Introduction“ I, p. xxxiv f.: „The actual conqueror of Chitor, Bāpa or Bappa, is said in inscriptions to have belonged to the branch known as Nāgar, or 'City' Brāhmans which has its present headquarters at the town of Vadnagar in the Baroda state. This conversion of a Brāhman into a Rājput is at first sight startling, but the fact implies that the institution of caste, as we observe it, was then only imperfectly established, and there was no difficulty in believing that a Brāhman could be ancestor of a princely house which now claims descent from the sun“. Man erinnere sich, dass die Gohils, nach der Feststellung Sir Wolseley Haigs, zusammen mit den Chauhān im Kampf gegen die Parihārs standen und dass der Heros eponymos der Gahlots nach inschriftlichem Zeugnis *Gobhila*- war. Dann wird der Schluss unvermeidlich, dass der Ahnherr der *Gohils* und *Gohillas* ein Sāmaveda-Theologe *Gobhila* (<*Gobha-> *Goha*-) durchaus gewesen sein kann.

5. Die Möglichkeit eines solch lehrreichen kulturgeschichtlichen Zusammenhangs lässt sich aber auch auf sprachgeschichtlich bedeutungsmässige Weise dartun durch eine Untersuchung des Stellen-Verbandes, den Charpentier nur oberflächlich geprüft hat. Und diese Untersuchung wird, bildlich gesprochen, zum Brückenbogen werden, der vom sicheren zeitlichen Standort der *Gohil*-Ansätze im 12. und 13. Jahrhundert n. Chr. (p. 851 unten) über die einzelnen Datierungspunkte hinweg vorstossen wird in den ungestützten Raum spätvedischen Altertums, dem wir andererseits den Eigen-namen *Gobhila*- zuweisen müssen. Damit zur Sache! Das mittel-indoarische Nomen *goha*-, m. kommt an 4 Stellen des indoarischen Schrifttums vor, wie hier nochmals wiederholt sei: in der *Deśināmamālā* des Hemacandra, in der Kommentarerzählung „*Udāyaṇa*“ zum jainistischen *Uttarajjhayaṇa*, in der *Vṛtti* des Devendragaṇi sowie im II. Akte der *Mṛcchakatikā*. Eine unmittelbare Verbindung mit der geschichtlichen Atmosphäre der Gohils wird dadurch hergestellt, dass drei dieser Zeugnisse dem gleichen Zeitraum angehören: Hemacandra hat von 1088–1172 n. Chr. gelebt und Devendragaṇi ausgangs des 11. und anfangs des 12. Jahrhunderts n. Chr. gewirkt. Zu den 4 Stellenbelegen insgesamt ist Folgendes zu sagen. Mittelindoarisch *goha*-, m. erscheint zunächst *Deśināmamālā*

ii 89¹, in der Pischel'schen Ausgabe p. 102 oben (ohne „Corrections and Additions“):

„gāhammi gāhulī gāyarigoā gagarīe a

gāmapahāne gāmaṇigāmaūḍaggāmagohagohā ya“, ein Vers, der in dem uns angehenden Stück erläutert wird: „*gāmaṇī gāmaūḍo gāmagohogoho ete cātvaro s̥pi grāmapradhānārthāḥ | goho bhāṭa ityaṇye | puruṣa ityeke* |“. Aus dieser Stelle und ihrer Glossierung lernen wir, dass Charpentier irreführend als einzige Bedeutung nur die Kommentierung durch *bhāṭa*-, m. und als Übersetzung damit nur etwa „Soldat, Söldner“ angegeben hat, während die so belangreiche dritte Bedeutung — *goha*- mit drei Synonymen zusammen = „Hauptperson des Dorfes, (Dorf)vorsteher“ — einfach unterdrückt worden ist. Die Bedeutungsfixierung „*puruṣa ityeke*“, also etwa „Mann, Mensch“ wirkt, wie schon jetzt festgestellt werden kann, reichlich allgemein. Das zweite Vorkommen des mittellindoarischen Wortes *goha*-, m. ist in Hermann Jacobis „Ausgewählten Erzählungen in Māhārāṣṭrī“ p. 31, Zeile 35 f. aus der Kommentargeschichte „Udāyaṇa“ zum Uttarajjhayāṇa gebucht. Das Satzstück lautet: „*esa rāyā tāva mama piyā, ane ya gohā*“², was Charpentier unter Zuhilfenahme von Lakṣmīvallabhas Kommentierung „*apare mattulyāḥ ke s̥pi rājāno na santi*“ (a.a.O. p. 380²) ganz zutreffend übersetzt: „Dieser König hier ist ja mein Vater, die anderen (Könige) sind lauter Soldaten“³. Ohne dass ich mich weiter in die Einzelheiten der reichlich verschachtelten Geschichte einzulassen brauche, kann einfach festgestellt werden, dass die Bedeutung „Söldner, Soldat“ hier der bereits behandelten zweiten Angabe der Deśināmamālā angemessen ist. An der dritten Stelle des *goha*-Vorkommens ist das aber bereits nicht mehr der Fall. Es handelt sich hiebei, wie schon angegeben, um die von Devendragani verfasste Vṛtti zu dem Uttarajjhayāṇa, III. Kapitel, die von Charpentier a.a.O. p. 380² ganz kurz ohne

¹ Ich benutze „The Deśināmamālā of Hemachandra“. Edited with critical notes, a glossary and a historical introduction by R. Pischel and G. Bühler. Part I. Text and critical notes, by Pischel (= Bombay Sanskrit Series. No. xvii.). Bombay 1880. Der Variantenapparat enthält nichts Bemerkenswertes.

² Jacobi a.a.O. „Wörterbuch“, p. 107, Sp. 1 unten gibt das Landläufige: „*goha* (DK. 2, 89 *goho bhāṭaḥ*) Soldat 31, 36“.

³ Ähnlich John Jacob Meyer, Hindu tales. An English translation of Jacobi's Ausgewählte Erzählungen in Māhārāṣṭrī (London 1909), p. 108: „Again she reflected: 'I'll enjoy the objects of enjoyment. As regards this king now, he is my father; and the others are simply soldiers'“. Oder, wie Meyer in einer Anmerkung noch beifügt, „his soldiers“ (sonst keine Bemerkungen und auch keine „Corrections and additions“). Tatsächlich heisst es später (p. 109 unten): „Then in the month of Jeṭṭha, Udāyaṇa hurriedly took the field together with the ten kings [his vassals]“.

Weiterungen erwähnt und von Jacobi, ZDMG. 38, p. 2 unten und ff. abgedruckt worden ist. Der Text liest: „*gohā sivārāvehim bheravam karenti*“; Jacobi übersetzt richtig „die Diener machen einen schrecken-erregenden (Lärm) durch (Nachahmung von) Schackalgeheul“ (a.a.O. p. 4 unten), und eine Randglosse in der Handschrift B. erläutert den Ausdruck *gohā* (nom. plur. masc.) durch „*subhātāḥ*“, was ebenfalls soviel wie „Söldling, Soldat“ besagt. Letzten Endes kann diese Angabe aber nicht stimmen, denn die vom Fürsten ausgesandten *gohā* werden im Zusammenhang der Erzählung ganze 3 Zeilen vorher schlecht und recht *purisā* genannt und man sieht schwer ein, warum das gleiche Wort nicht auch sofort nachher hätte verwendet werden können. Da dies tatsächlich eben nicht geschehen ist, können *goha-* und *purisa-* nicht völlig synonym sein. Und nun gewinnt auf einmal die Satzangabe ein verändertes Gesicht: die *gohā* erscheinen da ja als menschliche Wesen, welche—vielleicht durch Täuschung oder Verkleidung—Lärm, Radau hervorbringen. Sollte hierin etwa die *purisa-* von *goha-* abrückende Bedeutungsschattierung stecken? Diese entscheidende Frage ist, soviel ich sehe, mit Ja zu beantworten, sobald wir uns der vierten und ältesten *goha-* Stelle zuwenden. Es ist der 4. Auftritt des II. Aktes in der *Mṛcchakatikā*. Die Szene ist wohl so bekannt, dass ich bloss mit ganz knappen Strichen zu skizzieren brauche. Der Bader, „der zehn Goldstücke schuldig ist“, hat Reissaus genommen, verfolgt von dem Bankhalter und einem Spieler, und ist in einen Tempel geflüchtet. Hier postiert er sich als Statue hin und wird im schweisgsamen Halbdunkel des leeren Göttertempels nicht erkannt, obwohl Bankhalter, und Spieler an dem vermeintlichen hölzernen Bilde rütteln. Der Verfolgung müde, setzen sich Bankhalter und Spieler, wie wir annehmen dürfen, und spielen verschiedene Spiele. Der arme Bader, welcher natürlich in seiner selbstangenommenen Maske alles mitbeobachtet, wird erneut von der Spielleidenschaft gepackt, und, während die beiden anderen wegen der Reihenfolge in einen kurzen Wortwechsel geraten, lässt er die Maske fallen, bricht das mühsame Schweigen, tritt von der anderen Seite rasch heran und spricht: „Sollte ich nicht dran sein?“ Darauf der Spieler: „*laddhe gohe*!“ Charpentier übersetzt den Ausrufesatz: „der Kerl ist gefunden“. In der Tat ist dies der ungefähre Sinn der Situation, weswegen auch die einheimischen Kommentare sowohl wie die modernen Übersetzer nicht anders formulieren¹, aber es ist

¹ Ich gebe eine Auswahl des Wissenswertesten. Das *Suvarṇālakṣaṇa* zur Stelle deutet *gohe* mit *puruṣaḥ*; ebenso die *Mṛcchakatikā*-Ausgabe² von Kāśināth

doch eben nur der ungefähre Sinn. In Wirklichkeit aber wird der *goha-* auch in dieser köstlichen Szene als ein männliches, menschliches Wesen gefasst, das sprechend Verkleidung und Schweigen bricht. „Bursche, Kerl, Mann“ als Wiedergabe für „*goha*“ ist folglich zu blass, zu allgemein, zu schwach. Ich schlage vor, diesem Erfordernis durch eine Übersetzung „da haben wir den Sprecher (Lärmmacher, Radaumacher)!“ zu genügen, ohne dass freilich diese deutsche Übertragung alle Ansprüche befriedigte. Mittellindoarisch *goha-*, m. bedeutet also „(in Aufputz, Verkleidung) auftretender Sprecher“, eine Feststellung, die umso nachdrücklicher wirkt, als sie durch eine klar analysierbare Textaussage des 4.-5. nachchristlichen Jahrhunderts gedeckt wird und bisher von niemandem erkannt worden ist.

Dies Ergebnis wird bestätigt und fortgeführt durch den Stichwortartikel *goha-* in Pandit Hargovind Das Sheths Pāia-Sadda-Mahāṇavo. A comprehensive Prakrit-Hindi dictionary with Sanskrit equivalents, quotations and complete references (Calcutta 1928) 2, p. 381, Sp. 1, der folgendermassen lautet: „*goha* puṁ [de] 1 gāṁva kā mukhiyā; (de 2, 86) | 2 bhāṭa, subhāṭa, yoddhā; (de 2, 86; mahā) | 3 jāra, upapati; (upapṛ 215) | 4 sipāhī, pulisa; (upapṛ 335) | 5 puruṣa, ādamī, manuṣya; (mṛccha 57) | “. Dazu treten die Zusätze in Band 4 (Pariśiṣṭa), p. 1240, Sp. 1 unten: „*goha* puṁ [de] 1 koṭavāla ādi krūra manuṣya; (sukha 3, 9) | 2 vi. grāmīṇa, grāmya; (sukha 2, 13) | “. Indem ich die beiden zusätzlichen Bedeutungsangaben in die vorhergehende, übrigens sehr geschickte Bedeutungsanordnung einbaue, erhalte ich unter Verzicht auf die wohl überflüssigen Stellenbelege folgende Übersetzung: „*goha-*, m. Erster (Häuptling, Vorsteher) eines Dorfes, einer Stadt, eines Districts; Soldat, Söldner,

Pāṇḍurang Parab (Bombay 1904) „*labdhaḥ puruṣaḥ*“ und im Subkommentar „*gohe puruṣaḥ manuṣyaḥ*“; ebenso die fünfte, von Vāsudev Laxmaṇ Shāstri Paṇṣikar durchgesehene Ausgabe (Bombay 1922) „*labdhaḥ puruṣaḥ*“, „*gohe puruṣaḥ manuṣyaḥ*“. Otto Böhtlingk, Mrk'hakatika, d.i. Das irdene Wägelchen, ein dem König Cūdraka zugeschriebenes Schauspiel. Übersetzt (St. Petersburg 1877), p. 31: „Den Kerl hätten wir“ (in den „Anmerkungen“ p. 187 gar nichts); Ludwig Fritze in seiner metrischen Übertragung (Chemnitz 1879), p. 59: „Da haben wir den Burschen“ (ohne jede Bemerkung); Hermann Camillo Kellner, Vasantasenā² (Leipzig 1894), p. 52: „Der Kerl ist erwisch!“ (ohne Anmerkung); Arthur William Ryder, The little clay cart (= Harvard oriental series volume nine; Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1905), p. 31: „We've got our man“ (ohne jede Bemerkung); Mṛcchakatikā (ed. Stenzler, Bonn 1847) p. 31, Zeile 3 von oben (die Textstelle), p. 191 (Glossierung der Prakṛtabhāṣāvyākhyā: „*labdhaḥ puruṣaḥ*“), p. 253 „Adnotaciones“ („गोह in familiari Mahrattorum sermone usurpatur de viro adolescente, homuncione“, eine Stelle, die sofort aus dem Folgenden verständlich wird).

Kriegsmann, Sepoy ; Stationskommandant usw., überhaupt ein stolzer Herr ; Buhler, Liebhaber ; Bauer, bäurisch, Dorfbewohner, linkisch, roh, ungebildet, ungeschliffen ; [Mann, Mensch, menschliches Wesen, Person überhaupt]¹. Da die in Klammern stehende letzte Bedeutung nur dem Zeugnis der *Mr̥cchakatikā* zuliebe angenommen ist und, wie ich oben p. 855 f. gezeigt habe, zugunsten einer sinnfälligeren Übersetzung aufgegeben werden muss, haben wir eine Bedeutungs-summe, deren einzelne Teile unschwer und vor allem überzeugend aus der angenommenen Grund- und Ausgangsbedeutung „(in Aufputz auftretender) Sprecher“ erklärt werden können. Der Sachverhalt ist so schlagend, dass ich mich mit wenigen kurzen, indischen und ausserindischen Hinweisen begnügen darf. Ich erinnere an die indische Dorfverfassung des *Panchāyat*, die einen eigenen Vertreter des Dorfes der Regierung gegenüber oder daneben den Dorfobersten, den *Lambardar*, vorsieht. Bei Verhandlungen mit höheren Instanzen musste dieser Dorfschulze — und war es eine grössere Siedlung, Bürgermeister — gar oft als bäurisch, linkisch, roh, ungebildet erscheinen. Handelte es sich um die Verwaltung einer grösseren Gebietseinheit, so kam dafür nur der Angehörige einer Adels- und *Kṣatriya*-Familie infrage, der zugleich, der ganzen Atmosphäre jener frühmittelalterlichen Zeiten entsprechend, ein Kriegsmann war. Die *Gohils* als Clan waren solche Kriegsleute, und es scheint mir kein Zufall, dass in der oben p. 840¹ angeführten Liedstrophe die Wendung „fierce as steel“ im Urtext „*loha krūra*“ lautet. Von hier zur Definition der *Sukhabodhatikā*, der *goha* sei „*krūra manuṣya*“ führt eine gerade Linie. Die Bedeutung „Buhle, Liebhaber“ ist, wie wir unten noch sehen werden, aus einem Nebengebrauch der in **gobha*- steckenden Wurzel voll zu verstehen : es ist das männliche Wesen, das abends oder nachts, kurzum unter abenteuerlicheren Umständen, durch Gesang oder Vortrag die Gefühle der Angebeteten erregt ; daher auch die von Stenzler oben p. 857¹ gebuchte Angabe, *goho* werde in der Umgangssprache der Mahratten vom *vir adolescens*, *homuncio* gebraucht. So bleibt nur noch die Bedeutung „Soldat, Söldner“ unbesprochen. Sie ist indessen

¹ Der Verfasser gibt keine Sanskritentsprechung, wie sonst, in Klammern, was sehr bemerkenswert ist ; keinerlei Berichtigungen. Ein Wort *gohū(l)a-* ist nicht aufgeführt. Die Abkürzungen bedeuten : *pum̐* = *pum̐liṅga* ; [*de*] = *deśi-* oder *deśya-* *śabda* ; *upap̐* = *upadeśapada* ; *mr̥ccha* = *mr̥cchakatika* ; *sukha* = *sukhabodhatikā* (*Uttarādhyayanasya*. *Hastalikhita*) ; *vi-* = *viṣayatyāgopadeśakulaka*. *Hastalikhita* ; oder = *viśeṣaṇa*. — Da ich über *koṭavāla-* nirgends etwas ermitteln konnte — auch nicht bei Apte und Monier-Williams und H. H. Wilson — nahm ich Präkritismus für *koṭ(f)apāla-* an und übersetzte demgemäss versuchsweise.

leicht zu erklären. Denn entweder leitet man den Soldaten niederen Standes aus den Verhältnissen des Lehenssystems heraus von den hohen und höheren Dienstgraden ab oder man knüpft geradezu an urtümliche Verhältnisse an, an den *miles gloriosus* oder an den altgermanischen Krieger, der zu Beginn der Schlacht den *Bārditus* ertönen liess (Tacitus, *Germania* iii²), oder man zieht den *Feld-we(i)bel* heran, dessen Nachglied ich unmittelbar < idg. **yoipłós* (im Ablaut zu altindoarisch *vípra-*, m. „Sänger, Dichter, Vorbeter, Priester“) herleite¹. Und damit sind wir bereits bei den höchst lehrreichen und kulturgeschichtlich farbenreichen Verwicklungen angelangt, die nicht nur indoarische, sondern auch idg. Verbalwurzeln mit der Bedeutung „sprechen“ gelegentlich durchmachen. Der *Mr Speaker* ist der Präsident des englischen Unterhauses; die Schweizer Familie der *Sprecher* (z.B. von Bernegg) hat der Eidgenossenschaft ausgezeichnete Landvögte und Offiziere gestellt (z.B. Fortunatus *Sprecher* im 17. Jahrhundert n. Chr.), nhd. *Palier, Polier*, eigentlich „Sprecher“, bezeichnet den „Obergesellen der Maurer“. In diese Bedeutungsrunde ist auch das mittelindoarische *goha-* Stück für Stück eingeschlossen.

6. Vorstehendes semasiologisches Gesamtergebnis wird nachgeprüft und vollauf bestätigt, indem ich jetzt die Untersuchung auf die morphologischen Gemeinschaftsverbände ausdehne. Ich kehre damit gleichzeitig zu dem altindoarischen *Gobhila-* zurück, dessen enge Beziehungen zu dem mittelindoarischen *goha-* von Charpentier unter Hinweis auf das Verhältnis zwischen *pakṣa-* und *Pakṣila-* zwar behauptet, aber nur unzulänglich begründet worden sind. In der Tat kann und muss dieser Nachweis in strengsinniger Folgerichtigkeit und Schlüssigkeit erbracht werden. Da es eine Möglichkeit, das Verfahren des Reim-Verbandes durchzuführen, soviel ich sehe, nicht gibt und die Prüfung des Anklang-Verbandes schon bei der Widerlegung M. Bloomfields erschöpfend durchgeführt wurde (oben

¹ Sehr auffallend ist deshalb der Bezug von *bhaṭa-* zu * $\sqrt{bhaṭ}$ „bhāśārthe“ (bei Westergaard, *Radices* und in der *Kṣīratarāṅgiṇī*, ed. Liebig, nichts Wesentliches). Vgl. auch die z.B. von Uhlenbeck für „onomatopoëtisch“ erklärte $\sqrt{bhaṭabhaṭāy}$ „einen glucksenden Laut von sich geben“. Ferner wären für die Beurteilung des Nomens *bhaṭa-* auch all seine Komposita heranzuziehen, wie z.B. *udbhaṭa-*, adj. „hervorragend, ausgezeichnet, ungewöhnlich, heftig, leidenschaftlich“ mit auffallender Bedeutungsverwandtschaft zu *goha-*. Schliesslich wäre das Verhältnis zu *bhaṭa-*, m. „Herr, grosser Gelehrter, Doctor“ endgültig zu klären. Man würde hiebei weit über Theodor Benfey, Abhandlungen der Königl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen 23, Hist.-philol. Classe, No. 4, p 32-31, und über andere Gelehrtenmeinungen hinauskommen. Dies Problem sei hier nur gestellt!

p. 842–5), so bleiben noch folgende Aussagen übrig: Laut- und Silbengrenze-Verband, der allgemeine Klang-Verband, Form-Verband, Sippen-Verband. Der Laut- und Silbengrenze-Verband lässt erkennen, dass von den möglichen Zerlegungen des Wortkörpers *Gobhila-* rein hypothetisch, somit unbrauchbar sind: *G-obhila-*; *Go-ṣbhila-* (mit Avagraha wie z.B. *goṣmbu-*, *goṣmbhas-* „Kuhurin“; aber es gibt kein **abhila-*); *Gobhi-la-* (es gibt kein **gobhi-*); *Gobhīl-a-*. Die Auflösung *Go-bhila-* ist diejenige Bloomfields und somit widerlegt, die Auflösung *Go-bh-ila-* diejenige Charpentiers und somit gleichfalls widerlegt. Folglich bleibt nur noch die Auffassung *Gobh-ila-* als letzte übrig und möglich. Wir wollen sie die Wüst'sche Analyse nennen. Sie wird auch durch den allgemeinen Klang-Verband bestätigt. Die Beispiele sind: **gokīla-*, m. „Keule, Pflug“ und **gokula-*, n. „Rinderheerde“. Nun besteht aber keine **√guc/k*, die einer Zerlegung **gok-īla-* bzw. **gok-ula-* zugrundegelegt werden könnte, vielmehr sind in beiden Wortformen *kīla-* bzw. *kula-* als selbständige, nur in der Komposition sekundär gewordene Nomina ablösbar. Also kann *Gobhila-*, das mit **gokīla-* und **gokula-* klanglich-assoziativ zusammenhängt, nicht als *Go-bhila-* aufgefasst werden; denn es gibt, im Gegensatz zur vorherigen Prozedur, keine Möglichkeit, die Komponente **-bhila-* selbständig aufzuzeigen. Folglich bleibt, da die anderen Analysen entweder stark hypothetisch oder irrig sind, nur die Zerlegung *Gobh-ila-* wiederum als die einzige übrig. Anders ausgedrückt: wir stehen vor der Notwendigkeit, im Falle *Gobhila-* den Form-Verband untersuchen zu müssen, da vor aller wortkundlichen Namendeutung Aufklärung der morphologischen Verhältnisse unbedingtes Erfordernis ist. Oder, was beim Beispiele *Gobhila-* das Selbe besagt: wir haben das *-ila-* Formans zu untersuchen. Zu diesem Zwecke habe ich ein umfangreiches Belegmaterial gesammelt, rund 170 Beispiele¹. Ihre eingehende Durchsicht

¹ Als Quellen dienen: Pāṇini, *Gaṇa sahyādi* iv, 2, 80 und Übriges in der 2. Böttlingk'schen Ausgabe; Benfey, *Vollständige Grammatik der Sanskritsprache* §§ 419, 420, 561, 563, 617; Whitney, *Grammar*; Renou, *Grammaire Sanscrite*; Lindner, *Altindische Nominalbildung* §§ 40, 81; Macdonell, *Vedic grammar*; Grassmann, *Wörterbuch*; Whitney, *Index verborum to the published text of the Atharvaveda*; Hilka, *Die altindischen Personennamen (buddhistische Namen sind in die Sanskritform umgesetzt, p. xii)*; Theophil Gubler, *Die Patronymica im Alt-Indischen* (Göttingen 1903); Solmsen-Fraenkel, *Indogermanische Eigennamen als Spiegel der Kulturgeschichte* (Heidelberg 1922); Wüst, *eigene Sammlungen* (im Gegensatz zu den vorstehenden Verfassern nicht eigens bezeichnet). Klare Bildungen, die aus der Reihe fallen, wie *gīla-*, *tila-*, *bīla-* usw. sind selbstverständlich ausgeschieden.

zeigt, dass die Bildungsweise vom Vedischen ins Sanskrit hinein klärlich zunimmt¹, dass ganz verschiedene voraltindoarische sprachgeschichtliche Ausgangsstufen anzunehmen sind², dass diese aber durchaus nicht einheitlich und insgesamt für die Beurteilung von *Gobhila*-herangezogen werden müssen, sondern dass die Sprachvergleichung bereits aus diesen Möglichkeiten und Vorstufen eine bezeichnet, die allein auf das Paar mittelindoarisch *goha* : altindoarisch *Gobhila*-zutrifft. Ich umschreibe sie mit den Worten Brugmanns, Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der Idg. Sprachen 2, 1², p. 360: „die ganze Kategorie der ai. Deminutiva wie ai. *vṛṣālā-s* 'Männlein' und der ai. Eigennamenformen wie ai. *Dēvīla-s* [ist] mit Sicherheit den uridg. *-lo*-Formationen zuzuweisen“³. Angesichts der gesamten klaren Sachlage des Eigennamens *Gobhila*- und seiner Fortsetzer handelt es sich also unmissverständlich um sekundäres *-(i)la*-, von ursprünglich hypokoristischer, wohlgemerkt nicht deminutivischer Funktion⁴. Ich deute die Geschichte des so beschriebenen Formans mit einigen wesentlichen Strichen, ohne Vollständigkeit beabsichtigen zu wollen, an. Einwandfrei ist es im Altgriechischen nachzuweisen; ich nenne aus den hierüber vorliegenden Sammlungen ein paar Beispiele⁵: *Ἀρκίλος*, *Θερσίλος*, *Θυμίλος*, *Ὀργίλος*, *Ὀνάσιλος*, *ποικίλος*, *Σωίλος*, *Ταξίλος*, *Χοίριλος*. Aussergewöhnlich lehrreich ist *Σοφίλος*, das natürlich zu *σοφός* gehört. Wer es entgegen allen Einsichten und

¹ Der Atharvaveda z.B. hat nur 2 (3 ?) Belege; dies zur Erörterung p. 841 f.

² 1. Vorhergehende Nullstufe des Wurzelements; 2. vorhergehende Vollstufe des Wurzelements; 3. < **-lo-* (*anīla-*, *jaṭīla-* : *jaṭā-*); 4. < **-iro-*; 5. < **-i/ro-* usw. Vgl. noch Renou, Grammaire Sanscrite 1, p. 218 unten: „*ira-ila-* issu sans doute de *i + ra-la-* (cf. *anila-* : *aniti* . . .) figure dans quelques formes sans netteté“. Ähnlich meint Whitney, Grammar², § 1189 bei Besprechung des primären *-la* : „Many words ending in *la* are of obscure etymology“.

³ Zusammen mit Anmerkung 1 beweist dies erneut, dass Albrecht Weber *Gobhila*-falsch beurteilt hat.

⁴ So zuletzt Ernst Fraenkel, Artikel Namenwesen in Pauly-Wissowas Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft. Neue Bearbeitung 16, Sp. 1611 unten-1670 unten, namentlich aber Sp. 1637 f. Auch dieser Autor unterstreicht das Hervortreten des hypokoristischen Grundzuges (Affekt, Anteilnahme, Herkunft, (Un)lust, Zugehörigkeit) und das Zurücktreten des deminutivierenden, der erst einzelsprachlich reichlicher zu belegen ist. In *Devīla-*, *Dattīla-* : *Devadatta*- erkennt auch Fr. idg. hypokoristisches *-(i)la*- (a.a.O. Sp. 1637). — Die hypokoristische Funktion des *-ila*- wird bereits von Pāṇini ausdrücklich gelehrt, v, 3, 79 und 83 (vgl. Hilka a.a.O. p. 56 oben und unten). Aus Hilka p. 58 ergibt sich die ja ganz geläufige Tatsache, dass der mehrteilige Vollname, der beim Kurz- oder Kosenamen *Gobhila*- < **gobha*-Pate gestanden ist, nie zu ermitteln sein wird. Für die Deutung von *Gobhila*- selbst ist das unerheblich.

⁵ Brugmann a.a.O. p. 368 unten, 376; Solmsen-Fraenkel a.a.O. p. 130 u., 133.

Gegebenheiten zu *φίλος* stellen und *Σο-φίλος* analysieren wollte, der würde so handeln wie Bloomfield mit seiner irrigem *Go-bhila*-Analyse. *Σοφίλος* lehrt an seinem Ende innerhalb des allgemeindg. Bereiches, dass die Zerlegung *Gobh-ila*- tatsächlich auch *a priori* viel Wahrscheinlichkeit für sich hat. — Aus dem Litauischen ist *ežilas* „Hengst“ hieher zu stellen. Die altgriechische Gruppe hat Sophus Bugge, KZ. 32, p. 78 mit dem armenischen Sekundärsuffix *-il* verknüpft und als Beispiele namhaft gemacht: *kat'il* „Tropfen, Tröpfchen“, *mat'il* „kleine Laus“, *or'il* „Laus“¹. Im Alt-Iranischen dagegen sind keine sicheren Belege feststellbar², eine Tatsache, die gar nicht ernst genug genommen werden kann. Tut sie doch mit ziemlich hoher Wahrscheinlichkeit dar, dass *Gobhila*- kein iranisches Lehnwort sein kann. Die Linie des entwicklungsgeschichtlichen Verlaufs für altindoeurop. *-ila-* ist oben p. 860 f. schon skizziert worden. Es ist nun klar, dass es nicht nur unnötig weit führen würde, alle *-ila*-Belege des oben beschriebenen Typus in vollem Umfange hier durchzusprechen, sondern dass es auch dringend geboten scheint, von so

¹ Die gotisch-germanischen Eigennamenformen wie *Ostila*, *Tuldila*, *Wulfila*, ahd. *Wigilo* usw. usw. gehören als ursprüngliche *-ē/ōn*-Stämme mit ihrem doppeldeutigen *-i-* nur mittelbar hieher.

² Bartholomae, Altiranisches Wörterbuch Sp. 1947 verzeichnet nichts, unter *-ira-* nur nicht Hiehergehöriges, wie z.B. *vi-ēi-ra-*, adj. Auch bei A.V. Williams Jackson, *Avesta grammar* p. 213 f., 228 f. ist nichts zu ermitteln, desgleichen nicht bei Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch* p. 521-6 „Verzeichniss der Namen nach den Ableitung-Affixen sowie der gekürzten und mit Kose-Affixen versehenen Namen“ (enthält unter „*ēl*, *il* (armen.) *āl* (neupers.)“ nur Material, das entweder gar nicht hierhergehört oder fragwürdig ist, wie z.B. skythisch *Sagillus*). — Im Mantrabrahmaṇa (des Sāmaveda) i 6, 21 kommt die Formel vor: „*ahura idam te paridadāmyamam*“, was Taraporewala a.a.O. p. 143 übersetzt: „O Ahura, here to thee I deliver so-and-so“ und zu weittragenden, aber ganz unmöglichen Schlussfolgerungen benutzt. *Ahura* soll eine „Aryan deity“ sein, zugehörig einer „period before the two peoples separated. Ahura needs no comment“ (a.a.O. p. 146 unten). Dabei könnte die Wortform gar noch nicht einmal mehr der arischen Gemeinschaftsepoche angehören, weil sie den gemeiniranischen Lautwandel *-s- > -h-* durchgemacht hätte. Bestenfalls kann es sich also nur um ein rein iranisches Lehnwort innerhalb des Alt-Indoeuropäischen handeln, wofür ich, ausser Bekanntem, bei Gelegenheit noch das eine oder andere Beispiel beizubringen hoffe. Es kann also gar keine Rede davon sein, dass hier ein Überrest vorliege „of a very ancient tradition going back to the period when the Indo-Iranians were living together as a united race“ (a.a.O. p. 147 oben). Ausserdem müsste die Wortform *Ahura* zunächst einmal sorgfältig anhand der beigebrachten Varianten (*ahur*, *abhura*, *antara*, *ahuri*, *abhuri*; Knauer übersetzt „Feuer des Magens“) geprüft werden. So bleibt eine unbestreitbar lehrreiche, aber durchaus verwickelte Frage, die, zugunsten der gereinigten iranischen Lehnthese beantwortet, vielleicht für das allerletzte wortgeschichtliche Verständnis des Eigennamens *Gobhila-* (: $\sqrt{g(a)ub}$ des Altiranischen) einmal wesentlich werden könnte. Denn Mantrabrahmaṇa und *Gobhila-grhyaśūtra*, „the two works have been composed together and on one common plan“ (Oldenberg a.a.O. bei Taraporewala).

allgemeinen Zuordnungen, wie sie beispielsweise Charpentier (oben p. 846) ausgesprochen hat, loszukommen und dichtere, strengere Bedingungen des von mir so genannten Formenkatalogs zu finden. In diesem Sinne habe ich den gesammelten Stoff noch einmal durchprüft und zwei Gruppen gebildet, die ihrem Form- und Klang-Verband nach am engsten zu *Gobhila*-gehören. Wer *Gobhila*-als reine Wortform auf sich wirken lässt, wird neben der Dreisilbigkeit vor allem die Vokalfolge *-o-i(l)a-* bemerkenswert finden und nach ihr den Einbau der zum Stammgefüge gehörenden Media aspirata in der Mitte des Wortkörpers. Damit ist der Formenkatalog beschrieben, und alles handelt sich nun darum, genügend Beispiele für beide Sondergruppen zu finden. In die erste Gruppe, der wir infolge des bekannten altindoarischen, aufs Idg. zurückgehenden Vokalparallelismus unbedenklich auch die *-e-ila-* Belege zurechnen dürfen, gehören hinein ¹:

Omila-, m.n.pr.: *oma*-, m.; *kokila*-, m.: *kóka*-, m. (nebst *kaukila*- und *kaukili*-); *Koṣṭhila*-, m.n.pr.: *koṣṭha*-, m.; *Kauśila*-, m.n.pr. (: *Kauśika*-, m.n.pr. und mittelbar: *kóśa*-, m.); †*gopila*-, adj.: *gopá*-, m. (das schon frühzeitig als Worteinheit empfunden worden ist) ²; †*ghoṣila*-, m.: *ghóṣa*-, m.; *johila*- = griech. Ζῶλος (das altindoarische Wort ist sehr lehrreich, weil es als reines Lehnwort die Stärke des indoarischen Klang-Verbands zeigt); *Totilā*-, f.n.pr.: *totádri*-, m.n.pr. < *tota* + *adri*-; *Bodhila*-, m.n.pr.: *bodhá*- oder zu *bodhi*-, m. (so Hilka, p. 69)?; *Somila*-, m.n.pr.: *sóma*-, m.; *Horila*°, m.n.pr.: *horā*-? Man bemerke das Vorwiegen der n.pr.-Bildung!

†*chekila*-, adj.: *cheka*-, adj.; †*devila*-, m.n.pr.: *devá*-, m.; *phenila*-, m. und adj.: *phéna*-, m.; *Rebhila*-, m.n.pr.: *rebhá*-adj., m. und m.n.pr.

Form- und Klang-Verband zwingen zu dem Schluss: *Gobhila*-, m.n.pr.: **gobha*-. Die vorläufigen Darlegungen p. 838 f., 847¹ unten, 852², 861-3, auf die ich insgesamt noch einmal nachdrücklich verweise, sind durch diese Schlussfolgerung zugleich gerechtfertigt

¹ Ich habe anhand von Whitney's Roots, anhand von pw. und Schmidt's Nachträgen sämtliche Wurzeln des Typus (*k²*)i/u *m²h* geprüft; es ergab sich kein weiteres *-ila*-Material mehr. *k²* bedeutet irgendeinen Konsonanten, *m* Media. *Kokokilā*-entspricht dem Formenkatalog infolge seiner Viersilbigkeit nicht, ebenso auch †*karketila*-nicht.

² Infolgedessen darf man sich auch von vorneherein nicht von der Analyse *go-pá*-leiten lassen, da diese für **go-bha*-unfruchtbar wäre, wie oben p. 847¹ f. bewiesen worden ist.

und abgerundet. Aber die Ergiebigkeit dieser Schlussfolgerung erschöpft sich damit noch keineswegs. Wir haben *Gobhila*-, m.n.pr. dem anderen Eigennamen *Rebhila*- dichtet gegenüber gestellt und *Rebhila*- mit *rebhá*- zusammengerückt. Dieses Adj., m. und m.n.pr. *rebhá*- aber ist eine klare, unzweifelhafte Nominalbildung der $\sqrt{\text{ribh}}$, die schon im Rgveda bezeugt ist und soviel wie „lobsingen, rauschen, singen“ bedeutet. Diese Formenlage führt auf die einleuchtende Proportion:

rebhá:- $\sqrt{\text{ribh}}$ = **gobha*- (+ mittelindoarisch *goha*-): *x*.

Es ist augenscheinlich, dass anstelle dieses *x* * $\sqrt{\text{gubh}}$ eingesetzt werden muss, genau so wie wir — und nun hilft uns der Reim-Verband dieses **gobha*- weiter! — zu *kṣobha*-, m. $\sqrt{\text{kṣubh}}$, zu *lobha*-, m. $\sqrt{\text{lubh}}$, zu *śobha*-, m. $\sqrt{\text{śubh}}$, zu *stobha*- m. $\sqrt{\text{stubh}}$ tatsächlich vorfinden¹. Und nicht nur dies! Die Wortformen *śobhá*- und *śobhaka*- (man bemerke das -ka-) erscheinen auch als Eigennamen (Hilka a.a.O. p. 125), und als Vollname gar *Ṛṣyalobha*- (Hilka a.a.O. p. 117 unten). Eine treffendere, überzeugendere Bestätigung für das innerhalb des Altindoarischen erschlossene **gobha*- lässt sich, in seinem Verhältnis namentlich zu unserem *Gobhila*-, schlechterdings nicht vorstellen. Und diese Bestätigung wird ihrerseits noch dadurch unterstrichen, dass Charpentier oben p. 847 für sein Postulat **g* $\sqrt{\text{ubho}}$ - keinerlei Parallele im Idg. hat nachweisen können, während *lobha*- beispielsweise untadelige Gleichung mit altengl. *lēaf* „Erlaubnis“ bildet.*

Die zweite Gruppe, in der Lautungen mit -*m* $\sqrt{\text{h}}$ -ila*- Ausgang zusammenstehen, vervollständigt das gewonnene Bild. Ich beschränke mich, aus Raumnot, in diesem Zusammenhang, darauf, aus dem gesamten Stoff die Belege hier zu nennen, welche der schärfsten, einschränkendsten Bedingung genügen, nämlich als *Media aspirata* inlautend -*bh*- zeigen. Das sind:

†*kumbhila*-, m.: *kumbhá*-, m.; †*nābhila*-, adj. (das zu *ndbhi*-, mf. gestellt wird, aber auch zu *nābha*-, m. gehören kann); *Nikum-bhildā*-, mf. n.pr.: *nikumbha*-, m.; *Rebhila*-, m.n.pr.: *rebhá*-, adj., m. und m.n.pr.

Es ist kein Zufall, dass *Rebhila*- in beiden Sondergruppen vertreten ist; es ist kein Zufall, dass *Rebhila*- und *goha*- in der *Mṛcchakaṭikā* sich begegnen, sowenig wie es Zufall ist, dass, wie ich noch zeigen

¹ Es würde selbstverständlich niemandem einfallen, zu analysieren *kṣo-bha*-, *lo-bha*-, *śo-bha*-, *sto-bha*-, und in diesen Bildungen je zwei verschiedene Worte entdecken zu wollen. Diese Überlegung allein zeigt schon, wie töricht und zufallsbedingt es war, **gobha*- in *go-bha*- zu zerlegen.

werde, *rebhā-* und \sqrt{gu} im R̥gveda eng beieinander stehen. *Rebhila-* und *Gobhila-* gehören als untereinander nächstverwandte Bildungen in den gleichen Klang- und Form- wie Sinn- und Bedeutungs-Verband, und es ist ungemein lehrreich, an den wenigen Stellen, wo *Rebhila-* als *Nomen proprium* innerhalb des altindoarischen Schrifttums auftritt, noch den Nachhall seiner alten appellativischen Grundbedeutung zu vernehmen, so *Mr̥chakatikā* p. 43, Zeile 14 (ed. Stenzler): „*aho sādhu bhāvarebhilakena gūtam*“, so *Mr̥chakatikā* p. 44, Zeile 6: „*vayasya suṣṭhu khalv adya gūtam bhāvarebhilena*“¹.

7. Die Beweiskette hat sich nahezu geschlossen. Nur eine kleine Lücke klappt noch in ihr, die Prüfung des Sippen-Verbandes, die, von einer bemerkenswerten Kleinigkeit abgesehen, ganz normal verlaufen kann². Von *Gobhila-* sind folgende Nomina regelrecht abgeleitet: *gobhītiya-*, adj. „zu *Gobhila* in Beziehung stehend“ (pw., ähnlich das PW. ; keinerlei Nachträge, Verbesserungen und Zusätze, nichts bei Schmidt, Nachträge); \dagger *gobhilika-*, \dagger *gaubhilikā-*, beide Patronymika „nach der Lehre der Grammatiker“ (Böhtlingk, Pāṇini's Grammatik, Leipzig 1887, p. 320* sowie Gubler a.a.O. p. 51); schliesslich „*Gaubhila* n. *Gobhila*'s *Gr̥hyasūtra* *Gr̥hyās.* 2, 94“ (so Schmidt, Nachträge s.v., nichts in PW. und pw.). Das letzte V̥ddhi-Derivat zum Eigennamen *Gobhila-* ist allerdings kostbar genug. Es zeigt nicht nur, weil es im strengsinnigen Form- und Klang-Verband mit anderen *Patronymicis* wie *Kaukila-*, *Kausila-*, *Saumila-* zusammensteht, dass die bei Monier-Williams² gebuchte *Varietas lectionis* *Gobida-* sinnlos ist, sondern es veranschaulicht auch noch einmal schlagartig, dass die umfassend geforderte Zerlegung *Gobh-ila-* die einzig mögliche und die einzig richtige ist.

8. Sind die bisherigen Ergebnisse, und zwar sowohl die, welche auf Widerlegung älterer und jüngerer Deutungsversuche des Eigennamens *Gobhila-* abzielten, als auch die, welche im Verfolg einer neuen Betrachtungsweise gewonnen wurden, richtig erarbeitet, dann bietet sich uns, sozusagen von selbst, jetzt am Schlusse unserer Überlegungen eine ausserindoarische Anknüpfung als wechselseitige, wertvollste Nachprüfung und Bestätigung: die altiranische (= altpersische) $\sqrt{g(a)ub}$ „dicere“. $\sqrt{g(a)ub}$ ist erst vor einigen Jahren noch von F. B. J. Kuiper, *Acta Orientalia* 12, p. 268 unten als „bisher unerklärt“ bezeichnet worden, eine Bemerkung, die natürlich nur den ausseriranischen Befund, nicht aber den inneriranischen Belegstand

¹ Gänzlich verblasst *Mr̥chakatikā* p. 67, Zeile 10.

² Bemerkenswerte Zusammensetzungen sind mir nicht bekannt geworden.

kennzeichnen wollte aber wissenschaftsgeschichtlich jedenfalls irrig ist, weil schon lange vorher Meillet, wie wir gleich sehen werden, eine durchaus annehmbare Deutung gegeben hatte. Denn in der Tat gehört die $\sqrt{g(a)ub}$, ähnlich wie das von mir jüngst untersuchte altiranische *čašman-*, n. „Auge“, zu den iranischen Worten, die dem Gesamt-Iranischen, zeitlich und vielleicht auch mundartlich gesehen, eignen. Innerhalb des Alt-Iranischen findet sich $\sqrt{g(a)ub}$ bemerkenswerterweise nur im Altpersischen, und da wiederum nur in der Bahistān-Inschrift¹, in einer Gebrauchssphäre, die verblüffend mit derjenigen des mittelindoar. Nomens *goḥa-* übereinstimmt. Die \sqrt{gaub} wird nämlich im Altpers. grösstenteils vom sich verstellenden Sprechen militärischer Wesenheiten angewendet (sechsmal in Bezug auf eine rebellierende Einzelperson, sechsmal in Bezug auf ein rebellierendes Heer, einmal in Bezug auf eine rebellierende Provinz; demgegenüber nur einmal im Zusammenhang mit der richtigen Aussage eines Darius-Heeres). Dies kann kein Zufall sein. Die militärische Atmosphäre der Rebellion ist, selbst wenn wir die literarischen Voraussetzungen, ähnlich wie beim Text der gotischen Bibel, bedenken, geradezu überwältigend, auch rein zahlenmässig. Darnach erscheint $\sqrt{g(a)ub}$ mit einem reichen Formenstand im Mittel-Iranischen², aus dem es, wiederum mit mannigfaltiger Entwicklung, sich ins Neu-Iranische hinein mehr oder minder deutlich entfaltet, nicht ohne auch noch im Armenischen einige Lehnspuren zu hinterlassen³.

¹ Vgl. z.B. die Formen des ind. und conj. praes. med., *gaubataiy* und *gaubātaiy*. Das ganze Material ist bequem zu überblicken bei Bartholomae, Altiranisches Wörterbuch Sp. 482 f. (insgesamt 14 Stellen; keinerlei „Nachträge und Verbesserungen“, auch nicht im „Beiheft“), wozu man noch Tolman, Ancient Persian Lexicon p. 87 unten hinzunehmen (Ansatz *gub*!). Roland G. Kent, The recently published Old Persian inscriptions [Reprinted from *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, vol. 51, number 3, pages 189–240] enthält leider keine neuen Funde zu $\sqrt{g(a)ub}$, wie „Concordance and glossary“ p. 236 unten ergeben.

² Vgl. zuletzt H. S. Nyberg, Hilfsbuch des Pehlevi II. Glossar (Uppsala 1931), p. 82: „*gōβišn* das Sprechen, das Reden; Wort . . . — zu *guftan*“; p. 84 f. „*guftan* *gōβ* . . . sagen . . . *guftan* scheint einheitlicher Ausdruck für 'äussern' zu sein . . .“. Ders., Texte zum mazdayasnischen Kalender (= Uppsala Universitets Årsskrift 1934, Program 2), p. 76 oben, wodurch W. Henning, Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik 9, p. 184 (in seiner Doktorschrift „Das Verbum des Mittelpersischen der Turfanfragmente“) ergänzt wird. Die Belege aus dem Soghdischen finden sich bei Robert Gauthiot und E. Benveniste, *Essai de grammaire Sogdienne* 1, p. 129, 145; 2, p. 12 (vgl. auch 2, p. 220, Sp. 1 unten und f.). Ich nenne daraus an Formen: *γωβ-*, **γōβ-* „louer, vanter“; *γωβt*, **γōβot*, 3. pers. sing. ind. praes. act.; *γūβtē*, parte.

³ Genannt seien: vorneupers. (in diesem Falle = Pahlavi Vendīdād, vgl. Horn, Grundriss der neupersischen Etymologie p. 263) *aguftār* „nicht sprechend“; neupersisch *guftār* „Rede“, neupersisch *guftan* „sprechen“, das bei Horn a.a.O. No. 926

Wesentlich für die wissenschaftliche Beurteilung dieses sprachlichen Gesamtvorgangs aber ist, soviel ich sehe, bisher immer gewesen, dass \sqrt{gub} , *gaub* als dialektologisches Merkmal gegolten hat, eine Ansicht, die sich zum erstenmal wohl bei H. Hübschmann, Persische Studien p. 94 (zu Horn, Grundriss der neupersischen Etymologie No. 926) deutlich ausgesprochen findet: „Wrzl. *gub* 'sprechen'¹⁾ scheint spezifisch persisch (der alten Provinz Pärša entstammend) zu sein für *vač* der andern Dialekte. Im Kurdischen wird nur das Ptcp. perf. von der Wurzel *gub* gebildet und auch dies könnte entlehnt sein" (vgl. unten Anm. 1!)¹⁾. Diese *Communis opinio* wird im Lichte des neuen Zusammenhangs mit altindoarisch *Gobhila-* genau so sicher einer durchgreifenden Umformulierung und Überlegung der dialektologischen Probleme bedürfen²⁾, wie schon jetzt der bis heute doppeldeutige Auslaut der altpersischen \sqrt{gub} , *gaub* sicher *-bh* gewesen ist. Das altindoarische n.pr. *Gobhila-* hat diese Entscheidung herbeigeführt³⁾.

Wie steht es nun aber auf der altindoarischen Seite mit der

als Stichwortartikel behandelt ist (die Pamir-Dialekt-Belege Horns, nämlich „*wax. jōy-am*, sar. *χūy-am*“ finden sich im „Grundriss der Iranischen Philologie“ nicht wiederholt); sonstige neupersische Formen bei Horn, Grundriss der Iran. Philol. 1, 2, p. 47, rein mundartliche Formen des Neu-Iranischen im „Grundriss“ 1, 2, p. 353, 354, 363, 372, 388. Socin, Grundriss der Iran. Philol. 1, 2, p. 261 bespricht kurdisch *gōten* (mundartlich *gohtin*) „sagen“, die man bei Mann-Hadank weiter verfolgen mag. Armenisches Lehnwort ist *jata-gov* „Fürsprecher“ (Horn, Grundriss 1, 2, p. 47, 63 unten und f.). Strittiges bei C. Salemann, Grundriss 1, 1, p. 270. Schon Aug. Friedr. Pott, Wurzel-Wörterbuch der Indogermanischen Sprachen 5 (Detmold 1873), p. 255 gibt einen ganz hübschen Querschnitt durch die inneriranische Geschichte der Wurzel *gub*, *gaub*, indem er gleichzeitig auf Spiegel und Lerch verweist.

¹⁾ „²⁾ Altp. *gaub* nur im Medium vorkommt = 'sich nennen' im Unterschied von *θah* 'sprechen, sagen, befehlen', pass. 'heissen' (skr. *çṛṣ*)“. Ähnlich zu Obigem, a.a.O. p. 116²⁾ mit wichtigem Schrifttum; ferner Wilh. Geiger, Grundriss der Iranischen Philologie 1, 2, p. 414 unten und Wolfgang Lentz, Die nordiranischen Elemente in der neupersischen Literatursprache (= Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik 4, p. 251-316), p. 305: „der Gebrauch der Wz. *guftān*, die sonst nur im Sogd. vorkommt (ANDREAS)[.] ist ein hervorstechendes Merkmal des Persischen gegenüber den nördlichen und zentralen Dialekten“.

²⁾ Da die Verwendungsweise der \sqrt{gaub} „sich fälschlich ausgeben als jemanden“ gegenüber der etwa der $\sqrt{θah}$ ganz deutlich verschieden ist, ist überhaupt zu erwägen, ob die ursprünglich angenommene mundartliche Spaltung nicht in Wirklichkeit der bekannten ahrisch-daövinischen Glaubens- und Sprachspaltung zuzuschreiben ist. Für die altpers. Inschriften und ihr religionsgeschichtliches Verhältnis zum Avesta wäre die Bejahung dieser Frage von weittragender Wichtigkeit.

³⁾ Vermuten konnte man ja dieses auslautende *-bh* bisher schon mit einiger Sicherheit und Wahrscheinlichkeit, da die altiranischen, auf *b* ausgehenden Wurzeln durchwegs ein *-b* < *-bh* haben, so z.B. \sqrt{grab} , *ṣdab*, *zamb* usw. „Bei der Seltenheit von idg. *b* gehen die meisten *b* des Iranischen usw. auf *bh* zurück“, bemerkt treffend Eduard Schwyzler, Griechische Grammatik 1, p. 297¹⁾.

Entsprechung der altpersischen \sqrt{gub} , *gaub*, mit der Wurzel **gubh*? Auf diese Frage, die schon oben p. 864 in anderem Rahmen gestreift worden ist, lässt sich fürs erste, wie es scheint, nicht viel Sicheres antworten. Das Dasein einer **√gubh* ist in keiner der Wurzellisten, also weder bei Delius, noch bei Westergaard, noch bei Whitney, noch in der *Kṣīratarāṅgīnī* (ed. Liebich) nachweisbar, und auch in meinen eigenen grossen lexikographischen Sammlungen habe ich nichts derartiges aufgespürt. Und trotzdem darf eine **√gubh* angenommen werden. Sie zeigt sich, ähnlich wie bei chemisch-physikalischen Vorgängen, in sogenannten Reaktionen, die wir nur aufmerksam zu analysieren brauchen, um ihrer unsichtbar-sichtbaren Wirksamkeit beizukommen. Unsere **√gubh* wird erstens bewiesen durch ihre nominalen Absenker *Gobhīla-* und *goha-* (< **gobha-*). Sie wird zweitens bewiesen durch das eigentümliche Verhalten der $\sqrt{gūh}$ „verhüllen, verbergen“, die laut Ausweis der Whitney'schen Roots keine einzige, nicht nominale und nicht verbale, Form mit *-bh-* gebildet hat¹, obwohl dies, nach allen sprachlichen Vorgängen, die wir kennen, durchaus nicht ferngelegen hätte. Mit anderen Worten, die \sqrt{guh} ist der \sqrt{gubh} ausgewichen, ein Verhalten, das wir nach dem richtungsweisenden Aufsatz A. Meillet's „Sur les effets de l'homonymie dans les anciennes langues indo-européennes“ (= Cinquantenaire de l'École Pratique des Hautes Études, Paris 1921, p. 169–80) zu würdigen wissen². **√gubh* wird drittens wahrscheinlich gemacht durch das schlagend proportionale Verhältnis, das zwischen ihr und \sqrt{gu} einerseits, sowie zwischen \sqrt{stu} und \sqrt{stubh} andererseits besteht. Denn \sqrt{stubh} ist bereits vedisch, und umgekehrt fehlt sie im Iranischen. Man beachte gebührend auch neben dem Reim-Verband den Bedeutungs-Verband, der \sqrt{gubh} , etwa „äussern, sagen, sprechen“, mit \sqrt{stubh} „juchzen, trällern“ verbindet. Auf den weiteren Reim- und Form-Verband, der hinüberführt zu den $\sqrt{\sqrt{kṣubh}}$, *lubh*, *śubh*, ist bereits oben aufmerksam gemacht worden. Die Beweismittel sind noch nicht erschöpft. Das Dasein einer \sqrt{gubh} kann sprachpsychologisch auch durch die Proportion umschrieben werden:

$\sqrt{tuñj} : \sqrt{tubh}^3 = x : \sqrt{guñj}$. Als *x* muss **√gubh* eingesetzt

¹ Hanns Oertel, Roots and verb-forms from the unpublished parts of the Jaiminiya Brāhmaṇa (= Journal of Vedic studies 1, p. 129–68) enthält weder *Nora* zu \sqrt{guh} noch irgend eine \sqrt{gubh} .

² Damit sind meine Darlegungen oben p. 840 und p. 849 unten abgeschlossen.

³ Gerade die \sqrt{tubh} veranschaulicht, dass literarisches Nicht-Belegtsein und erbverwandtschaftliche Beziehungen sich gar nicht auszuschliessen brauchen.

werden. Schliesslich hat A. Meillet mit dem ihm eigenen Spürsinn die grossen idg. Zusammenhänge aufgedeckt, in die sich auch * \sqrt{gubh} einreicht, wenn er, MSLP. 11, p. 183 f. ausführt: „en vieux perse, en lituanien et en vieux prussien, l'addition d'un élargissement *b* donne à des racines signifiant 'faire un bruit, crier, chanter' le sens de 'dire, parler'“. Aus den Beispielen a.a.O. p. 183 m.: „skr. *jóguve* 'il fait entendre un bruit', gr. *βοή*, v. sl. *govorŭ* 'bruit', etc., et avec élargissement *d*, lit. *gaudzià*, *gaŭsti* 'tönen': v. pers. *gaubataiy*, persan *guftan* 'dire'“. Meillet legt weiter dar: „L'iranien¹ et le baltique, les seuls dialectes indo-européens ou apparaisse le fait, ne permettent pas de décider s'il agit ici de i.-e. *b* ou *bh*; mais *b* est invraisemblable *a priori* et d'ailleurs on a *bh* dans arm. *oġb* 'gémissement' en regard de gr. *ὀλολύζω* ...“. Es erfüllt mit Genugtuung, diese feinsinnigen Ausführungen des ausgezeichneten Gelehrten durch zwei Feststellungen zu ergänzen, einmal dass auch das Indoarische der oben bezeichneten Gruppe zugehört haben muss — wie die übersehene \sqrt{stubb} und vor allem der Eigennamen *Gobhila*- zeigen — und dass durch *Gobhila*- insbesondere die von Meillet schon richtig entschiedene Frage, ob *-b* oder *-bh*, unmissverständlich zugunsten von *-bh* nochmals beantwortet wird.

Nach dem Vorgetragenen kann ich mir durchaus denken, dass selbst hartgesottene Zweifler an eine * \sqrt{gubh} zu glauben geneigt sein werden. Wer aber auch angesichts dieser Nachweise noch nicht überzeugt ist, der gehe mit mir noch einmal vom Gesamt-Grundsprachlichen zurück zum einzelsprachlich Alt-Indoarischen, zur Ausgangswurzel der * \sqrt{gubh} , zur \sqrt{gu} ². Wir wollen noch eine Bedingung setzen und zusehen, ob und wie sie sich erfüllen lässt, die Bedingung nämlich: gehören \sqrt{gu} und * \sqrt{gubh} wirklich zusammen, dann muss sich dies nicht nur im Theoretisch-Konstruktiven, sondern auch im Lebendigen einer Sprache, in Wort und Schrifttum zeigen. Und dies lässt sich in der Tat so eindringlich zeigen, dass wir Meillet sein Stichwort *gu* dankbar zurückgeben können. Ich halte folgende Tatsachen für beweiskräftig. \sqrt{gu} , die soviel wie „ertönen lassen, laut aussprechen, verkünden“ bedeutet (mit *prati* „hören lassen“),

Denn \sqrt{tubh} „durch einen Schlag verletzen“ gehört mit griechisch *στυφελίζω* „misshandle, stosse“ zusammen (I. Scheftelowitz, Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik 2, p. 279 unten). Andere literarisch nicht belegte Wurzeln, denen im Bildetypus sich * \sqrt{gubh} anreihen könnte, sind $\sqrt{sku(m)bh}$ (Westergaard p. 222) und \sqrt{stumbh} (Westergaard p. 223).

¹ Man vergleiche auch noch Soghd. *w'β* **uāβ* „parler, sprechen“.

² Bei Oertel a.a.O. hierüber nichts.

erscheint im ältesten indoarischen Text gedanklich engverbunden mit *rebhá-*, dem Ausgangswort zu *Rebhila-*, dessen nahe Verwandtschaft mit *Gobhila-* wir oben p. 864 kennen gelernt haben. Die Stelle ist Rgveda i 127, 10^d·:

„*práti yád ím haviṣmān*
viśvāsu kṣṣu jóguve
ágre rebhó ná jarata ṛṣūṇám

járnir hóta ṛṣūṇám“, in Geldners Übertragung: „Wenn ihn an allen Orten der Opfernde anruft, lässt der Hotṛ wie ein Barde den Weckruf ertönen noch vor den Morgenstrahlen, der glühende Hotṛ (vor) den Morgenstrahlen“ (Oldenberg, Noten, ohne Bedeutung). Wir notieren die ausschliesslich priesterliche Verwendung, die auch Rgv. i 61, 14^{cd} für \sqrt{gu} gewährleistet ist, und sehen uns die zweite Stelle an. Es ist Rgveda v 64 2^{cd}:

„*śevam hí jāryām vām*
viśvāsu kṣṣu jóguve“.

Ich übersetze, indem ich *jóguve* mit Oldenberg, Noten 1, p. 357 als 3. Sing. fasse und auf den Stabreim *jāryām jóguve* aufmerksam mache: „ein holdes Buhlenlied nämlich für Euch beide singt er laut an allen Orten“. Die Verwendungsweise ist zwar auch noch weiterhin priesterlich, aber die Wendung „ein holdes Buhlenlied“ führt uns ins tägliche Leben hinein und in gerader Linie zu der Bedeutung „*jāra, upapati*“, die Hargovind Das Sheth dem Nomen *goḥa-* zuerkannt hatte. Ein Kommentar ist wohl überflüssig. Schliesslich verweise ich noch auf das Neutrum *gaṇḡava-*, „Name verschiedener Sāman“, das über den Eigennamen *Guṇḡu-* letztlich wohl auch von der \sqrt{gu} abgeleitet werden muss und sichtbar die Verbindung mit *Gobhila-*, dem Verfasser eines zum Sāmaveda gehörigen Sūtra, herstellt¹. Mit diesen Einzelnachweisen ist der vorne ausgesprochenen Bedingung Genüge geschehen, das Verhältnis

¹ Das PW. verweist auf *Pañcaviṃśabrahmaṇa* xiv 3 und Ind. Studien 3, p. 215. Die Stelle lautet: „*yadannam vittāgārdadyadagāṅgūyattadgaṇḡavasya gaṇḡatvam*“. PW. zu *gaṇḡava-* leitet dies ebenfalls von *Guṇḡu-* ab und bemerkt in „Verbesserungen und Nachträgen zu Theil i-v.“ 5, Sp. 1380 unten: „... wenn davon *gaṇḡava* kommt, so ist wohl *agaṇḡūyat* zu lesen“, aber Caland liest gleichfalls *a-gaṇḡūyat* (vgl. *Pañcaviṃśa-Brahmaṇa*. The *Brahmaṇa* of twenty-five chapters. Translated, Calcutta 1931, p. 355; auch sonst bietet Caland nichts Weiterführendes). Er sagt nur p. 356 oben: „The meaning of *agardat* and *agaṇḡūyat* (r. *agaṇḡūyat* ?) must be guessed“, eine Äusserung, die mir angesichts des morphologisch klar zu \sqrt{gr} „singen“ gehörigen *agardat* unverständlich ist. Übrigens ist die Stelle genau *Pañcaviṃśa-Brahmaṇa* xiv 3, 18, 19.

zwischen \sqrt{gu} und $*\sqrt{gubh}$ erschöpfend geklärt und insonderheit für $*\sqrt{gubh}$ ¹ und den von ihr abzuleitenden Eigennamen *Gobhila-* der Standort im Sprachgefüge endgültig bestimmt, und zwar im Sinne dessen, was ich „Wortkundliche Beiträge zur arischen Kulturgeschichte und Welt-Anschauung. i.“ p. 107 f. ausgeführt habe.

9. Von hier aus wenden wir noch einmal den Blick zurück auf *Gobhila-*, dessen mittelindoarische Vorform *goha-*, m. oben p. 857 f. als „(in Aufputz, Verkleidung auftretender) Sprecher“ bestimmt wurde, wobei die sämtlichen Bedeutungsschattierungen des Nomens *goha-* sich passend aus dieser Grundbedeutung erklären liessen (oben, p. 857 mitte–859 mitte). Leider sind in den daran angeschlossenen Einzeluntersuchungen keinerlei Instanzen sichtbar geworden, die es uns erlauben würden, für altindoarisch zu erschliessendes $*gobha-$, m. und dessen Ableitung *Gobhila-*, n. pr. ganz sichere, älteste Bedeutungsansätze zu ermitteln. Soviel ich sehe, kann man trotzdem für $*gobha-$ selbst etwa bei der oben angegebenen Grundbedeutung bleiben und in diesem Zusammenhang, wegen *rebhá-*, auch den Akzentsitz festlegen, $*gobhá-$. Dass *Gobhila-* kein Deminutivum dieses $*gobhá-$ war, also etwa nicht mit „Sprecherlein“ — so anmutig das auch klänge! — wiedergegeben werden darf, scheint mir aus dem, was p. 839 f. über die Rājapūten-Namen auf *-e/īl* und p. 861 f. über die Funktion des hypokoristischen *-ila-* Formans gesagt worden ist, hinlänglich klarbegründet. Auch litauisch *tīrskalas* „Schwätzer“ und ahd. *wortal* „gesprächig“, welche beide in einem unverkennbaren idg. Bedeutungs- und Form-Verband mit *Gobhila-* stehen, sind nicht deminutiv. *Gobhila-*, als Name eines Sūtra-Verfassers auch sachlich passend gebildet und ganz sicher nicht zufällig

¹ Den Grund des Erlöschens der $*\sqrt{gubh}$ sehe ich 1. in der sie umgebenden reichen Synonymik (\sqrt{gad} , *gā*, *gā*, *gā*, *ribh*, *vac*, *vad*, *vand*, *stu*, *stubb* usw.) sowie 2. im Erlöschen der sie stützenden \sqrt{gu} . Der idg. Ansatz ist keinesfalls $*\sqrt{gheubh}$, sondern $*\sqrt{goubh}$ wegen \sqrt{goy} (Walde-Pokorny 1, p. 634 f., aber ohne jeden Hinweis auf die Möglichkeit einer *-bh-* Erweiterung). Theoretisch möglich wäre $*\sqrt{gheubh}$ nur mit Wirkung des Grassmann'schen Hauchdissimilationsgesetzes, aber dieser Ansatz wird durch alles oben Ausgeführte, wie betont sei, dringend widerraten. Deswegen irrt auch F. B. J. Kuiper, Zur Geschichte der indoiranischen *z-* Präsensia (= *Acta Orientalia* 12, p. 190–306), p. 268 unten und f., wenn er als Parallelfälle „ved. *stóbhate* zu \sqrt{stu} , *śóbhate* zu *śu-* (vgl. *śuc-*, *śudh-*)“ anführt, aber dann der einzig möglichen Schlussfolgerung auf \sqrt{gu} einfach ausweicht. Altpersisch $\sqrt{g(a)ub}$ ist also unter gar keinen Umständen eine Stütze für die Kuiperschen Konstruktionen zu einer idg. $*\sqrt{gheus}$. — Was unsere $*\sqrt{gubh}$ glottogonisch-morphologisch ist, geht uns hier nichts an. Es liesse sich denken an $\sqrt{gu} +$ Nullstufe ii der $\sqrt{bhā}$, also an einen ungefähren Typus wie etwa lateinisch *condere*. Doch ist dies nur eine Vermutung wie ebenso die semasiologische Proportion: $\sqrt{śubh} : *\sqrt{gubh} = \sqrt{bhā} : \text{latein. fari}$.

Sāmavedist¹, wird im Eigennamen-Typus etwa an altindoarische *Nomina propria* mit dem Ausgang °-vāḡīśa- oder °-vācaspati- angeschlossen werden dürfen². Als zweckmässigste, sinngemässe Wiedergabe erscheint mir das nhd. Wort „Barde“, weil dies die im Namen *Gobhila-* zusammenfliessende priesterlich-magische und heroisch-kriegerische Sphäre nicht unwirksam veranschaulicht. Ob die bekannte Regelung des Āpastamba-Gesetzbuches (i, 3, 10, 19), dass das Vedastudium dort unterbrochen werden müsse, wo Hundegeschei, Eselsgeschrei, das Heulen von Wölfen und Schakalen, das Schreien der Eule, der Klang von Musikinstrumenten, Weinen und der Ton von Sāmans gehört werden, auf den Sinngehalt von *Gobhila-*, insbesondere über die Grundbedeutung des Nomens *goha-*, Bezug habe, muss eine offene Frage bleiben. Sie kann es getrost bleiben, denn der gültigen Ergebnisse sind wahrlich genug. Wir fanden zwei Sätze J. Wackernagels bestätigt, mit denen ich gerne schliesse: „Dass trotz allem, was die modernste Vedaforschung gegen die Verwertung der Sprachvergleichung für das Wortverständnis des Veda einzuwenden hat, eben doch sogar sonst undeutbare indische Personen-

¹ Vgl. Knauer, 2. Heft p. 52 f. und hiezu ergänzend H. Oldenberg, *Sacred Books of the East* 30, p. 31.

² Ein freundlicher Zufall tritt in dem iranischen Eigennamen eines Dichters, *Gufti*, zutage (Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch* p. 119, Sp. 1, p. 496 f. bemerkenswerterweise nichts), der eigentlich „Rede, Sprechen“ bedeutet und von der gleichen Wurzel gebildet ist wie altindoarisch *Gobhila-*. Alle übrigen idg. Spuren sind fragwürdig. Lettisch *ģaūbju*, *ģaūbt* „sich ergötzen, jubeln“: trotz der sehr passenden Bedeutung, wozu noch „versprechen, sich beklagen“ kommen, kaum verwertbar; P. Persson, *Beiträge zur Idg. Wortforschung* p. 59, Walde-Pokorny 1, p. 567, Mühlenbach-Endzelin 1, p. 694, Sp. 1 f. s.v. *I ġaūbt*, Endzelin, *Lettische Grammatik*, p. 114 unten und p. 131 oben; Lehnwort aus dem Mittelniederdeutschen wegen *ġ* = *g*.—Mhd. *guft* „clamor“ usw.: dies wohl < idg. **gheup*; Diefenbach, Vgl. Wörterbuch der gothischen Sprache 2, p. 554 unten (mit keltischen Wortformen), Schade, *Altdritisches Wörterbuch* 2, p. 356, Sp. 2 f., p. 357, Sp. 1 f., Walde-Pokorny 1, p. 567; hübsch ist der Sirenegleichklang mhd. *gūften* „prahlen“: neupersisch *guftān* „sprechen“. Nichts als Trug wäre es auch, bei *Gobhila-* an den nhd. Familiennamen *Göbel* denken zu wollen (etwa mit niederdeutscher Lautgestalt); *Göbel* vielmehr < ahd. *Gobbilo* und zu *Godebald* (vgl. Solmsen-Fraenkel a.a.O. p. 177 unten und f.); für derartige Sirenenklänge ist E. Littmann, *ZDMG.* 76, p. 273, nachzulesen.—Am ehesten wäre noch zu erwägen Zusammenhang mit spätlateinisch *gūfō*, m. „Eule“: A. Ernout, *Les éléments dialectaux du vocabulaire Latin* (= *Collection de linguistique publiée par la Société de linguistique de Paris* — iii), p. 131 f. (verbindet altpers. *gaubataiy* und schliesst auf *-bh*); *Thesaurus linguae Latinae* s.v.; G. Landgraf *Archiv für Lateinische Lexikographie und Grammatik* 9, p. 367 f.; Walde-Hofmann, *Lateinisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*³ p. 625; W. Meyer-Lübke, *Romanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*³ p. 333, No. 3908; *Corpus glossarium Latinorum* vol. v. Placidus liber glossarum. *Glossaria reliqua*. Edidit Georgius Goetz, p. 272, Zeile 40/41. Bei Zusammenstellung des letztgenannten latinistischen Schrifttums ist mir Dr. Paul-Max Groth, wissenschaftlicher Assistent am Sprachwissenschaftlichen Seminar der Universität München, dankenswerterweise behilflich gewesen.

namen auf diesem Wege Licht empfangen, mag auch der Name "*Gobhila*- gezeigt haben. Aber „im allgemeinen lohnt es sich nicht, der Etymologie von solchen Personennamen nachzugehen, denen aus dem sonstigen Wortschatz nichts zur Seite steht“ (Indoiranisches, Berlin 1918, p. 405, Absatz 3 und 2).

10. Aufriss des Hauptergebnisses (gemäss dem von mir so genannten „Synthetischen Lexikon-Schema“ oder dem „Zusammenfassend-darstellenden Denkbild in Wörterbuchform“):

Gobhila-, m.n.pr., Verfasser des nach ihm benannten *Gobhila-grhyasūtra*. Erforschungsgeschichte, Gesamtbehandlung und Lösung bei Walther Wüst, Wortkundliche Beiträge zur arischen Kulturgeschichte und Welt-Anschauung. ii (= Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, University of London, volume viii, parts 2 and 3, p. 835-73). London, 1936.

Seit dem späten Veda + (Stellenbelege z.B. im PW. s.v.).—*Gobhila-*, im Klang- und Form-Verband mit *Omila-*, m.n.pr., *Somila-*, m.n.pr. und *Rebhila-*, m.n.pr., ist Hypokoristikon zu mittelindoarisch *goha-*, m. „(in Aufputz oder Verkleidung auftretender) Sprecher“ < altindoarisch **gobhā-*, m. (vgl. *rebhā-*: *Rebhila-*). *Gobhila-* mag etwa soviel wie „Barde“ bedeutet haben. Das Wort lebt fort im präkritisierten m.n.pr. *Gohilla-* sowie im Rājapūten-Namen *Gohil*.

Eigenständig-innersprachliche Schicht des Alt-Indoarischen, was die Wortform als Ganzes anlangt. Die Wurzel ist **gubh* = altiranisch (altpersisch) √ *gaub*, *gub* „dicere“.

Ableitungen: *gobhiliya-*, adj. „zu *Gobhila* in Beziehung stehend“, †*gobhili-*, †*gaubhili-*, beide Adj. patronymica, *gaubhila-*, n. „*Gobhila*s *Grhyasūtra* (vgl. *Saumila-*: *Somila-*). Wichtigere Zusammensetzungen fehlen. Eine Deutung der einheimisch-indischen Sprachwissenschaft ist nicht bekannt.

Verfehlt oder teilweise verfehlt: James Tod, *Annals and antiquities of Rajasthan* . . . 1, p. 137²; Fitzedward Hall bei Henry M. Elliot-John Beames, *Memoirs on the history, folklore, and distribution of the races of the North-Western Provinces of India* 1, p. 91 f. (und p. 90-2); Albrecht Weber, *Akademische Vorlesungen über Indische Literaturgeschichte*² p. 92 unten; M. Bloomfield, *The Johns Hopkins University Circulars*. November 1882-October 1883, p. 141 f.; Jarl Charpentier, IF. 29, p. 380 f.; Irach J. S. Taraporewala, *Indo-Iranian studies* . . . in honour of Shams-ul-Ullema Dastur Darab Peshotan Sanjana (London-Leipzig 1925), p. 143-8, besonders p. 147 unten und f.

→ √ *gu*.

Two Yazghulāmi Texts

By I. I. ZARUBIN

AMONG the specimens of the Pāmīr languages included by Sir George A. Grierson in his *Specimen Translations in the Languages of the North-Western Frontier* (later on republished in the *Linguistic Survey of India*, vol. x) the Yazghulāmi is not represented at all. In his later work specially comprising the *Ishkashmi, Zebaki, and Yazghulami* (London, 1920) Sir George A. Grierson, having no texts at his disposal, had again to limit himself to a mere list of about thirty words in Yazghulāmi that were taken down by Sir Aurel Stein. R. Gauthiot, too, because of the short duration of his investigations, could not spare time for the taking down of texts, although in his "Notes sur le Yazgoulami" (*Journ. Asiatique*, 1916) he gave the first scientific (mainly historic and phonetic) characteristics of that language. Thus until a few years ago there remained only one published example of the spoken Yazghulāmi, i.e. the three lines quoted by C. Salemann in his *Manichäische Studien* in 1908. After that it was W. Lentz who, in 1933, included a poem consisting of five couplets in Yazghulāmi into his *Pamir-Dialekte*. Therefore the publication, even if a belated one, of two Yazghulāmi texts can still form a natural supplement to Sir George A. Grierson's summary and be of use for the comparative characteristics of the Pāmīr languages.

Both texts were taken down in August, 1915, as dictated by Sufī, a middle-aged inhabitant of the large village Matraun (Yazg. *Marθān*), near the confluence of the Yazghulām river (Yazg. *Yuzdōm*) and the Pandj. The texts were taken down in the presence of several of the local inhabitants who showed great interest in the proceedings and made remarks of their own. The texts are not original ones; they are stories rather popular in Central Asia, which were originally taken down (also in 1915) in Shughnī, with the help of an inhabitant of the village Porshnīv on the Pandj, whose name was Ghulām-Ali, in the presence of and in participation with Said-Shā-Fāzil, of the same village.

In order to facilitate the right understanding and comparison of the texts the Shughnī original is placed next to the Yazghulāmi version.

The transcription used is the one employed by R. Gauthiot in his dialectological papers. The only deviation from it is made with regard to labialized velars, R. Gauthiot being somewhat inconsistent as far as their transcription is concerned; this will be seen from the following examples: "*kən*-, *kun*- faire, *ɸarg* sœur, *ɸuovd* lait, *xwəyɛrg* moulin à eau, *xwār* manger." In order to represent those sounds which make the Yazghulāmi system of consonants differ from that of the other Pāmīr languages more consistent and usual characters are employed here: *k^w*, *ɕ^w*, *ɣ^w*, *x^w*; for instance: *k^wənɪn* I do, *k^wənɪt* you do, *k^wənáʃ* to do, *ɕ^wan* blood, *ɣ^woθ* excrement, *ɕ^wānt-ai* he read, *x^wārd* eats, *tax^wt* burnt.

A more detailed analysis of Yazghulāmi is soon to appear in an edition planned by the Institute of Language and Mentality of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences, comprising all the Yazghulāmi texts that were taken down in 1915. Therefore it seems more suitable to communicate here only those of the peculiarities of Yazghulāmi morphology, which are altogether necessary for the understanding of the texts and which can form a complement to data that are already known.

Already Gauthiot noticed a difference in the treatment of transitive and intransitive verbs. There are in connection with it some distinctions with regard to the verbal paradigm of the past tense of transitive and intransitive verbs:

Intrans.	Trans.
Sg. 1. <i>áz-əm f'rap̄t</i> I reached.	Sg. 1. <i>mun f'rapánt (-əm)</i> I caused to reach.
2. <i>tów-at f'rap̄t</i> thou reachedst.	2. <i>tu f'rapánt (-at)</i> thou causedst to reach.
3.mf. <i>ai</i> (or <i>ū</i>) <i>f'rap̄t</i> he, she reached.	3 m. <i>dai</i> (or <i>waɪ</i>) <i>f'rapánt (-ai)</i> he caused to reach.
	f. <i>dim</i> (or <i>im</i>) <i>f'rapánt (ai)</i> she caused to reach.
Pl. 1. <i>móx-an f'rap̄t</i> we reached.	Pl. 1. <i>mox f'rapánt (-an)</i> we caused to reach.
2. <i>támóx-əf f'rap̄t</i> you reached.	2. <i>támóx f'rapánt (-əf)</i> you caused to reach.
3. <i>dif</i> (or <i>if</i>)- <i>an f'rap̄t</i> they reached.	3. <i>dif</i> (or <i>if</i>) <i>f'rapánt (-əf)</i> they caused to reach.

The pronominal suffixes which are here put in parentheses are usually omitted, being employed only when the subject is missing.

In the present tense the transitive and intransitive verbs are conjugated alike, the particle *-da -ta -a*, characteristic of the present tense being added :—

Present Tense

Intrans.	Trans.
Sg. 1. <i>áz-a f'rēpīn</i> I reach.	Sg. 1. <i>áz-a fərpanīn</i> I cause to reach.
2. <i>tów-da f'rēpāi</i> thou reachest.	2. <i>tów-da fərpanāi</i> thou causest to reach.
3. <i>ai</i> (or <i>ū</i>)- <i>da f'rēpt</i> he, she reaches.	3. <i>ai</i> (or <i>ū</i>)- <i>da fərpanánt</i> he, she causes to reach.
Pl. 1. <i>móx-ta f'rēpóm</i> we reach.	Pl. 1. <i>móx-ta fərpanóm</i> we cause to reach.
2. <i>támóx-ta f'rēpīt</i> you reach.	2. <i>támóx-ta fərpanīt</i> you cause to reach.
3. <i>dif</i> (or <i>īf</i>)- <i>ta f'rēpán</i> they reach.	3. <i>dif</i> (or <i>īf</i>)- <i>ta fərpanán</i> they cause to reach.

As can be seen from these tables, there are special forms of pronouns in the oblique case, but only conserved in the singular, and only in the oblique case of the singular can there be observed a different form for the feminine gender. The pronouns of the 3rd pers. are, at the same time, demonstrative ones different for the proximate persons and objects (*ai* this, obl. c. *dai*, fem. *dim*, pl. *dif*) and the remote (*ū* that, obl. c. *wai*, fem. *im*, pl. *īf*). The other nouns have not kept this distinction between the direct and oblique cases and express the case relations by means of prepositions and postpositions. Only when being used as an attribute can the noun be employed in a special "attributively possessive" form, obtained by means of the affix *-i*, as can be seen from the following examples : i, 7 : *īfi cəldūri vrēd* their younger brother ; i, 51 : *wai kəldūri soyd* his elder daughter. At the same time, the putting of the attribute after the noun, so characteristic of the Persian language, frequently occurs as well ; therefore in the text the "owner of the camel" is equally expressed both by *so'ibi aštor* and by *aštōri so'ib*.

These remarks, together with the parallel Shughnī text, a translation into English, and the vocabularies already published by Sir George A. Grierson and R. Gauthiot, seem to be sufficient for the purpose of allowing these Yazghulāmi texts to be read and used by specialists.

YAZGHULĀMI VERSION

I

1. vād-an yo na vād-an, ar cuj vréd-an vad. 2. dou vréd-an na wu nān, 3. wug na wu nān. 4. if-mē-n cuj wus vad. 5. cigág-da xud pājd, 6. keldaráθ-a xud na pāyán. 7. wu miθ ifi cəldūri vréd xə wus na pējd. 8. waj vrádár waj wus žūd. 9. ū yat kə : ni wus na yast. 10. bát-ra xə wus žikərd. 11. xə wúsi-murdá-j v'yug, 12. zéxt-at šod ī daxt. 13. tamožó-j kēg kə wu axtór s^o-préd yat. 14. yađág axtór n'yúd, wúsi ž^wán-at mi γ^woθ axtóri yaž^x-ra mald. 15. kúxt-aj kə : soʻibi axtór yat. 16. soʻibi wus d^ori γarawáj dēd, 17. ē vréd, láft-aj kə : axtór ni wus xūg. 18. láft-aj kə : ē vréd, dərəγ na laf, axtór-da na wus na x^ward. 19. láft-aj kə : mi yaž kas, kə mi γ^woθ-at mi ž^wan maldagín. 20. az-da badín p^ata qozí, da arz k^wənín. 21. axtóri soʻib laft kə : arz na bād, ni axtór ti wúsi qərz-áj. 22. du yađág ma axtór s^owēr mād-at šod. 23. waj vrádár kuxt kə ma axtór s^owēr-at yat. 24. láft-əf kə : ē badbáxt, tu yu axtór naš-kóre-at vėg ? 25. áy-aj kí-mė ? 26. waj laft kə : ni wús-əf žūd, 27. mun mi murdá vašt, 28. axtór-əm zéxt. 29. if xə wus žūd, mi murdá ayéd-əf d^ori bozór. 30. mardúm-da písán kə : áy-aj čīg ? 31. if laft kə : áy-aj wúsi murdá, wúsi murdá-da axtór-itu dađóm. 32. mardúm laft kə : ē bəaqláθ, wúsi murdá-da axtór-itu ki niyást ? 33. if-an na xə kār žarmindá mād-at šód-an. 34. xə wús-əf žūd, na-f axtór vėg-at na wus. 35. bát-ra-f masəlhát kēg kə : daj badbáxt ž-móx ibrát dēd, 36. móx-ta daj nān žānəm. 37. bát-ra-f daj nān žūd. 38. aj sayírá mad. 39. xə nāni murdá ma xūr s^owēr kēg, 40. γarawárm yat wu jindá. 41. wu wəxúg kažtá-da zazd. 42. ū n'yúst, 43. xūr šod d^ori kažtá. 44. soʻibi kažtá γar dēd xúrag, 45. ími murdá na xūr wōb dēd. 46. yúke yađág yat, paj γarawáj mad. 47. láft-aj kə : ni nān-at žūd, 48. ta qozí-da badín, árza k^wənín. 49. láft-aj kə : mú-me dou dɔyd, 50. wug xuš kón-at záz əm xə qarz. 51. du yađág waj kəldūri dɔyd zéxt-at šod ī kūd. 52. waj vrádár laft kə : naš-kóre-at vėg ? 53. láft-aj kə : xə nāni murdá-əm dēd, yu yačág-əm n'yud. 54. if-ja xə nān žūd, ayéd-əf d^ori bozór. 55. mardúm ž-if pist kə : yu murdá-da šetú k^wənít ? 56. if laft kə : xasá yačág-itu-da dađóm. 57. mardúm if-ra izzó dēd-at šód-an ī kūd.

II

1. wu mīθ qozī kitób ẓwānt. 2. kitób-and-aj wint kē : har odáme kē waj kāl-u cigág, waj bēn-u qatól, nak-dú odám bēáql. 3. bát-ra-ī kuẓt kē : waj kāl-u cigág, waj bēn-u qatól. 4. xē zāwδ-and-aj laft kē : xē kāl-da qatól kʷənáj na bás-saín, xē bēn-da meš kʷənfín. 5. har čūnd-aj naqróz-talápt kē, na vʷyúg-aj. 6. sām-aj xē dúst-ama xē bēn nʷyud, 7. sām-aj xē bēn ayéd ta cʷréy, pađájd-aj. 8. waj bēn dar-tób δēd, waj dúst taxʷt. 9. xē dúst-aj đar kēg, 10. xē bēn-aj lāi kēg. ū pogizá taxʷt. 11. qozī ẓarmindá mad kē : 12. har čī kē wint-aj razg vad, ata áy-aj dərəy.

ORIGINAL SHUGHNĪ TEXTS

I

1. vuđj na vuđj, aráj vrōd-en vađj. 2. díún vrōd-ēn as yi nān. 3. yīw as yi nān. 4. wēv-and-ēn aráj šig vic. 5. julík xund pōjd. 6. wāδ katanakén xund na pōyēn. 7. yi méθat yu mis xúnd-ē na pējd. 8. wāδ wē vrōdārēn-ēn wē šig zíd. 9. yu yát didē : wē šig nist. 10. dád-ē ʷik-ámard ẓikūd. 11. wē murđá-ē vūd. 12. zōxt-ē xu, sut tar dāxt. 13. tamōšō-ē čūd : yi ẓetúr as pērō yat. 14. yu dad wám-ē anjūvd-ē xu, šig wēxén-at wē ʷaθ-riš mōlt-ē wam ẓetúr ʷēv-ard. 15. čūxt-ē : wam ẓetúr sōʷib yat. 16. yam šigdōr daráw-ē nīwd sut. 17. lūd-ē : ē vrōd, tu ẓetúr mu šig-ē ẓūd. 18. yu lūd-ē : ē vrō, đes mā lūv : ẓetúr ta as šig na xirt. 19. yu lūd : dam ʷēv čis, wēxén-at ʷaθrišin. 20. wuz pōdǰō xēz sām dōδ kinúm. 21. yu ẓeturdōr lūd-ē : ē vrōd, dōδ mā sa : mu ẓetúr tu šig qárz-andē. 22. yu ʷeđá wam ẓetúr-ē sawōr sút xu, tūjd. 23. wē vrōdār-ēn čūxt didē : wēv vrōd ẓetúr sawōr-at yat. 24. lūd-ēn : ē badbáxt, dam ẓetúr-at as ká vūd ? 25. yid čind ? 26. yu lūd-ē : mu šig-ēt zíd. 27. wúz-um wē murđá par-dōd. 28. ẓetúr-um zōxt. 29. wāδ-ēn mis xu šagén zíd xu, wēv murđá-jēn yōd tar bōzōr. 30. mardúm-ēn pēxst : yid čiz ? 31. wāδ-ēn lūd : yam šig murđá, ẓetúr-tē đáđām. 32. mardúm-ēn lūd : ē beaqleyén, šig murđá ta iyōr ẓetúr-tē na zēzd. 33. wāδ-ēn as xu kōr sat ẓarمندá xu, tōjd-ēn. 34. xu šagén-ēn zíd, ná-yēn ẓetúr vūd, na šig. 35. dád-ēn tar yak digár muslāt čūd didē : yid badbáxt mās-ē abráť dōd. 36. mās đe nān zínām. 37. dád-ēn wē nān zíd. 38. yu sayirá sut. 39. xu nān murđá markáb-tē sawōr ču. 40. nīwd xu, yat yi jō-ndír. 41. yi čōrik sēr zēzd. 42. yu nūst. 43. markáb sat tar sēr. 44. yu čōrik markáb dōd-ē qimb. 45. yu murđá as wám-tē wēxt. 46. yam ʷeđá yat, daráw nīwd sut. 47. lūd-ē : mu nān-at zíd. 48. wuz sām pōdǰō xēz, dōδ kinúm. 49. yu lūd-ē : mūd-ēn đu řezín. 50. yīw xuš

kê xu, zêz xu qâr-z-andîr. 51. yu ƣêdâ wê xedâr rêzîn zôxt xu, tûjd, yat tar xu čîd. 52. wê vrôdâr-ên lûd : dâm-at as kâ vûd ? 53. yu lûd-ê : xu nân murdâ-m död, mām-um zôxt. 54. wâd-ên mis xu nân zîd, wam murdâ-ŷên yöd tar bôzôr. 55. mardûm-ên pēxt : dam murdâ cá kinét ? 56. wâd-en lûd : mam bašând ƣac-tîr par-dâdām. 57. mardûm-ên wêv död izzô xu, wâd-en tōjd.

II

1. yi mēθ qōzê kitōb xējd. 2. kitōb-andê wînt-ê : ʔar čînd julik kâl vêd, darōz bûn, âmâq yik-ú ôdām. 3. bād qōzê čûxt-ê : wind julik kâl-at darōz bûn. 4. xu zôrδ-andê lûd didê : xu kâl katanák čîd na vâr-dîm, atâ xu bûnên kut kênûm. 5. bād ar cûnd nuqrōz telâpt, nuqrōz na vûd. 6. bād xu bûnên-ê kând xu dût-and anjûvd-at 7. wê kând pē ɕerōw-and yöd xu, pēdêd-ê. 8. wê bûnên-ên dar-tōv sat, wê dût θud. 9. xu dût-ê čûd δar xu, 10. xu bûnên-ê lâk čûd. wâd-ên pōjjâ pēdêd. 11. qōzê lap ʔarmandâ sut yik-dê jât didê : 12. ʔar čîz kitōb-and ca wînt, yu rōst naxtûjd-at yam derûƣ.

ENGLISH TRANSLATION

I

1. (Whether) it has been (or) has not (been), there were three brothers : 2. two brothers by one mother, 3. one by another mother. 4. They had three calves. 5. The youngest looks after his (own calf), 6. the elder ones do not look after theirs. 7. Once he, too, did not look after his (calf). 8. Those brothers of his slew his calf. 9. He came and his calf was not there. 10. Then he searched that place ; 11. found its corpse. 12. He took it and went to the plain ; 13. he looked : in front, a camel approached. 14. He took it and with the calf's blood and chyme smeared the camel's mouth. 15. He looked : the owner of the camel approached. 16. The owner of the calf started weeping, 17. said : brother, thy camel ate my calf. 18. The other one said : brother, do not say so : a camel does not eat a calf. 19. He said : look at its mouth, on it (there is) blood and chyme. 20. I shall go to the king and complain. 21. The camel's master said : brother, do not go complaining : let my camel be a compensation for thy calf. 22. That fellow mounted the camel and rode away. 23. His brothers looked : their brother came riding a camel. 24. They said : thou wretch, where hast thou brought this camel from ? 25. Whose is it ? 26. He said : you slew my calf ; 27. I sold its corpse 28. and got the camel. 29. They, too, slew their calves and brought their corpses to

the market. 30. People asked them : what is that ? 31. They said : that is a calf's corpse, we (would) give it for a camel. 32. People said : fools, no one will take a calf's corpse and give a camel (for it). 33. They grew ashamed of their behaviour and went away. 34. Their calves they slew and got neither camel nor calf. 35. They took counsel with each other : that wretch swindled us. 36. Let us slay his mother. 37. Then they slew his mother. 38. He became an orphan. 39. He put his mother's corpse astride on a donkey 40. and, weeping, came to a certain place, 41. and there a man gathers thrashed grain. 42. He sat down. 43. The donkey walked on the grain. 44. That man threw a stone at the donkey. 45. The corpse fell from it. 46. The fellow approached and started weeping, 47. said : thou hast slain my mother, 48. I shall go to the king and complain. 49. The other one said : I have two daughters, 50. choose one and take her as a compensation. 51. The fellow took his elder daughter, went, and arrived home. 52. His brothers said : where hast thou got her from ? 53. He said : I gave my mother's corpse and got her. 54. They, too, slew their mother and took her corpse to the market. 55. People asked : what are you doing with that corpse ? 56. They said : we sell it for a beautiful girl. 57. People abused them and they went away.

II

1. One day a judge read a book. 2. In the book he saw : whoever has a small head and a long beard, (that man) is a fool. 3. The judge then looked : he had a small head and a long beard. 4. He said in his heart : I can't make my head large, but I will make my beard short. 5. No matter how long he then searched for scissors, he could not find any (scissors). 6. Then he took half of the beard in his hand 7. and brought the other half near a lamp and put it into the fire. 8. His beard burst into flames and his hand was burnt. 9. He withdrew his hand, 10. but left the beard. It burnt altogether. 11. The judge grew very ashamed, because 12. all that he saw in the book turned out to be true and that (what he had done) was wrong.

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17. It is a party of the truth and the right.

18. It is a party of the good and the beautiful.

19. It is a party of the life and the light.

20. It is a party of the peace and the harmony.

21. It is a party of the love and the respect.

22. It is a party of the hope and the faith.

23. It is a party of the courage and the strength.

24. It is a party of the truth and the right.

25. It is a party of the good and the beautiful.

26. It is a party of the life and the light.

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BULLETIN

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VOL. VIII. PART 4.

Ttaugara

By H. W. BAILEY

STEIN MS. Ch. 00269 is a report by *haða* ('envoys'), who call themselves *ñaša bīsa* ('humble servants'), on behalf of seven *rispura* ('princes'). It consists of 120 lines, but of that a considerable part cannot yet be translated. The report is concerned with the cities of *Šacū* and *Kaṃmicū*. Danger from robbers is reported and an investment of the city of *Kaṃmicū*, so that food and cattle are lacking. Then comes the following passage, which is quoted here for the geographical names (lines 75-80):

75 *cu jsām kaṃmicū bādūṃna tta vaña drrai pacaða ştare*

76 *cū ttūḍīsa u ttūr kibayarkāva u hättibara u*
*īci īmjūva*¹ *tta yīpikīṃnittahi: u beḍi* 77 *darūki*
nasta ştare
*ci buri hvaihu:ra*² *tta bişi karastahi: nasta*
u karastaha

78 *cu dūṃva u cahis: pata u sūlya*³ *tta jsām kītha*
khu tta viña drrai pacaða bişi haṃ 79 *tsa ni samīṃde*
*kaṃmicū hā hervi*⁴ *haḍi ni ttramdi hame*
*śālai āphāje*⁵ *u śālai jsām va* 80 *kāysi ništi*

¹ *u īci īmjūva* is written under the line.

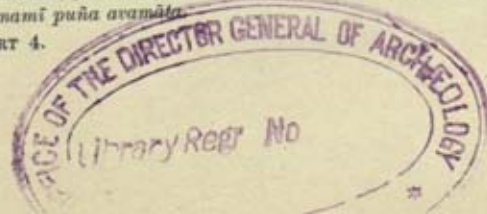
² *hvaihu:ra* are probably Uighurs, cf. Tib. *Hor*, JRAS 1931, 832, and Chinese

回鶻 *yūdai-yust*.

³ *sūlya* seems elsewhere, in a document from the Khotan region, to mean the people of *Kāšyar* (Tib. *su-lig*).

⁴ *hervi*, often in this document, 'any'.

⁵ *āphāje* 'investment (?)'. Cf. *phaj-* in *hamphāj-* 'to envelope'; *naṣphaj-* occurs in *cq naṣphajāṃde mamī puña avamāta*.



Translation :

As to the *bādūna*¹ in *Kaṃmicū*, three sections now exist. As to *ttūdīsa* and *ttürkibayarkāva* and the *hättibara* and *ici* (and) *imjuva*, they are now settled in *yīpikīmnittahi*: and *beḍidarūki*. As many as are *hvaihu:ra*, all those are settled in *karastahi*: [and *karastaha*].² As to *dūmva* and *cahi:spata* and *sūlya*, they are now in the city, so that now all the three sections disagree together. No envoy has entered *Kaṃmicū*. On the one side is investment (?), on the other side there is no food.

It is necessary to confront this with a passage of the *Ṣacū* document, published by F. W. Thomas and Sten Konow, *Two Medieval Documents from Tun-huang*, 27–31, which contains a list of names, probably at the same time names of places and of peoples. The spacings are significant.

imjuva	yahi:ḍa kari	aḍapahūtti	bākū
bāsikātti	karabīri	kāribari tti	tūlisi ṣṭāre
. . imjū	sī kari	ttaugara	ayabīri
caraihi:	yabūtti kari	aṇahi:ḍipabhūtti	
karattaha ³ pata	tti tti ttrūsahūta.	sāḍimīya ⁴	
ttrūkibayarkāta ⁵	cūṇūḍa.		

The first list is certainly concerned with *Kaṃmicū* near *Ṣacū* (= Tun-huang), which is doubtless 甘 州 *kām tsīu* (kan-ṣou, kan-chou) in Kansu. The name occurs also in Stein MS. (Brit. Mus.) 5212, 4 *kamacū kīthāṣṭa* 'to the city of Kamacū', and in the *Ṣacū* Document 16 *kaṃmacū kathi u laicū kaṃtha u śāhvā kaṃtha*.⁶ In

¹ *bādūmna* occurs in two other passages of this document: 64 *ttī mīm biśi bādūmna ārri ttīyām pahaisām iḍāṃḍi si* . . . 'thus all the *bādūna* attributed (*iḍa*-partic. to *ar-* in *ham-ar-*, *hamiḍa* 'join' and *nāmavarīḍa* 'famous') the fault to those *pahaisa*, saying that . . . ' 69 *u khvai bādūmna ttū heri bausta* 'and when the *bādūna* understood that matter'.

² Apparently dittography.

³ *karattaha* perhaps corresponds to *karastaha* of the first list. *pata* could represent Old Iran. *pati*- 'lord', cf. Khotan Saka *spāta*, *spā* 'general' < **spādapati*, corresponding to Tibetan *sde-dpon*. So read (in place of *yāta*, *yā*) *spāta*, *spā* in the *Ṣacū* document 47, 39.

⁴ *sāḍimīya* is struck out. One might think of Solmi.

⁵ *ttrūki*-, *ttūrki*- of this name is perhaps 'Turk', Tib. *dru-gu* (F. W. Thomas, *JRAS.* 1931, 816 ff.). In this same document Ch. 00269, line 48, we find *ttūrki uha*: *hīvi* 'belonging to the chief (?) of the Turks'.

⁶ *laicū* is almost certain. In Ch. 0048, 5, *kaṃmicū* and *ṣacū* are also mentioned in association. In the same context occurs *śāhvā*, where one will no doubt recognize *śāhvā*.

the two lists *tūdīsa* corresponds to *tūlīsi*,¹ *tūrki-bayarkāva* to *ttūrūki-bayarkāta* (so to read), *imjūva* to *ijūva*. We shall probably infer that the other places or peoples are in the same neighbourhood. This is important for *ttaugara*, which is thus assured about A.D. 800 in the region of Kanchou.²

This notice of *ttaugara* provides the indigenous confirmation of the oft-quoted passage of Ptolemy, *Geogr.* vi, 16 (see F. W. Thomas, *JRAS* 1931, 834-5, A. Herrmann in Sven Hedin, *Southern Tibet*, viii (1922) 212) who names from the itinerary of Maes Titianus the people *θαγοῦροι*, and the mountain *θαγοῦρον ὄρος* south of the city of *θoγάpa*. It is clear that at that time *θoγάpa* was an important city on the silk route, and it has therefore been identified with Kanchou. Since *ttaugara* seems not to be *kammicū*, it may represent a small adjacent town or a people in which the name had survived during the six intervening centuries.

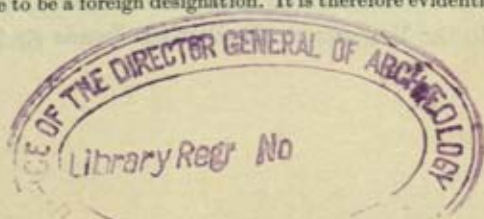
In or near this same region lived according to Tibetan documents the *thod-kar*, *phod-kar* (F. W. Thomas, *JRAS* 1931, 834-5, information which has unfortunately been overlooked by recent writers on the Tochari). In the same region from the second century B.C. were remnants of a people called 大月氏 by the Chinese (most recently discussed by Pelliot, *Tokharien et Koutchéen*, *JA* 1934, i, 37, note 1,—cited below as *Tokh.*). The 大月氏 had in the second century B.C. passed to the west, and there also a similar name is found: *τοχαροι*. It is possible, as has often been contended (see the bibliography in Schwentner, *Tocharisch* (1935) 18), that the two names, the native name ³ *toyara* and the Chinese 大月氏 refer to the one people. One might indeed have expected to find so important a name as *toyara*, which persisted for centuries, transcribed in Chinese of the second-first centuries B.C.

[If the *toyara* are the 大月氏, 大月支, the conjecture, which has however no importance for the following discussion, may perhaps be allowed, after so many earlier conjectures, that the Chinese name

¹ For *s* and *ś*, *ḡ* and *l*, cf. *sīdathasi*, *śīlathasa* 'Šiltās, Chilās' in Ch. 1, 0021a, b 15-16, edited in *Acta Orientalia* (in the press). They are probably a section of the 鐵勒 *t'iet-lək* **tōlis*.

² Clauson's very doubtful discussion of this passage setting *ttaugara* in Tokhāristān need not be considered here (*JRAS* 1931, 309).

³ The occurrence of the one name—of *θoyapa ttaugara thod-kar* in the east and of *τοχαροι* in the west—used of the one people, suffices to prove that this people had brought the name with them, since the name is found in places too remote for it to be possible to suppose the name to be a foreign designation. It is therefore evidently their native name.



大月氏 in its first two syllables is an attempt to approximate to the foreign name *toṃyara*—it is even possible that one ought to presuppose an earlier form **ṭoḍyara*—at a time, long before Hiuan Tsang's efforts in the cause of syllabic transcription, when a different, disyllabic, system seems to have been preferred. It would of course also be possible to suppose that a familiar name had been partially adapted to designate newly-encountered foreigners. In A.D. 600 大 was *d'ái* or *t'ái* and 月 was *ngi^wut*, earlier *d'ád* (-*d* being inferred from the later -*i*; -*θ* has also been conjectured), and *ngi^wāt* (Karlgren in a letter of date 23.1.1936, and cf. Konow, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* II, i, lx, and 'Notes on the Indo-Scythian Chronology', *Journ. Ind. Hist.* xii, 6; Pelliot, *Tokh.* 25): *d'ád-ngi^wāt* could perhaps render **toṃyar-* (or **ṭo(d)ṃyar-*). On this theory 氏 or 支 would be explained either as a foreign word of unknown meaning, possibly a title, since we may think of 塞王 *sək-jī^wang*, Skt. *śakamurūḍa*, if 王 is here correct, or of 骨咄施 *kuat-tuat-śiē* beside 骨咄 *kuat-tuat* for the name of Khottal (Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-kiue occidentaux*, 276); or 氏 would be a Chinese word in the sense of 'clan', the alternative pronunciation of 氏 (*tsiē* beside *tiē*) in this name being then perhaps due to dialectal pronunciation in Chinese and hence replaceable by 支 *tsiē* (which does itself occur in the sense of 'branch of a family'). Such a use of 'clan' could be paralleled in other Central Asian documents, Tibetan or Saka, and seems to be known in early Chinese. On the same theory the use of 月氏 without 大, which is found in the earliest reference in the account of the Shī-ki, c. 100 B.C., where however we find also 大月氏 beside 小月氏, would be due to the two reasons that the Chinese tended to abbreviate foreign words (and not only proper names, as is attested by 比丘尼 *pji* (*b'ji*)-*k'īⁿu-nji* beside 尼 *nji*, Skt. *bhikṣuṇī*; 阿梨耶 *á-lji-ia* beside *lji-ia*, Skt. *ārya*; 伽藍 *g'ia-lám* Skt. *saṅghārāma*), and that they could have taken 大 ('great') as their own word for 'great'. This second reason would also explain the purely Chinese invention of the term 小月氏 'the little 月氏' where 小 *siāu* 'little' stands in contrast to 大 'great'. The name occurs also, abbreviated to 支, before personal names (Pelliot, *Tokh.* 40 note 1). 大 is also used in the name 大宛 *t'ái-ī^won* beside 宛 alone (*JAOS* 37, 148), and in 大食 *t'ái-dz'ī^wak*, Mid. Pers. *tāzīy* 'Arab'.

A curious piece of evidence deserves to be cited here. According to the Memoirs on the Western Lands 西域記, on his return journey

Hiuan Tsang passed the ruins of Endere (Sāca of the Kharoṣṭhi documents, identified by Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, i, 429, cf. Herrmann in *Southern Tibet*, viii, 211), between Niya and Krorayina. Here, apparently through the hearing of some tales, he thought to recognize the ruins of the old 都遷 (with variants: read *tuoxuālā*¹) country. Though the identification may be incorrect, it is evident that Hiuan Tsang was here using his ordinary transcription of the name of the western *toṣara* to refer to the *toṣara* of the east. It may be that he was purposely replacing the old (now inadequate) transcription 大月(氏) by his more exact trisyllabic transcription *tuoxuālā*.

It is also interesting to recall that two wooden tablets from Niya mention a man of the 月支國 'the *ngi^wol-tšie* country', see most recently Pelliot, *Tokh.* 40, note 1.]

TÖYARISTĀN, TOḪĀRISTĀN

1. The Name

The detailed discussions of the land of Tokhāristān have now made it clear that for the period of the fourth to eighth centuries A.D. only one region (apart from the reminiscence of the eastern *toṣara* near Kanchou surviving, as we have seen above, in Greek, Khotan Saka, Tibetan and probably Chinese) was recognized to have the name *toṣara*. This was the country between Sogdiana (Sughd) at the Iron Gates (*dar ī āhanān*) and Bāmiyān (see Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 199 ff., Pelliot, *Tokh.* 33 ff.). The capital was Balkh (*Bag-la* in Tibetan) and the city of Tarmīta was comprised in it. It was therefore the old Bactria. The evidence is furnished by Arabic, Armenian, Tibetan and Chinese sources. It is now not disputed.

There remain however certain points to be cleared up² in connection with the name itself. The Chinese transcriptions are given by Pelliot, *Tokh.* 34 ff. and 48 note 1 (cf. Herrmann, *Southern Tibet*, viii, p. 450) as follows:

(1) Travellers and Histories

都貨羅	<i>tuoxuālā</i>	吐呼羅	<i>t'uoḫuālā</i>
覩貨邏	<i>tuoxuālā</i>	吐火羅	<i>t'uoḫuālā</i>
覩火羅	<i>tuoxuālā</i>	吐豁羅	<i>t'uoḫuālā</i>

¹ Taisho ed. 2087, p. 945, col. 3.

² It is necessary to treat the problem in somewhat elementary fashion, since Indianists, who have largely interested themselves in this matter, seem rarely to have understood the method of writing in consonantal scripts.

(2) Religious books translated from Sanskrit

兜 佉 勒 *ṭu k'i'wo lək*兜 佉 羅 *ṭu k'i'wo lá*兜 沙 羅 *ṭu ša lá*

The name is recorded apart from the Chinese in scripts of two kinds: (1) using vowels, (2) without vowels. Only the vocalized scripts can be used to recover the full word.

(a) (1) Greek *τοχαροι ταχοροι*, in the east *θαγουροι θογαπα*.

(2) Latin (derived from Greek) *tochari* with MS. variants including *thogarii*.

The word occurs in verse scanned *τοχᾶροι*, but unfortunately the verse is late and cannot be pressed to decide the quantity of *-a* (see Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, p. 207, note 4). The second form *ταχοροι*, if correct, confirms the scansion with short second syllable.

(3) Armenian *t'uḫari-k', toḫarastan*.

(4) Sanskrit *tukhāra*, *tuṣāra* (in some districts *ṣ* was pronounced *kh*), *tukkhāra*, *tuṣkāra*.

(5) Tibetan in the east *thod-kar*, *phod-kar*; in the west *tho-gar*, *tho-dkar*, *tho-kar*.

(6) Khotan Saka *ttaugara*.

(b) (without vowels) (1) Turkish *twḫry* (*twryy*, *twqry*) in Manichean and Buddhist texts.

(2) Mid. Pers. *twryst-[n]*.

(3) Arabic-Pers. طخارستان *ṭuxāristān*, طخارا *ṭuxārā*, also طخارستان *ṭaxāristān* and طخیرستان *ṭaxairistān* (*u* may represent *u* or *o*), see Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 228 f.

(4) Syriac *thwerstn*.

The *ā* of Sanskrit has been supposed to be due to analogy with *tuṣāra* 'cold'. The Arabic alif (*-ā-*) and *ai* (implying *āe*) favour a long vowel, but are not decisive, since quality may have guided them in their spelling. Of the vocalized scripts only Saka is unambiguous with *-ā-*, but most probably Greek also has *ā*. Tibetan does not normally distinguish quantity, and Armenian is unable to do so. It is of course possible that the *toḫara* language was indifferent to quantity of vowels, but *ā* is indicated by the city name (Sogd.) *δρωῆν* (**θruwān* or **δruwān*, Gr. *θροαυα*).¹

¹ We have however *krwrn* beside *kwrynk* in Sogdian for *krorayina*. Pelliot's transcription **dariwān*, Tokh. 31, is naturally not acceptable.

The medial consonant is either γ or χ (the labial u of the Chinese forms with $\chi u\acute{a}$ is not elsewhere attested; on Syriac *thwrsn*, see below). Saka $-g-$, pronounced $-\gamma-$, and Mid. Pers. γ in a script which has distinct signs for g γ χ , possibly Latin *thogarii* and the eastern forms in Greek show γ , elsewhere in Greek, Arabic and Armenian occurs χ (to which Sanskrit *kh*, *hkh* correspond). Tibetan (g , k , dk) is ambiguous. Since 貨 $\chi u\acute{a}$ was used to express the $\gamma\acute{a}$ of فرغانه

faryāna (Chavannes and Pelliot, *Traité Manichéen retrouvé en Chine* (1913), 208 note), the Chinese also must be considered ambiguous here.

There remains the Turkish *twry* (*wχry*), which must be a little more fully treated. It is necessary to protest against the mechanical reading *toχrī*, which since F. W. K. Müller¹ has had so much currency. The matter stands as follows. In the Sogdian script which was adopted and adapted by the Uighur Turks (a description is given by Von le Coq, 'Kurze Einführung in die uigurischen Schriftkunde,' *Mitteil. d. Seminars für orientalischen Sprachen*, Berlin, 1919, 93-109), vowels are not clearly indicated. In Sogdian itself a , i , u are often left unmarked, but they may be expressed by the use of \cdot (alif), y , and w . Since \cdot , y , and w may also indicate \bar{a} , \bar{i} \bar{e} , and \bar{o} \bar{u} respectively, only etymology can decide when \cdot is a or \bar{a} , y is i or \bar{i} or \bar{e} , w is u or \bar{u} or \bar{o} . We also find \cdot , y , and w in use. In Sogdian script only consonants exist. The Turks took and imperfectly adapted this consonantal alphabet to their vocalic system. Beside the system which left a , i , u unmarked (there are many Turkish words in which at least one syllable is written without the vowel sign, as in *pyltymz*, *biltimiz* 'we knew'), it became the custom to use \cdot initially for a , \cdot initially for \bar{a} (but also, more rarely, a), medially for a or \bar{a} , y for i and \bar{i} (e not being distinguished), w for u or \bar{o} , wy in the first syllable (but sometimes only w) for \bar{u} or \bar{o} . So we find in Turkish words *tngr̄y tāngri*, *ym̄ yimā*, *knw kántū*, *yr̄ly yarl̄y*. In foreign words this vowelless system is equally common, particularly for the reason that in many words the Sogdian spellings were received with the script itself. So we have *sm̄n̄nē* (Sogd. *šmn̄nē*) **samananē* 'female disciple', *ps̄k* (Sogd. *ps̄k*, Mid. Pers. *pusg*, Av. *pusā*) **pusak* 'crown', *šrb̄k*, *šrb̄k*, Skt.

¹ Transcriptions of F. W. K. Müller must be used for linguistic purposes with some caution. He was evidently satisfied to get a set of graphic correspondences even if he did violence to the phonetic system of the languages. In Iranian his first attempts to render Persian, Parthian and Sogdian were perhaps excusable at the time, but they did not give Iranian forms. For Turkish—a simpler phonetic system—his method had less evil effects. But the same mechanical results gave for example *jaliy* in place of *balig*, if the two dots distinguishing q from γ were absent.

śrāvaka, *prtyṣṭed*, *prtykṣṭ* Skt. *pratyekabuddha*, *pwtystb*, *pwtystb* Skt. *bodhisattva*, *tbyč*, *tbyč tavyač* 'China', *bχ'r*, *brχ'r* (Sogd. *βrχ'r*) Skt. *vihāra*, *brχmṛdy* Skt. *brahmadatta*.

Applied to *twryy* (*twχry twgry*), this means that a great number of readings is possible. To decide between these readings external evidence is necessary. This evidence is afforded by the spelling in vocalized scripts. It proves that three syllables must be read.¹ Between *u* and *o* in the first syllable it is not possible to decide positively. The medial consonant can be read *γ* *χ* (or possibly *q*). The eastern forms have *γ* in Greek and Saka, and Mid. Pers. *tōyaristān* (so to vocalize) makes *γ* possible for Turkish also. Hence either *toyarī* or *toχarī* (hardly *toqarī*) may be read. A reading *toχrī* is purely mechanical and useless to decide the indigenous pronunciation of the name.

The Syriac *thwerstn* also needs a note² of explanation. It is probable that the position of the *w* is due to a tendency similar to that observable in Sogdian particularly in the later texts to traject the *w*. In Sogdian *δwχt-*, *δγwt-* is *δwχt* or *δwγd*, Mid. Pers. *duχt* 'daughter'; *rxwšn* is *rōχšn*, Mid. Pers. *rōšn* 'light'; *swγdykt swγdīk-t* 'Sogdians' beside *swwdyk* adj. 'Sogdian', *swwdyrnk swγdyānak* 'Sogdian', and so in other words. We shall probably read Syriac *thwerstn* as *tōχarastān* or *tōχārastān*, or with *ū* in place of *ō*.

2. Script

Hiuan Tsang in the *Memoirs of the Western Lands* 西域記 showed himself particularly interested in the writing and literature of the countries he visited. He was it seems perfectly familiar with the Indian Brāhmī writing, and in Agni,³ Kuci, Khāṣa (Kāšyar), and Khotana he remarks that they used the Indian writing with some modifications. His accuracy in this has been attested by the discoveries of MSS. in Central Asia. But he came upon other scripts which evidently seemed to him to need further description. Happily he thought to describe the scripts of Sogdiana and Tokhāristān in detail.

¹ The *-y* of the Turkish form has probably not the same origin as the *-i* in Armenian *t'uxari-k'*. It seems to be due in both cases to some Iranian form. In Turkish it may be the *-i* of the nom. sing. Sogdian, as in *yymky* Sogd. *ymgyy*, *ymgyy* BSOS. viii, 588, but in Armenian this would not be possible: it would there be rather an adjectival *-i* < *-ik*. The Turkish form is the same in both Buddhist and Manichean texts. Markwart, *Festgabe Szinnyei* (1927) 67, read *toχgry*.

² Pelliot's interpretation of the Syriac form, *Tokh.* 48, note 1, ad calc., is unacceptable.

³ So the Wei annals, translated by S. Lévi, *Le "Tokharien,"* p. 11, state: *l'écriture est comme celle des Brahmanes*.

The close correspondence of the two descriptions can be seen when they are set side by side. We are fortunate in having recent translations by Pelliot, *Tokh.* 48 ff.

Sogdiana

字源簡略。
本二十餘言。
轉而相生。
其流浸廣。
粗有書記。
豎讀其文。

Tokhāristān

字源二十五言。
轉而相生。
用之備物。
書以橫讀。
自左向右。
文記漸多。
逾廣率利。

Taisho edition 2087, p. 871, col.
1, ll. 12-13, Beal, transl. p. 26.

Translation by Pelliot.

Les lettres de l'écriture sont peu nombreuses, constituées par vingt et quelques éléments primitifs, qui se combinent et s'engendrent et produisent un large développement (de vocabulaire). [Ces gens] ont quelques œuvres écrites dont ils lisent le texte verticalement.¹

Taisho edition 2087, p. 872, col.
1, ll. 17-18, Beal, transl. p. 38.

Les lettres de l'écriture sont au nombre de 25, qui se combinent et s'engendrent, et par leur emploi s'étendent à toutes choses. L'écriture se lit horizontalement, en allant de gauche à droite. Les œuvres littéraires ont progressivement crû en nombre, et dépassent en ampleur celles du *sou-li* (sogdien).

The statements are admirably clear. Hiuan Tsang is in both cases describing an alphabetic system of few letters. It is evident too that he did not recognize the Indian Brāhmī script in either of these. The Sogdian is known to us beyond dispute. Hiuan Tsang's description is accurate. Happily the coins attributed to the Hephthalites (Junker, 'Die hephthalitischen Münzinschriften,' *SBAW* 1930) and the Kushano-Sasanian coins (Herzfeld, *Memoirs of the Indian Archaeological Survey*, 1930, No. 38), beside their Brāhmī and Aramaic legends, show us this script of Tokhāristān: it is the Greek script of Bactria. The Greek alphabet had twenty-four letters, but on the coins a new letter ρ is known representing ξ . Hiuan Tsang seems here also to be exact. So evident indeed is this conclusion that it is regrettable that Pelliot,

¹ In the description of Sogdiana, the T'ang Annals (cap. 221, 下, p. 1, col. 8) state: 習旁行書, which Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-kiue occidentaux*, 134, rendered: (Ces gens) sont habitués à écrire en lignes horizontales.

Tokh. 53, should have made an attempt to find the Brāhmī writing¹ in this description, without reference to the existence of the Greek writing on the coins.

There is however one very important additional fact to notice, although it has not so far been mentioned in connection with the Tocharian problem. In the Berlin Academy are preserved (at least three) fragments in the same script as that of the Hephthalite coins, that is, in Greek script. These fragments,² which Junker is at present studying (*loc. cit.*, p. 3), were brought from Central Asia. The writing of Tokhāristān was therefore known in the Turfan region.

It is therefore impossible to escape the conclusion that the Turkish *toyarī* (*toḡarī*) applies to this, the only attested, literature of Tokhāristān, and written in the Greek script.

3. Language

Hiuan Tsang (the passages are conveniently brought together by Pelliot, *Tokh.* 49 f.; used earlier by Staël-Holstein, *Izv. Akad. Nauk* 1909, 479 ff.) states that the language of Bāmīyān was a little different from that of Tokhāristān. In Šīnān, although the writing was like that of Tokhāristān, there were differences in the language. In Kāpišī the language and doctrinal rules were very different and in Šyāmāka (*šiang mjiē*) also the language was different. This would suit the theory

¹ The Brāhmī script distinguishes 48 sounds for classical Sanskrit, and in Dialect A there are 10 (if *ta* was originally distinct from *dha* there are 11) additional signs. Documents in Dialect A contain Sanskrit words, and in foreign names also such sounds as *h* and *kh* are represented. Still other Brāhmī signs are used to write Barčūq (Maralbashi) Saka and Turkish.

² The first notice of these fragments was given by Von le Coq, 'Köktürkisches aus Turfan,' *SBAW* 1909, 1049: "... mehrere grössere Fragmente einer Buchrolle in einer bis heute noch unbekannten semitischen kursivschrift. ..." F. W. K. Müller added a postscript, p. 1061: "Die „bis heute noch unbekannte semitische kursivschrift“ ist, wie ich inzwischen feststellen konnte, die Schrift der Hephthaliten (هپاطلة), richtig wohl (هپاطلة)* oder „weissen Hunnen“."

The Hephthalites had occupied Tokhāristān about A.D. 468. Presumably they adopted the Tocharian writing, since according to 宋雲 *suong jiyon*, they had no writing of their own (Chavannes, *BEFEO*. 1903, 404: *dans ce pays, on ne connaît pas d'écriture*). The script of these Central Asian fragments was in any case not confined to the Hephthalites. Hiuan Tsang records it also in Šīnān and 商彌 *šiang mjiē*, Šyāmāka, which (cf. Herrmann in *Southern Tibet*, viii, 447) was Mastūj and Čitrāl. It was therefore premature to call these fragments Hephthalite.

* One must of course in this problem keep in mind the possibility of a phonetic change of *šf*, *šβ* to *ē* which would suit the NPers. form *haitāl*.

that the language of Tokhāristān was Iranian.¹ It is therefore to be noted that the Hephthalite coins use an Iranian titulary ΒΑΓΟ 'god', ΟΖΟΡΟΒΑΔΙ 'hazārapati (leader of a thousand, but long established as an important rank in Persia)', and employ the Iranian gen. plur. -āno (Junker, loc. cit.).² The significant presence of γ or χ in the name *toγara-toχara* would be compatible with an Iranian origin. In the east similarly the city name *θροαα* Sogd. *δρω'n* *δρω'n* shows a fricative (the θ of *θροαα* and the Sogd. δ together exclude *t* or *t'*: in Chinese the name is 敦煌 *tuən γ'āng* and 屯皇 *d'uən γ'āng* with *t* and *d'*).

The possibility however that the Tochari in their wanderings had changed their language must not be overlooked.³ The 大月氏 who remained in the east (spoken of as the 小月氏) spoke a language like that of the K'iang near whom they lived (see Pelliot, *Tokh.* 37, note 1). Strabo (first century B.C.) writing a hundred years after the Tocharian invasion, knew that the Bactrians and Sogdians spoke similar languages (ed. Meineke xv, 2, 8): ἐπεκτείνεται δὲ τοῦτομα τῆς Ἀριανῆς μέχρι μέρους τινὸς καὶ Περσῶν καὶ Μήδων καὶ ἔτι τῶν πρὸς ἄρκτον Βακτριῶν καὶ Σογδιανῶν· εἰσὶ γὰρ πῶς καὶ ὁμόγλωττοι παρὰ μικρόν. Bactra was the Tocharian capital. It remained one of the capitals of the Hephthalites,⁴ although their winter residence was, it seems, elsewhere, in old Badaχšān (Herrmann, *Asia Major*, ii, 576).

4. Literature

Direct evidence for the existence of this lost *toγara* literature is contained in Turkish colophons from Central Asia. In colophons of the

¹ Muslim authors, Ibn al-Muqaffa' and Muqaddasi, quoted by Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 88-9, indicate that a dialect of *fārsī* 'Persian' was used in Balkh from the eighth century; probably, as Marquart thought, the language of Sasanian Persia had penetrated the city.

² These forms are not Persian, but similar to Sogdian and Khotan Saka.

³ If it could be proved that the first vowel of *toγara* was an *ō* etymologically distinct from *ā* and *ā*, Iranian would be excluded. But evidence is lacking. Tibetan *o*, Greek *o*, Saka *au*, Armenian *o* (in *toχarastan*) support *o*. Armenian *t'uχari-k'* could be due to an Iranian pronunciation where *ā* and *ō* were not distinguished. But it would still be necessary, even if the first syllable were *ō*, to prove the existence of *ā* also in the language.

⁴ In the sixth century A.D. according to the Chou annals (composed A.D. 630) based on a report of 慧生 *yiwei sheng* who travelled in 518-522, the Hephthalites were related to the 大月支. It seems to refer to the time of the report, not to the time of the origin of the 滑 *γ'at* (Hephthalites) in Dzungaria (see Herrmann, *Asia Major*, ii, 569). Cf. the Tang annals, Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-Kiue occidentaux*, p. 158.

Turkish version of the Maitreya-samiti, which are conveniently exhibited by F. W. K. Müller and E. Sieg, *Maitrisimīṭ und „Tocharisch“*, SBAW 1916, 414, Āryacandra (‘ryčyṇtry) a native of Nagaradeśa (nkrydyš, probably Jalālābād on the Kābul river) is named as the composer (yaratmiš).

vaibazaki aryačindri¹ bodis(a)vt k(a)ši ačari

ānātkāk² tilintin toγ(a)ri tilinčā yaratmiš

. . pr(a)tnnyarakš(i)t³ ačari toγ(a)ri tilintin türk tilinčā aqtarmiš

maitri-simīṭ nom bitikdā “maitri bodis(a)vt tuzit t(ā)ngri yirintin yirtinčökā innāk” atl(i)γ onunč ülüš nom tükādi.

Ended is the tenth chapter called “Descent of the Bodhisattva Maitreya from the divine land Tuṣita to the World”, in the book Maitreya-samiti. Composed by Āryacandra Bodhisattva, the Vaibhāṣika, the teacher and ācārya, in the Tocharian language⁴ out of the Indian language. Translated by the Ācārya Prajñārakṣita from the Tocharian language into Turkish.

The meaning of *yarat-* ‘make, create, compose’ is happily certain. It may be illustrated by the sentence *yirig t(ā)ngriγ kim yaratmiš tipān biltim(i)z* ‘we knew who created earth and heaven’ (*Khuastuanift* 167–8, JRAS 1911, 291). *yarat-* occurs in hendiadys with *it-* ‘to make’, as in *Sākiz Yūkmāk* (SBAW 1934) 80 *kānt uluš āw barq itgāli yaratγali* ‘die Gründung einer Stadt und eines Dorfes oder eines Hauses und

¹ ‘ryčyṇtry with Sogdian spelling of *nt* for *nd* (cf. Sogd. *nsk-nt-* Av. *skōnda-*).

² In view of the statement of Schwentner, *Tocharisch* 12, note 1, that the Turkish *ānātkāk* “ist noch unerklärt”, it should be pointed out that the Turkish *ntk-k*, *ntk*, is quite simply explained by reference to the Sogdian *γntk-w* ‘Indian’ (Reichelt, *Die soghd. Handschriftenreste d. Brit. Mus.*, ii, 70, l. 37). In Sogdian words *-k -w -y* interchange according to the obsolescent system of nominal inflexion (cf. *Gram. sogd.* ii, 75). A form **γntk-k* is nom. to the acc. *γntk-w*. It should be vocalized **indukak*, a derivative of *induk* from *hindu-* (Sogdian does not preserve Old Iranian *h-*), Mid.Pers. *hindāy*, Armen. *hnduk*. This *induk* is attested in the plural *γntkut induk-t* (with trajected *w*, rather than with Reichelt “nom. sg. koll. (?)”). Turkish has modified and rearranged the vowels, a method of adaptation attested in other foreign words, e.g. *prdn* Skt. *pradhāna*, *symt* Skt. *saṃiti*. Pelliot, *T'oung-Pao*, 1931, 459 (quoted by A. von Gabain, SBAW 1935, 169) had not fully understood the Sogdian forms. The Chinese 印特伽 *iēn-d'ək-g'ia* (*Life of Hiuan Tsang*, Taisho ed. 2053, p. 227, col. 2, l. 24) approximates to the Sogdian form, since it implies a reading **induka-*.

³ Sogd. *prtnyā*, *prtny*, *prtny* (Müller-Lenz, *Soghdische Texte*, ii, 90–91, Reichelt loc. cit., i, *Dhuta*, 99, 100, 162, 195) transcribes Skt. *prajñā*. It has hence passed to Turkish. The Sogdian indicates a Central Asian pronunciation *dwj* for Skt. *jñ*.

⁴ For the use of *-čā* ‘in’ (beside ‘into’), cf. *ānātkāk tilinčā* ‘in the Indian language’ in the title of the Sūtra quoted by F. W. K. Müller, *Uigurica* ii, 51 note 1.

Hofes'. Cf. also *Sāḱiz Yūkmāk* 243, *ārdinīn yaratmiš ordular* 'palaces constructed with jewels'. The meaning 'compose' for *yarat-* was used by F. W. K. Müller, apart from this passage, as in *Toḫrī und Kūšan*, 581: *ānātkāk iltāki vaibaš sastar yaratdači* 'der im Lande Indiens Vaibhāṣa-śāstras verfasst habenden (Lehrer)'. Further examples are to be found in the Manichean texts published by Von le Coq. On the other hand 'translate' is expressed by *āwir-* and *aqtar-*.

The phrase *ānātkāk tilintin toḡ(a)ri tilinčā yaratmiš* is not immediately clear,¹ as the perplexities of translators testify (see Pelliot, *Tokh.* 54, and note 1). Two interpretations seem possible: (1) the writer of the colophon wished to express two facts, (a) Āryacandra composed the Maitreya-samiti in Sanskrit and (b) Āryacandra, composer of this Sanskrit poem, composed also a similar poem in *toḡari*—he was then both composer and adapter of his own work, and the colophon has only succeeded in expressing clearly his character as composer, which was naturally the most important fact,—or (2) the reference to the 'Indian language' may mean that Āryacandra had used an Indian (Sanskrit or Prakrit) text as his source, such a text as we have embodied in the Khotan Saka text (edited by Leumann, *Lehrgedicht des Buddhismus*, chapter 23) or in Pali and the Divyāvadāna as well as in Chinese sūtras, and out of this had made his *toḡari* poem. The second alternative is simpler.

Nagara, Nagarahāra, Nagaradeśa, in the time of Hiuan Tsang was subordinate to Kāpiśi. Unfortunately Hiuan Tsang did not record anything of the language. A native of Nagaradeśa however would clearly have been using a foreign language in writing Sanskrit. It is possible too that *toḡari* was also a foreign language for him. We are not however told where the Maitreya-samiti was composed. He may have been resident in Balkh or Tarmīta at the time.

5. Translations

The activity of translators in Central Asia is abundantly attested by colophons. We hear of translations from *Toḡari*, Tibetan (*twypnet*) and Chinese (*tbγč tbγč*) into Turkish; from Kuchean into *Toḡari* and the Barčuq language (probably the language called *Kanḡākī* in Arabic), a fact in no way surprising in view of the well-attested activity of the kingdom of Kuci in the propagation of Buddhism; also of the translation of Indian books into Khotan Saka (from *hīdvāṃga*), Sogdian (from *γntkrw*), Tibetan, Chinese and Kuchean; and trans-

¹ Schwentner's 'deutlich', *Tocharisch* 12, is too optimistic.

lation of Khotanese (the language of Li-yul, perhaps Saka) into Tibetan. Elsewhere there is mention of the translation of Chinese into Sanskrit (Chavannes *BEFEO* 1903, 438).

It has been necessary to clear the ground by establishing the meaning of *toyara*; and to reject the erroneous view of the script and literature of Tokhāristān, before proceeding to the complex problem of the language known from the fragments published in *Tocharische Sprachreste* by Sieg and Siegling, 1921, and treated in their grammar with Schulze's collaboration: *Tocharische Grammatik*, 1931. The language may at first be conveniently referred to by the neutral name (which has been used above in the footnotes) Dialect A.

DIALECT A

The Maitreya-samiti of Āryacandra, undoubtedly the same poem as is preserved in Turkish, is known in Dialect A. Fragmentary colophons are preserved in Nos. 253a 5, 258b 3, 259b 2, 263a 6, 265a 1, 287b 3, 297a 8, 298b 4, 299a 7, 302b 6 (see Müller and Sieg, *Maitrisimit und „Tocharisch“*, *SBAW* 1916, 415). The various colophons allow the following to be established:

vaibhāṣikyāp āryacandres raritwunt¹ maitreyasamitināṭkam
in the Maitreya-samiti-nāṭaka composed by Āryacandra the
Vaibhāṣika.

Whether the Turkish has abbreviated the title to *Maitreya-samiti* or the version in Dialect A has expanded the title by the addition of *nāṭaka* cannot be decided. The difference may reflect different manuscript sources.

No reference is made to translation.² But if the Turkish colophon quoted above is correct a Tocharian version existed and possibly, as noted earlier, also a Sanskrit original.

In the infancy of Central Asian studies, in 1908, Sieg and Siegling, both Indianists, published a paper treating of Dialect A and Kuchean,³

¹ The meaning of the verb *ritw-*, nominal derivative *retue*, in Kuchean *ritt-* and *raitue*, is among those best attested. It translates in both dialects Skt. *yog-*, *yuj-* 'to join, compose'. The Turkish *yaratmış* 'make, create' in the same context confirms this meaning. It is impossible to justify the use of 'übersetzen' either for the verb *ritw-* or the noun *retue*.

² It is equally the practice of colophons in Khotan Saka to omit reference to translation from Sanskrit, although such information may be given at the beginning or in the body of the work.

³ "Kuchean" for Dialect B is now beyond dispute. Turkish *kuyən* (in Sogdian script) and *kue-n* (in Arabic script) is the name of Kuci (Kuchā). *kūsān tili* 'language of Kuci' is conclusive. It should be remembered that *kuci* is the name of a country (Hiuan Tsang used 屈支國 'land of Kuci'), not only of a city as Müller and Sieg

entitled 'Tocharisch, die Sprache der Indoskythen'. From the existence of the two versions¹ of the Maitreya-samiti, and the reference in the Turkish colophon, the invalid inference was drawn that Dialect A and *toyari* were the same language. It is of course clear that a version in the language of Tokhāristān (that is, in Greek script, as we have seen) does not exclude the possibility of other versions.² At that time however knowledge of Central Asia was vague. It was quickly discovered that the second assumption—that it was the language of the Indo-Scythians—was wrong. The next step was to propose to exclude Dialect B (Kuchean) from the name "Tocharisch", although it is clear that if the Tochari had spoken Dialect A, Kuchean is too closely related to be anything but a language of the Tochari. When it became certain that *toyari* meant the language of Tokhāristān, an attempt was made to save the first assumption by the further unsupported assumption that Dialect A had been imported for study from Bactria. But there, as is now certain, the Greek script was used for literature. Dialect A is known only in the Brāhmī script. We have seen above that the script of Tokhāristān was known in the Turfan region, as the Berlin fragments attest. It is clear that a better case for the identification of the language of these fragments in Greek script with the *toyari* of the Turkish colophon could be made out, though it is well to remember that they too may contain a still unknown language.³ There is nothing beyond the existence of versions of the Maitreya-samiti in *toyari* (according to the Turkish colophon) and in Dialect A to justify the inference of their identity. The loan-words in Turkish which were quoted to support this inference may be from either Kuchean⁴ or Dialect A. As will be seen below Turkish

seem to have imagined, see Schwentner, *Tocharisch*, 13-14. Sanskrit has *kaucya* 'Kuchean' for the people of the land of Kuci (Lüders, *Weitere Beiträge zur Geschichte und Geographie von Ostturkestan*, SBAW 1930, 17). [It is very necessary for Central Asian studies that all Kuchean materials should now soon be made available.]

¹ The same argument would prove that Tibetan, Chinese and Khotan Saka were identical, because the Sumukha-dhāraṇī is known in all three versions.

² It is well to remember that the author Āryacandra was from Nagaradeśa, to the south of Tokhāristān.

³ We have to remember that in 1933 near Samarkand a document in unknown script was found. It is stated to be written from right to left, the letters not being joined, see *Sogdiiskii Sbornik*, Academy of Sciences, Leningrad, 1934, p. 37, No. 15. We have also the long list of names in the colophon of the Gilgit Sanskrit MS. (see S. Lévi, *JA* 1932, I, 45 ff.), such as *khukhuthūla*, *khukhuphaya*, *utruphaya*, *lerapukhra*, *lerakṣiṇa*. These are evidently not Turkish which does not know initial *l-* (or *r-*).

⁴ A fact recognized also by Müller and Sieg, loc. cit., SBAW 1916, 410 note 2, who state that *kāṣṣi*, *wasampāt*, *pimtwāt*, *kaṣār*, *len paryān* and *rājagri* are known also in Kuchean.

has other such loanwords where only the corresponding Kuchean words, but not those of Dialect A are attested. The evidence against the identification is positive, and the list of improbabilities involved in the theory that Dialect A known only in Brāhmī script was imported from Tokhāristān is long (the period of 600–700 years' separation of Kuchean and Dialect A in Bactria, the different script, the significant absence of MSS. in Dialect A in Kuci to which they were supposed to be imported, the long period of the independent kingdoms of Kuci and Agni which makes an identical language in both almost unthinkable, the silence of the Chinese as to *toyari* books for study in Kuci or Agni, where they stated that Indian books were studied, the close relationship of the two dialects, even in loanwords, the use of different Buddhist technical terminology if the Kucheans had learnt from Dialect A, the absence of positive information how a language like Dialect A in Bactria became the language of Kuci). They are in fact insuperable.

AGNI

In referring to the kingdom of Agni¹ it is this same name Agni which foreigners employed. It occurs in the Saka text from Murtoq near Turfan, which is in the same dialect as the texts from Barčuq (Maralbashi), edited by Sten Konow, *Ein neuer Saka-Dialekt*, SBAW 1935, No. viii, in the form *agñye* gen. sing. It is known also in Chinese in various transcriptions, brought together by Lüders, *Weitere Beiträge* 24 ff., as follows :

烏夷 'uo-i

焉耆 iān-g'ji, jiān-g'ji

烏耆 'uo-g'ji

億尼 i'ek-nji

阿耆尼 ā-g'ji-nji

One might deduce from these a native name **okñi* with *k* not *g*, since *g* is considered to be foreign to the language of Agni, and *o* not *a* or *u*,² if the Chinese 'uo and ā, Skt. and Saka *a* are imperfect attempts to represent the one native sound.

The Sanskrit text dealing with the domestic affairs of Agni, given in full below, uses Agni for the country, and a painting illustrated on

¹ The history of Agni (later called by the half-Turkish half-Persian name Qarašahr) is given, somewhat too briefly, by S. Lévi, *Le "Tokharien"*, JA 1933, 1, 8 ff. It is interesting to recall that 龍會 *l'oung yuāi*, who died before A.D. 345, seems to have been a sovereign with power extending to Krorayīna (see Chavannes in Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, 537, 543, F. W. Thomas, *Acta Orient.* 1934, 49). People of Agni were also dispersed in Kansu and the Qomul region (Pelliot, *T'oung Pao*, 1931, 496, and Giles, *BSOS* vi, 844 : 'the Lung (Dragon) tribe').

² 烏 'uo is used to transcribe Skt. *u* in *udyāna* 烏狀那 'uo-ḍḍ'iang-nā.

the title-page of *Tocharische Sprachreste* has an inscription which reads: *śiṣya guru ācārya śīlacandra a[g]neya* (ibid., introd., xii). *Agneya* is 'Agnean, of the land of Agni'. The Turkish form of the name has not yet been pointed out. It is therefore to be hoped that it will occur in the Uighur version of the Life of Hiuan Tsang, of which the fifth chapter has been recently edited by A. von Gabain, *Die uigurischen Übersetzung der Biographie Hūan Tsang*, SBAW 1935.¹

[A conjecture for a possible native etymology of Agni should not be forgotten here. If **okñi* is adopted as the indigenous name attested by Chinese, Saka and Sanskrit (in Sanskrit *gñ* is not used, hence *gn* would be substituted for it), such a word **okñi* would be an adj. derivative in *-ñi* to **ok*, as in *yokañi* 'thirsty', cf. *yoke* 'thirst' in Dialect A. In turn **ok* would be the form of Dialect A corresponding to Kuchean *auk* 'serpent'. It is possible that this word could express both 'serpent' and 'dragon' ('dragon' legends are recorded for Kuci), but for the twelve-year animal cycle two terms were needed, hence in Kuchean *nā[k]* from Skt. *nāga* was used. In Dialect A 'monsters' are called *nāk* and *mātār*, both foreign words. It is noteworthy that in Iranian the Avestan *ažiš dahākō*, a particular *aži* 'serpent', supplied the later Mid. Persian *azdahāy* and Mid. Parthian *aždahāy* as a word for 'dragon'. It is therefore interesting to notice that the Chinese used 龍 *lī'ong* 'dragon' to render the dynastic name of the kings of Agni, and this same *lī'ong* to name the people of Agni dispersed in Kansu and the region of Qomul. The Sanskrit, as noted above, had the ethnic designation *agneya*. It does not seem too rash to consider the Chinese *lī'ong* as a translation of **okñi*. There are then two ways of understanding the development of meaning: (1) An animal name used as name of a hero ('the dragon' 'dragon-like'), thence a tribal name (cf. *Δααι Dahae*, *Dahistān*, and Khotan Saka *daha-* 'man'), hence to a name of the country and also a dynastic title; or (2) 'the dragon' as name of the king and as dynastic title, thence used as a name for the country. The Sanskrit and Saka *a-*, the Chinese *ā* (which may be based on the Sanskrit form) and *uo* seem together to exclude a diphthongal pronunciation of the first syllable, but to favour *o*.

It is possible that the heroic name *Arjuna* may have seemed in Sanskrit a suitable substitute for **okñi* 'the dragon-hero', and so have been used in the royal names *Indrārjuna* and *Candrārjuna* (see

¹ A letter from Fr. von Gabain has shown this hope to be unlikely of fulfilment.

below). But we have also in a Kuchean document a royal name, *Kṣemārcune* (Lévi, *Le "Tokharien"* 23, where speculations are given; further developed by Fukushima, *On the Designation-Problem of the so-called Tokharian language*, 1935, 39). It should be noted that *-arjuna* does not occur in the names of the kings of Kuci listed by Lüders, *Weitere Beiträge*, 23, to which is to be added the name of the successor of Suvarṇadeva, 阿黎布失畢 *χá-liei puo-śiēt-piēt* Haripuṣpa (Arousseau, *T'oung Pao*, 1914, 393). [This would suggest also an interpretation of Artep as Harideva, rather than with Lüders, loc. cit., Haradeva.]

If the conjecture 龍 *li^wong* 'dragon' = **okñi* (*Agni*) is acceptable, a further suggestion is perhaps worth noting down. The Chinese give also the Kuchean dynastic title. The Wei annals (quoted by Lévi, *JA* 1913, 2, p. 346) read: Les rois de Koutcha ont pour nom de famille Po 白. In the same paper, p. 334, Lévi notes the variant reading 帛 for this 白. Both were pronounced *b'vk*. Since we have the equation—Dynastic Title = Country's name—in the case of *Agni*, the missing member of the equation—Kuchean Dynastic Title 白 = Country's name—would be 'Kuci' itself. If then 白 here actually means 'white' as has usually been assumed (the variant 帛, since it has the same pronunciation, need not discredit this), it would be possible to conjecture that 'kuci' meant 'white'. The native pronunciation of the name 'kuci' would then be important. Chinese 龜茲 *kj^wi-tsi*, 屈茨 *k'juət-dz'i* (see Pelliot, *Tokh.* 86 note 3) indicate *kutsi* (possibly with *ü*), and 屈支 *k'juət-tši* indicates *kutši*. Skt. has *kuci*, *kucīna* (*c* = *tṣ*) and Chinese *kutši* may be due to Sanskrit. Turkish *küysän* (*küsän*) has *s*. Since Chinese could distinguish *ts* and *tṣ*, the native pronunciation may have been rather *kutsi*.

An Indo-European etymology of *kutsi* 'white' is easily found (no proof of correctness unhappily, since one could find etymologies for almost any combination of sounds in Indo-European) in the base *keuk* (Skt. *śok-*, *śuc-* Iran. *sauk-* 'be bright', which supplies colour names in Skt. *śukla-* 'white', Av. *suṣra-* 'red', cf. Khotan Saka *surai* 'clean'). We need not conjecture such a wealth of words for 'white' in Kuchean as Skt. shows with its *dhavala*, *avadāta*, *śveta*, *śuci*, *śukla*, *arjuna*, *dhauta*, but two words, as in Iranian, Av. *auruša-* and *spaēti-*, *spiti-*, Mid. Pers. *arūs*, *spēd*, would not be excessive, so that (at least earlier) Kuchean may have had a word *kutsi* 'white' beside *ārkwī* 'white'. A word *kutsi* could be considered an adjectival derivative in *-i* (cf. *ārkwī*, IE. **argu-*, *poysī* 'sarvajña',

Dialect A *usi* 'yellow': *wās* 'gold') to a word **kuk-* 'brightness, whiteness', from IE. **kuko-*, or **kuki-*, cf. Skt. *śuci-*, Av. *suka-*, *suča-*. In Kuchean and Dialect A *k* is palatalized to *ś*, presumably through a stage *ts* (cf. *ts* > *ś*). In certain cases we have *k* > *c*; after a nasal in *en̄k- en̄c- ents-* 'take' in all three stages. *kutsi* would then be an earlier form of **kuśi*. Such a **kuśi* could be the source of Turkish *kūs-* (in *kwys̄n*, *kws̄n*) with *s*, although here the development may be *ts* > *s*.

If this conjecture should be confirmed, it would not be desirable to seek *arjuna* in this 𑖀. It would avoid the difficulty that *arjuna* is attested also in the names of Agnean kings where 𑖀 has no place.]

The fragments in Dialect A were found (always associated with the closely related dialect of Kuci) in the kingdom of Agni and in the Turfan region. Once the erroneous confusion with *toyari* is forgotten, it is clear that there is a slight presumption that the place of discovery may be for these MSS. the place of origin.¹ Most of the MSS. of Dialect A are literary,² largely if not wholly translations. But one MS., No. 370, has a more prosaic purpose. The description given of it in *Tocharische Sprachreste* is inexact, and written at a time when the full document was not known. It was only with the publication of the whole by Lüders, *Weitere Beiträge*, 24-5, that the character of the document could be realized. It is necessary to quote it in full:

Recto

1. || tad-artham avasambodhayāmi yad ayaṃ mahātmā aparimita-
śubha-rucira-puṇya-pra mahādānapati agniśvara agni-
mahārājā indrārjunena sārddhaṃ agni-mahāvājñi-
2. yā suryaprabhayā sārddhaṃ sarvai pañca-gati-paryāpanneḥ satvair
yo_sau bhagavac-chrāvaka-saṃgham anena varṇa-gandha-
rasopetena āhāreṇ_opanimantrāmpayati tasmād ā-
3. hāra-pradānād puṇyaṃ puṇyābhiśyandaḥ yaś ca kuśalaṃ ku-
śalābhiśyanda tad bhavaṭv eteśaṃ dāyaka-dānapatināṃ dṛṣṭe
va dharme āyur-varṇa-bala-sukha-bhogaiśva-
4. rya-pakṣa-parivārābhivṛddhaye_stu idaś ca teya-dharma-pari-

¹ It is almost amusing that the discovery of Kuchean Texts in the Kingdom of Agni (they were found also in the Turfan region and in Tun-huang, Stein, *Serindia*, ii, 915) has been used as an argument that Kuchean was also the indigenous language of the often hostile Agneans.

² *Tocharische Sprachreste*, introd. v, "nur in Büchern". Pelliot seems to have gone farther, Tokh. 63: quant au "dialecte A", il n'est représenté que par des manuscrits d'un caractère littéraire.

tyāgāt maitreyānām sarveṣām bodhi-mārga-pratipannānām
kṣiprābhijñāy_āstu tathā brahma-śakrādīnām catu-

5. rñām ca lokādhipatinām aṣṭāviśatīś ca gandharva-kubhāṇḍa-
nāga-yakṣa-senādhipatinām prabhāvābhivṛddhaye_stu : tathā
agni-viśaya-paripālakānām devatānām vyāgra-ska-

Verso

1. ndhākṣa-kapila-māṇibhadra-prabhāvābhivṛddhaye_stu : tathā
kumbhādhipatinām śrīsambhava-lohitābha-kṛiṣa-svastika-
-indra-prabhṛtinām prabhāvābhivṛddhaye_stu : tathā nāgādhi-
2. patinām maṇivarma-sudarśana-susukhaḥ prabhāvābhivṛddhaye_
stu : tathā purṇa-agnindrānām ādau candrārjunasy_ābhyati-
takālagatasya upapattiviśeṣatayai-
3. r bhavatu samāsataḥ pañca-gati-paryāpamṇānām satvānām
caturṇāhāra-parijñāyair bhavatu yac ca kiñci dyate tat
sarvebhya samasamo dātavyam iti :— ||
4. pāklyossū pis-saṅk-ṣi ñemi ñaktas naivāsikāśśi tārmatām āyiṣ-
kus ne ñaktañ naivāsikāñ triṇemintu pāssi wrāpoṣ—bram-ñāt
wlā-ññāt śtwar śāve ñā
5. kciñi lās viṣṇu mahiśvar skandhakumārāṣṣ aci—viki okāt pi
tāśśi nāñ yakṣāñ kumpāntāñ kintareñ kandharviñ tkam-ṣiñi
eppre-ṣiñi kus pat nu ñaktañ

The Sanskrit, although not strictly grammatical, will be under-
stood (it is paraphrased by Lüders, loc. cit.), but it will be well to add
a translation¹ of the passage in Dialect A :

*Let it (i.e. the Saṃgha) hear. May the Jewel of the Bhikṣu-
saṃgha give the dharma-dāna to the gods and Naivāsikas,² whatever
gods and Naivāsikas have deigned to guard the triratna, the god
Brahma, the king-god (= Indra), the four great divine kings, Viṣṇu,
Maheśvara, Skandhakumāra, the 28 leaders, the nāgas, the yakṣas,
the kumbhāṇḍas, the kinnaras, the gandharvas, whatever earthly or
aerial gods.*

The importance of the Sanskrit portion of this document was
recognized by Lüders, but it is equally important for Dialect A. Its

¹ After Siegling, apud Lüders, loc. cit., 26, where, however, probably by an over-
sight, stands "Skandha, Kumāra" as if they were two different gods. Khotan Saka
uses *skamndhā aysāṃnai*, Skt. *skanda-kumāra*.

² The *naivāsika* is known also in Turkish. Müller, *Uigurica*, ii, 83, has *naivasiki*,
p. 80, *naivaziki*; in the Uighur-Chinese glossary *nyb-syky naivasiki* is explained by
神 'good genius'. The Mahāvīyutpatti has *naivāsika* explained as 'inhabitant'.

character is evident. It is concerned with a gift (*dharma-dāna*) by Indrārjuna king of Agni to the Buddhist community of Bhikṣus, and they in turn are exhorted¹ to present this *dharma-dāna* to the protecting gods, not only those already invoked in the Sanskrit part, but others also, so that the offering is now made universal in the portion in Dialect A. It is clear that both parts belong closely together. According to Lüders they are both written by the one scribe. Similar Sanskrit documents are published in this same place by Lüders concerning the kingdom of Kuci. This present document is however peculiar in its use of Sanskrit followed by a passage in Dialect A. To an unprejudiced reader no more satisfactory evidence could be had that Dialect A is the language of the kingdom of Agni. It is certain that the document was *written* in Agni. The sacred language is Sanskrit.² It is likely that the indigenous language would be the second language. This is not a literary document imported for study but a domestic concern of the king and the *saṃgha* of Agni.

But there is more. That the language was not a static dead language (such as a foreign 'sacred' language must be, as in the case of Sanskrit) is significantly observable in precisely this document. The forms *nāñ* 'nāgas' compared with the *nākāñ nāgāñ* of other texts (Kuchean sing. *nāk*); *bram-ñāt* 'the god Brahma' and *wlā-ññāt* 'the king god with *ñāt*, *ññāt* for older *ñkāt* (Kuchean *ñākte*) 'god'; *lās* 'kings' for older *lāñś*; and the isolated *wrāpoṣ* beside *wārpo* eight times and six times *wārporāṣ*, are signs of phonetic change, of developing language. Similar developments can be traced in the documents of Khotan Saka, where the older religious texts show a far more archaic language than the secular documents, and indeed than the later religious texts.

We therefore assist here at a living changing language. It is not merely uncertain orthography (as Schulze's remark *DLZ*. 1923, 47, "*zeigt in seiner Orthographie eine im ganze bemerkenswert sichere und gleichförmige Haltung*" might imply), but a later stage of the language, a fact of great importance for the study of Dialect A.

If this fact is fully recognized it will be found that all indications

¹ The exhortation (*pāklyossū* = "let it hear") is on the model of the Sanskrit rubric *śṛṇotu āryasaṃghaḥ*.

² No. 414 contains prescriptions for the *poṣaṭha-pravāraṇā* of the *bhikṣuṇīs* (nuns). The formulae to be uttered are in Sanskrit, but the instructions are in Dialect A. Here too we shall see the indigenous language used to explain the sacred language. No evidence exists nor is there probability to make credible the existence of two sacred languages in this one country.

fit perfectly. Dialect A is the Agnean (Skt. *Agneya*) language. The MSS. belong to Agni where many of them were found. The language is closely similar to the language of Kuci, but not identical, as is natural in the case of two independent kingdoms, separated by mountains and difficult roads, whose independent history can be followed from at least 102 B.C. when a Kingdom of Kuci is mentioned. Hiuan Tsang clearly considered the literature and languages of Agni and Kuci to be distinct but he remarked that Bharuka had a language similar to that of Kuci. Kumārajīva (born in 344) translated *tukhāra* by 小月氏 who have no attested association with Agni or Kuci, therefore though a native of Kuci not acknowledging that the name *tukhāra* applied to either Kuci or Agni. Hiuan Tsang knew *tuoxuālā* in the west, and heard of ruins in the east on the southern route, but he does not associate the name with the cities of Agni or Kuci on the northern route. There is no evidence to prove that Dialect A was not spoken in Agni. MSS. of Dialect A were not found in Kuci (an *argumentum ex silentio*, but in this case of importance, since if Dialect A were imported, Kuci lay on the route; but if Dialect A is Agnean, the finding of MSS. of Dialect A in Kuci would be indifferent). Kuci was eminent in Buddhist studies, Kuchean, immigrants as it seems into the kingdom of Agni and the Turfan region (where in Sängim near Turfan, like the Russians with their inscriptions in the church in the rue Daru, Paris, and the English with their inscriptions in the many English churches outside England, they too wrote their inscriptions on the walls of their shrines) were clearly as interested in Agnean MSS., as their glosses in Kuchean show, as were the Turks, whose Turkish glosses are preserved in No. 394. A further decisive proof that Dialect A is a language of Central Asia, that is, of Agni, is furnished by the loanwords in Kuchean and Agnean.

The name Agnean¹ will be used in what follows for Dialect A. If it is necessary, it will be convenient to use Agni-Kuchean² as a name for the earlier form of the language whence are derived the two dialects of Agni and Kuci, including the language of Bharuka (*teste* Hiuan Tsang) and the possible traces in the language of Krorayina found in the Niya Kharoṣṭhī documents (Burrow, *JRAS* 1935, 667 ff.; cf. Lüders, *BSOS* viii (1936), 647).

¹ The name *karacharien* proposed by Lévi, *JA* 1913, 2, 380, and adapted to *Karashahrian* by Mironow, *Revue. Orient.* 6 (1928), 89 ff., is taken from too late a period to be acceptable. For Agnean we have the warrant of Skt. *agneya* and the contemporary name of the country itself.

² On the model of Indo-Iranian.

Loanwords¹

1. **ṣoṣṭānkāñ** is found in 222 a 2 :

lāñc āmāsāñ ṣoṣṭānkāñ sne-pāltikāñ prakṣāntāñ
 kings ministers officials merciless² exactors

Tocharische Gram., p. 106, offers no translation of this word. It clearly represents an older form of the word in the third century Niya Kharoṣṭhī documents *ṣvaṭhaṃgha*, *ṣoṭhaṃgha*, *ṣoṭhaṃga*, *ṣoṭhaga*, an official title.³ So far the word is known only here and in the Niya documents. The consonant group *ṣt* is used for Indian *ṣṭ* in *ucchiṣṭ* and occurs in several indigenous words. It occurs also in Barčūq Saka, but not in Khotan Saka, where *ṣṭ* is written. The word may be an indigenous Krorayina word, but there is a likelihood that official titles should be borrowed.

2. **kātāk**, Kuchean *kattāke* 'householder', as a technical Buddhist term. The word corresponds to Khotan Saka *ggāṭhaa* which together with Sogd. *krtk*, *krtk* is derived from a Prakrit form of Skt. *grhastha* (Hansen, *BSOS* viii (1936), 579-580). The Saka could be the immediate source of the word in Agnean and Kuchean.⁴

3. **ārśi**.

In 251b, a passage of the *Maitreya-avadāna-vyākaraṇa*, occurs the following passage,⁵ verse 4 :

kulmass or e-ṣokyākāl tane māñcām ṣ- i <6 syllables> :
 <7 syllables + metrak-ṣinām> opṣlyasāśāl ṣyak kumnāssi :
 ṣokyokāl⁶ nām ārśiśśi kāsū tāki<ṣ> . -c kaśal -i <1 syll.> :
 <1 syll. + ṣokyā>kāl śrāddheśśi mā tiri naṣ māntātsi kār-
 sāmantāp :

¹ Indian loanwords in Kuchean (Mironow, *Kuchean Studies*, i, *Rocz. Orient.* 1928 ; Woolner, *Sanskrit names of drugs in Kuchean*, *JRAS* 1925) and in Agnean (*Tocharische Grammatik*, *passim*) have already attracted a large amount of attention. Other loanwords have received occasional notice (bibliography in Schwentner, *Tocharisch* 46).

² Cf. the passage, 64 b 2 :

sne-kāruṃ sam lyalypu ñkāt
 sne-pāltikāñ cem ñaktañ kus ne camī

The context of 222 a 2 (description of an evil period of time) makes it likely that here *sne-pāltik* may be parallel to *sne-kāruṃ* 'merciless'. In form *pāltik* is, according to *Toch. Gram.* p. 13, 'ganz unklar'.

³ In Krorayina the *ṣoṭhaṃgha* was a tax-collector.

⁴ *Toch. Gram.* p. 13, curiously compares NPers. *kaḍ-ḫudā* (so to read). MidPers. uses *ktkhet-y kaḍay-ḫaḍāy* 'master of the house, governor of a province', but the second component is indispensable.

⁵ The contexts are not so colourless as they seemed to Lévi, *Le "Tokharien"*, 1. 6.

⁶ The variant in 251b has *ṣokyākāl*.

Translation :

. . . . greatly is desire thus

. . . to come together with Maitreya's consecration.

Greatly is it the desire of them, the Āryas. Good may it be . . . together . . .

. . greatly is it the desire of the Śrāddhas (believers). It is not the way of the Prājña (wise man) to be passionate.

The parallelism of *ārśīṣi* and *śrāddheṣi* beside *kārsāmant-* (= Skt. *prājña*) in a poem of the Maitreya literature assures the meaning *ārya* and *śrāddha*, both, as well as *prājña*, being Buddhist technical terms.

ārśi < Central Asian Prakrit **ārśa*-¹, Skt. *ārya*.

In Central Asia beside the Sanskrit attested in Sanskrit texts and in numerous loanwords in Agnean, Kuchean, Khotan Saka, Sogdian, Turkish and Chinese, a Prakrit is found in the Dharmapada MS. (MS. Dutreuil de Rhins), the Niya, Sāca and Krorayina documents, and loanwords in Agnean, Kuchean, Khotan Saka, Sogdian, Turkish and Chinese.

In Khotan Saka these Prakrit words are easily to be distinguished from the literary Sanskrit words. They further illustrate phonetic changes which differ from the changes undergone by Iranian words. It is therefore possible to know the forms of the Prakrit whence they came. So e.g., Iranian *j-* is *j-* in Khotan Saka, as *juvāre* 'they fight', base *yaud-*, but *Śama* is 'the god Yama', showing Prakrit *ś-* < *j-*.² The consonant group *ry* appears in this Prakrit as *rś*: in Khotan Saka *vīrśa*, Skt. *vīrya*; *tārśaśūni*, Skt. *tīryagyoni*. In the Niya documents *ry* has been regularly used in the transcription, except in the one uncertain case 572 (covering tablet, reverse): *suryadade* or *sursadade*. Graphically it is clear that a decision between *ry* and *rś* would be difficult. If *rś* is correct, even in this one case, it would be necessary to assume that in *rś* unvoiced *ś* had replaced the expected *ś* (however written) of *rś*, just as *k t p* so often replace *g d b* respectively (Burrow, *JRAS* 1935, 667 ff.). If *ry* is right, it could, if necessary, be understood as retention of an historical spelling. But the forms with *rś*

¹ For **ārśa*- one would expect in other texts a spelling **ārja*, indicating **ārśa*. Cf. (if they are not due to literary pronunciation of Sanskrit) Al Bairūnī's *أرجيد* and Abū 'l-Qāsim Sā'id b. Aḥmad b. Sā'id's *أرجير* for *Āryabhata* quoted by Gabriel Ferrand, *BSOS* vi (1931), 336, note 4.

² Single *ś* expresses *ś* in the older Khotan Saka.

in Khotan Saka suffice to show a Central Asian Prakrit with the change *ry* > *rs*.¹

It is evidently this same Prakrit which has given *ārśi* to Agnean. The final *-i* may indicate that the word had passed through Saka (nom. sing. *-ā*, *-ī*), but this cannot be insisted upon.

It is well-known that in Central Asia Buddhist technical terms were often translated, whereby the indigenous word was given the full Buddhist meaning. But it was also a common practice to take over the Indian (Sanskrit or Prakrit) term into the language. In particular Sanskrit literary compounds are abundant, though they are rarely of linguistic interest. At times both methods were adopted, so that a double (or, if both Prakrit and Sanskrit were taken, a triple) vocabulary resulted. The following selection will suffice to illustrate this :

Khotan Saka	arahanda	āṣaṇa-vajsama	Skt. arhant
		pāṣamānā āṣaṇa-	
		'worthy of honour'	
	āryāṣṭāgamārgīnai	haṣṭa padya beysuṇa	āryāṣṭāgamārga
	adj.	pade	
Chinese	阿梨耶	聖 śiāng	ārya
	ā-lji-ja (and <i>passim</i>)		
Kuchean,	Agnean	Kuchean pāṣṣeñca	pāyattika, pāyitti
	pāyti		(Toch. Gram., p. 61, note 1)
Kuchean	arhante	aṣanike	arhant
Agnean	ārānt	āṣānik	arhant
	kārām	lyalypu	karma
	tārm (dharm)	pal, mārkaṃpal	dharmā
	abhiṣek	opṣāly	abhiṣeka

To this is now to be added :

Agnean	ārśi	klyom	Skt. ārya
beside the literary	āryamārg-	Skt. āryamārga-	

In other contexts *ārśi* is not so clearly defined.

294 a 6, a passage of the *Maitreya-avadāna-nāṭaka*, is merely a fragment, but by its mention of the three jewels (*tri nēmintu*), the King Vaiśravaṇa (*vaiśravaṇ lānt*) the *lokapāla* of the north, and the

¹ In Khotan Saka itself *rs* can indicate *rs*. If the Agnean word were direct from a Prakrit *rs* the change to *rs* would be due to the same tendency in Agnean, as in the Niya documents, to replace voiced by unvoiced consonants.

names of the disciples (Kau)ṇḍinya, Āsvajit and Bhadrīka, it is proved to be an integral part of the poem :

... opṣāly mātṇy ārsīśī tmaśśāl ...

... (Maitreya's) consecration, so that of the Āryas therewith ...

ārsī ype, occurring on a fragment without context, is clearly Skt. ārya-deśa. Tibetan uses *hphags-yul* = ārya-deśa for 'India'.¹ It is a phrase natural in a poem of Maitreya.

383 a 1 a metrical text :

: tām ṣurma ṣi ārsīśī kālā-m ṇom kl

for this reason he went for the renown (? ṇom klyu) of the Āryas ...

More interest attaches to the three other passages where ārsī is used, in Nos. 229, 230, and 236, all in the *Maitreya-avadāna-vyākaraṇa*. All three passages are autobiographical. It is probable that a Sanskrit original existed, but unfortunately neither this presumed original nor the author's name has been traced. The passages, 229 and 230, refer to the composition of a *kāvya* (230 b 2 *yāmit kāvvi* 'you are enjoined to make a *kāvya*', an injunction from someone styled 'great king' (*tsopats wāl*) whether human or divine, which the poet proceeds to carry out).

¹ Skt. āryadeśa is doubtless 'Central India' in *Rājatarāṅginī*, i, 315, where it is used in reference to the raids of Mihirakula, and the adj. āryadeśya, *ibid.* vi, 89, where a college (*maṭha*) for students from Āryadeśa is mentioned. In the proverb (Böhtlingk, *Indische Sprüche* 1025) āryadeśa-kula means 'a family of India', where Böhtlingk rendered literally "im Lande der Ārja". The Tibetan titles of two medical texts in the Tanjur contain the words *hphags-yul*, which Cordier rendered by āryadeśa (*Catalogue du fonds tibétain*, iii, p. 502). Mdo-hgrel 151, No. 5, was composed by *hphags-yul phatahahi sman-pa danadasa* 'the physician Dānadāsa of Phataha in Āryadeśa', which is explained by the statement that Phataha is a place (*yul-gru*) in *rgya-gar dbus-hgyur* 'the central part of India'; No. 7 was written by *hphags-yul dbus-hgyur mathurahi rgyal-rigs kyi sman-pa raghunātha* 'the physician Raghunātha, a Kṣatriya, of Mathurā in the central part of Āryadeśa'. [Cordier gives in the *Catalogue* Magadha for *dbus-hgyur*, although he had earlier, *BEFEO* 1903, 628, rendered by 'l'Inde centrale (*rgya-gar dbus*)' and 'le médecin Raghunātha, de Mathurā, dans l'Inde centrale'. If Magadha is right, the Tibetan knowledge of Indian geography is inexact.] *hphags-yul* is here equated with *rgya-gar* 'India'. In a letter of 19.12.1935, Professor F. W. Thomas informed me that *hphags-pahi yul* occurs in the Ladakh *Rgyal-rabs*, ed. A. H. Francke, p. 25, l. 3; and in the sub-title of the *Dbag-beam-ljon-bzars*, whose author was born in A.D. 1702, ed. S. C. Das, p. 1, we have *hphags-yul rgya-nag bod* 'India China Tibet'. We shall probably prefer to render *hphags-yul* by āryadeśa rather than by the āryāvarta adopted by S. C. Das in his index. Professor Thomas has also pointed out that in the dictionary *che-rim-dban-rgyal*, *hphags-yul* is rendered by *su* (read: *pu*) *rgya-deśa* and *madhyadeśa*.

It is necessary to give the whole of the very fragmentary text. The author is shown (229 a-229 b 6) meditating on *karma*, *niraya* (hell), and the *kleśas*, which leads him to contemplate the composition of a *kāvya* on Maitreya's wonderful deeds. His expression of this intention is of interest here.¹

229 b and 230. Metre 12 + 15 + 12 + 15. Verses 52-64.

52. 1. **taṃ** yarmaṃ taṃ ñi caṃ kāvvi-ṣi *retweyaḥ* :
 2. ime pātsāk yeṣ ārsi kāntwā ritwāssi kanaśāl :
 3. sk- tāk paṃ kāvvi-ṣi *retweyaṃ*
 4.
53. 1. . ke arthāntu puk ānēṣi ritwaṣṭaṃ :
 2. pāṣāl lyalypūrāṣ cā
 3. **kaṃ** mā pāṣtār arthā
 4. *mārkampal* śkaṃ ṣaṣpārku māskatrām :
54. 1. ciñcār mā weñāṣ klyosāmṣantāñ mārtantā :
 2. -ṣ kātkeñc ā
 3. *praski* sañce tāka ñi :
 4. sarki sañcentu mā kātkañ ñi rakentu māskāṣklā :
55. 1. **tāmyo** mā cāmpu wārtsoyo pākār ritwāssi :
 2. -t p- . lo :
 3. *mārkampal*-ṣiṃ nu imeyo tāṣ raritwā :
 4. skāyā arth pāssi rakentu nu māskant ñi mā wāknā :
56. 1. **tāṃ** :
 2. krañcāñ *mārkampal* ṣpārkāṣlune mar ñi tṣaṃnāntsū tāṣ :
 3. pātsāñkām nunak kāvvinwāssi kālymeyam :
 4. -ṃ
57. 1. . . **s-** wāwo pāṣu *spārkālune* yiṣ :
 2. *tmā* sārki rakentu . ñcāt lāñci māmāskunt ālkont pe :
 3. cam tāryā sārki skāyā
 4. *mārkampal* :
58. 1. cesmi mosann *ats* **raritwā** wākm *ats* **kāvvi** :
 2. mānt -ṃ -e . -i -ā *metrak*-ṣinām opṣlyis tām kālyamam caṃ :
 3.
 4. . . . tākeñc m- . kām- . . -ñc :
59. 1. ā . w- . tsopa -ṃ ñāss arsāt :

¹ Sieg translated the passage in *SBAW* 1918, v. *infra*, but the context had been misunderstood. It is defined clearly by the fragmentary conversation with the Great King ('Mahārāja'). The poet has been enjoined to make a *Kāvya*. All must therefore accord with that fact. Sieg's version was distorted by mistranslation of *ritw-* and *retwe-*, and his unsupported interpretation of *ārsi*.

2. yāmit kāvvi cam tū mā kā- . . .
 3. -lā mā tāṅkṣāl :
 4. yāmtse tāṣ oṇant nunak . . . mu skāt ñi mā cimṣā :
 60. 1. prasku lyalypūrāṣ mar mārkaṃpal . . .
 2. tsopats wāl nunak :
 3. raritwā kāvvi kos ne ime kālkā ñi :
 4. kanis āyātawā kuc ne mā tām yomu tṣaṃ arthāntu :
 61. 1. kāvvi . :
 2. kuṣānti tākiṣ ñi mānt ne mācār mkāltont se kuṣānti yaṣ :
 3. tālo āknats . . . -k āklu mārkaṃpal :
 4. nu :
 62. 1. kuc ne krañc wraṣaṇ kārūpikāñ knānmānāṣ :
 2. māḥ maṅk triṣlūne . . . -m ettsantār :
 3. tsrū y-
 4. kw-ññeñc cam puk maṅkant tārneñcam :
 63. 1. kuc ne nu yomu tākiṣ arthāntwaṃ
 2. tākiṣ kākā-
 3. -l :
 4. tampe kālpitār kuliṣ tampe omāskem klesāśī :
 64. 1. ā-

Translation :

(52) In this way therefore for this composition of a kāvya, my thought and opinion went to the composing in the Ārya language in metre. . . . was clear in the composition of kāvyas . . . (53) . . . all meanings to be well put together. Karma must be watched . . . the meaning is not watched . . . the Dharma also is transgressed. (54) He does not speak finely, the hearers love it not . . . they will arise Fear and doubt have come to me. Care and doubts in great number arose in me for the lack of words. (55) Therefore, not being able to compose at great length . . . I have composed this with thoughts on the Dharma. I have striven to watch the meaning, but words largely failed me. (56) . . . May I not have sinned against the good Dharma . . . I think however in the manner of kāvyas. . . . (57) . . . guided, watched, error comes accordingly words failed, others also. After these three I have striven the Dharma. (58) Because of these, I have composed the . . . kāvya, that I may share in the consecration of Maitreya they will be . . . (59) " . . . great . . . caused a longing. May you make the kāvya is not to be hindered." I made accordingly . . . it followed (?) me. I could not. (60) Through fear of Karma may not the Dharma however . . . O great king, I have composed the kāvya,

as far as thought came to me. In suiting the metre, if I have not here attained to the meanings. (61) the *kāvya*. Indulgence be mine as a mother indulges her little son. Miserable, ignorant learnt the *Dharma* (62) If good beings, merciful and understanding, find in it many faults, few may they overlook (?) and forgive all these faults. (63) But if the meaning has been attained it should be Let it be deemed the power of . . . , may the evil power of the *Kleśas* perish (?).¹

In 236 also there is reference to the *kleśas* (*kleśāśśī nākām* 'blame of the *kleśas*'). Then follows (much being obscure) :

236 a 7. *kālpintār skuntu tsālpiñc*

236 b 1. *tṣanāk śāstrāntu* : 7

ārśi nu kāntwā ṣeṣ kar ne . . .

. . . *puk retwe yālymiññ atsaṃ tām ṣome puk śārsar* . . .

. . . *sne m- knāneñc yālymi pal kāntu*

. . . *āyātwā neṣ sārki kupre māskantār ñi* . . .

. . . *knānmune wā* . . -ṣ *mā pe śāstrā tsopatsām* . . .

. . . -l *śāstrā naṣ kanap mā penu* r-e *ññi kāntwa-ṣi retwe* . . .

. . . lto pat kuss atsaṃ ne āvikar -i naṣmi wr . . t . -m .
yāmu :

Translation :—

7. *May they find happiness (sukha), may they be delivered* . . .
. . . *here the śāstras.*

8. *Because (?) in Ārya language is*

. . . *every composition*

. . . *they know* . . . *Dharma language* . . .

. . . *in suiting (the metre) sooner or later if I have failed* . .

. . . *knowledge* *nor in the whole śāstra* . . .

. . . *the śāstra is in metre, and also not* . . . *a composition of one's own language*

Sufficient can be translated to show the similarity of the context to that of 229-230 above. It is here specifically versified *śāstras* which are considered. The essential phrases, however, are the reference to *ārśi nu kāntwā* and *ññi kāntwa-ṣi retwe*. The '*Dharma language*' is no doubt a reference to Sanskrit.

¹ Or read *kulis* as gen. sing., and translate 'Let it be deemed the power of — (kulis), the evil power of the *Kleśas*'.

It is clear then that the author composed his *kāvya* (*ritwāssi kanaśāl* 'to compose in verse') in the *Ārya* language (*ārśi kāntwā*), which was not his own language (236 b 6 *mā penu* . . . *r-e ṣñi kāntwa-ṣi retwe* 'also not . . . a composition in one's own language'). If the original text was Sanskrit, the *ārya* language (like the *hphags-skad* = *ārya-bhāṣā* of Tibetan)¹ will be the language of *ārya-deśa*, that is, precisely the Sanskrit. It is then evident that the author wished to express his sincere if perhaps too humble feeling that he lacked proficiency in Sanskrit composition. This might mean an *ācārya* of some Buddhist country outside India.

It is interesting grammatically to notice that *ārśi* is here used as an uninflected adjective (cf. *Toch. Gram.*, pp. 251 ff., '*Indeklinabile Adjektiva*') in *ārśi kāntwā* and *ārśi nu kāntwā*. It cannot then be compared directly with the separation of the compound in *prattika cam pattāmñkāt* (*Toch. Gram.*, p. 250).

The word *ārśi* occurs also in the name of two metres: *ārśi-lañcinam* adj. loc. sg. 'belonging to the *ārya-rāja*', and *ārśi niṣkramāntam* 'in the metre *niṣkramant* of the *Ārya(s)*'. It is perhaps worth while recalling that Sanskrit also knows (a very different) metre called *āryā*.

It is difficult to see how in these contexts Sieg could have imagined a native name for Dialect A (*Ein einheimischer Name für Toxri*, *SBAW* 1918).² It is to be feared that regardless of context he jumped to this conclusion because at that time when Central Asia of the sixth century A.D. was still a nebulous land, he remembered the Greek *Ἀριοι* and the Latin *reges tocharorum asiani* of Justinus.³

The difficulties, historical and linguistic,⁴ which this has caused

¹ *ārya-bhāṣā* 'Sanskrit' is attested in the seventh century A.D. outside India, corresponding to Chinese 梵言 *b'j'w-em-ngien*, in the colophon of the Sanskrit-Chinese dictionary of 義淨 *ngjie-dz'iäng* (Turkish *kytşy*, I-Tsing, born 635), entitled 梵言千字文 'Book of a thousand Sanskrit characters'. The colophon reads: *cīnā akṣara sahasra mālō ārya bhāṣa smapta* that is probably: *āryabhāṣa-cīnākṣara-sahasramālā samāptā* [or *'sahasramālo(nāma pustakāḥ)samāptāḥ*]. See Bagchi, *Deux lexiques sanscrit-chinois*, i, 1929, pp. 217-18 and 330 (= Taisho ed. 2133).

² Involving also a violent misrendering of *ritw-* and *retwe*.

³ Speculations on these *Ἀριοι Asiani* are at present of little use. We cannot be sure from the Greek and Latin texts whether the *Asiani* were kings of the Tochari before or after their settlement in Tokhāristān. The name seems to have a suffix *-āna-*, which is familiar in forming adjectives in Iranian. It might mean that the *Asiani* were Iranian or that it is a name bestowed by Iranians or a name which had reached the Greeks through Iranian channels. (Theories are offered by Charpentier, *ZDMG* 71, 347 ff.)

⁴ The most recent attempt linguistically by N. Fukushima, *On the Designation-Problem of the so-called Tocharian Language*, Memorial volume dedicated to Katsuji Fujioka, 1935.

subsequent investigators are notorious. But the second century B.C. is not the same as the sixth century A.D. in Central Asia as is now gradually becoming clear. Dialect A is Agnean without attested connection with the Tochari. It is regrettable that no one thought to examine into the basis of this unfortunate inference.

4. Kuchean **tvānkarai** obl., *tvānkarō* nom., *tvānkaracce* adj., is Khotan Saka *ttumgare* 'ginger'. It seems that the word was borrowed as *tvānkarai*, but the *-ai* caused it to be associated with the obl. case in *-ai*. Hence a nom. in *-o* was created on the model of obl. *witsakai* : nom. *witsako* 'root'. Iranian *-u-* is here replaced by *-vā-*, as by *-wa-* and *-wā-* in the following words.

5. Agnean, Kuchean **kuñcit**, Kuchean adj. *kuñcūtāsše*, *kwāñcūtāsše* 'sesame', Old Iran. **kuñcita-*, Mid. Pers. *kwnčyt*, EBalōči *kunčīθ*, Armen. *knčit*, Khotan Saka *kumjsata*. The form represents an older stage than Saka *kumjsata*.¹

6. Kuchean **kurkamāšši** beside *kwārkamāšši* adj. 'of saffron'. Khotan Saka *kurkum*, Sogd. *kwarkunph*, Mid. Pers. *kwrkwm*, Turk. *kürküm* (Rachmati, *Zur Heilkunde der Uiguren*, SBAW 1930, 19).

7. Kuchean **añkwaš** 'asa foetida', Khotan Saka *aṃgušdā*, Armen. (from Mid. Parth.) *angužat*, NPers. *angužad*, Chinese² 阿魏 *ā-ngj^wei* and 央置 *iang-g'j^wi*. From the Kuchean (or an unattested Agnean form) comes the Turkish *ankpweš* (*āngābūš*, *ānkābūš* (?), Rachmati, loc. cit., p. 16). Saka *-u-* is replaced by *-wa-* and *-šd-* by *-š*.³

8. Kuchean **kwārām**, *kwarm-*, Skt. *gulma*, Khotan Saka *gaumā*,

¹ Similarly a stage of Iranian older than the Khotan Saka texts is attested by the Niya Kharoṣṭhi Documents, where *rodana* 'madder' contrasts with Khotan Saka *rrūnai* < **raudanaka-*, WBalōči *rōdan* (Burrow, BSOS vii (1935), 787). In the case of Khotana, the change can be seen in older Saka *hvatana*, later Saka *hvaṃna*. The Barčuq Saka texts have *hvaḍana* 6, 6, and *hvaḍna* 8 b 6. Both words probably refer directly to the inhabitants of Khotan. I cannot suppose with Konow (*Ein neuer Saka-Dialekt*, pp. 30-31) that the writers were using the word of themselves. The contexts are not quite clear, but this view at least seems excluded. I suspect that *kāñcake* of 8 a 3 is connected with the name *kanjākī* (the word is attested as *knjk-* and *knjk-*, implying at least a Turkish pronunciation *kānjāk*) applied to the non-Turkish people near Kāšyar. Kāšyarī (i, 31, lines 5-6) remarks: *wa li-kāšyar rasātiq yutakallamu fihā bi-lkanjākiyyati* 'and the districts (*rustāq*) belonging to Kāšyar speak in Kanjākī'. I am indebted for the reference to V. Minorsky. We should probably recognize the same name in the Turkish *k-nčk* **kāñčāk* of the Uighur document published by Haneda, *Toyo Bunko, Memoirs* vi (1932), p. 3, l. 2.

² Laufer, *Sino-Iranica* 361, who had first seen the connection between the Kuchean and the Chinese words, quoted the Kuchean without the final *-š*.

³ According to 慧日 *yi^wei-ñčjēt*, born A.D. 680, quoted by Lévi, JA 1915, i, 89: C'est seulement en arrivant dans la région de *yu-t'ien* (Khotan) qu'on en voit.

gomā. Kuchean *k-* replaces Skt. *g* (cf. *kattāke* above No. 3) with *-va-* for *-u-*, and *r* for *l*.¹ Meillet's hesitating comparison with Gr. *βουβών*, Skt. *gavīnī* is probably less acceptable (*JA* 1911, 1, 453).

9. Kuchean **arirāk**, *arirāk* 'myrobalan', Khotan Saka *halirai* < **haliraka-*, Mid. Pers. *hlylk* NPers. *halīla*, *ihlīla*ʃ, Skt. *haritakī*. If *r* has here replaced *l* (as in *gulma* above, No. 8), it is probable that older Saka is the immediate source. Hence or from an unattested Agnean form, the Turkish *arir-i* (Rachmati, loc. cit., p. 21).

10. Agnean **mahirṣān** plur., 'buffaloes', Khotan Saka *mahairṣāna* adj. 'of buffaloes', Skt. *mahiṣa*. It is probable that the Central Asian Prakrit had *rṣ* in this word, or that the word came from Saka to Agnean. Inner-Agnean development of *ṣ* > *rṣ* under the influence of *kayurṣ* 'Stier' (so *Toch. Gram.*, p. 107) implies too great an isolation of Agnean.

11. Agnean **āṣām**, Kuchean *aṣām* 'worthy' from Khotan Saka *āṣaṇa-* 'worthy': *āṣaṇa-* < **ālṣaṇa-* < **arṣṣana-*, an *-s-* derivative of *arg-* 'be worth', Skt. *argh-*, *arhati*, as Khotan Saka *dīṣṭa* 'ripe' participle to *daṣṣ-*, *-s-* derivative of *dag-* 'to burn, to ripen', and Av., Mid Pers. *baṣṣ-* 'to bestow' to *bag* 'give a share', Saka *bemaṇe* (Tib. *bde-legs* 'welfare'), *beimaṇā*, *baimana*, *baimaṇā*, *bemaṇā* < **baṣṣ-man-*, Mid. Pers., NPers. *baṣṭ* 'fortune'.

12. Agnean **āṣānik**, Kuchean *aṣānike* 'arhant', derivative in *-ik* from *āṣām*, *aṣām*, No. 11. Khotan Saka uses *āṣaṇa-vajsama* 'worthily honoured' and *pajsamānā āṣaṇa-* 'worthy of honour' in this sense.

13. Agnean **mahur**, Kuchean *mahūr*, *mahur* 'diadem' from Prakrit **makhula-*, Skt. *makūṭa*, *mukūṭa*. Khotan Saka has a form nearer to Skt., but with aspirate *kh* (= *χ*): *murkhūṭa*. A Saka form **muhula* or **mahula* probably existed.

14. Agnean **parām**, *parn-* translating Skt. *pada* 'position, rank' (adj. *parṇo*), Kuchean *perne*. *Toch. Gram.*, p. 18, compared Sogd. *prn* **farn*.² Khotan Saka *phārra* < **farna-* 'position' is used in

¹ Similarly *r* for Prakrit *l* < *ḍ* = Skt. *ṭ* regularly: *kori*. Skt. *koṣi*, Sogd. *kūty*, Turk. *keldy*, *kelti*, Khotan Saka *kūla*; Kuchean *kākori*, *kākoṭi*, Khotan Saka *kākaula*, *kākoṭā*, Tib. *kakola*, Skt. *kākoṭi*, *kākolī*. Cf. also *makara* 'monkey' given by the Kuchean *ṣaman* 禮言 *lei ngjen* in the 梵語雜名 *Fan-yu tsa-ming*, ed. Bagehi, p. 297, as Skt. [elsewhere *markaṭa*], Khotan Saka *makala*; Skt. *l* is replaced by *r* in many other words (*nīra* = *nīla*, *vipuriya* = *vipulya*, *ruka* = *loka*) of this vocabulary.

² *f* is certain. Buddhist Sogdian does not always distinguish *p* and *f* (which is possible by the alternative use of *p* and *β*) but Manichean Sogdian has both *p* and *f* and in this word gives *farn*, cf. Oss. *farn* 'luck'.

similar contents to those of Agnean and Kuchean, as Turkish uses *qut*, in *arḫant quti* 'position of an arḫant'; *burḫan quti* 'position of a Buddha' (the latter in both Buddhist and Manichean texts); *ṣṛavaklar qullari* 'positions of Śrāvakas'. It is probable that Agnean *parn-*, Kuchean *perne* are from an older Saka **pharna*. Sogd. uses *farn* in the same contexts.

15. Agnean **mātār**, Skt. *makara* 'sea-monster' (*Toch. Gram.*, p. 62, note 1, Lüders, *Zur Geschichte des ostasiat. Tierkreises*, SBAW 1933, 1017, note 1). The attested Khotan Saka form is *magara* E 25, 239 (*klaiṣinā magara* 'the sea-monsters of kleśas'), but a form **matara-* is possible and would then be the source of Agnean *mātār*, Turkish *m̄d̄r*, Mong. *matar*, Manchu. *madari*. Since in Khotan Saka -*t-* in hiatus was probably not pronounced as -*t-*, it would be necessary to imagine literary contact to explain the -*t-* in Agnean, after the manner of French *dāsēž* from English *da:nsiŋ*, *dæ:nsiŋ* (dancing).

16. Agnean **yāmutsi-** (92 b 2 *kokāñ ṣpārāñ yāmutsiñ* 'ruddy geese, the ṣpār-birds,¹ the parrots', 70 b 6 *yāmutsiṣṣi kokāṣṣi* 'of parrots and ruddy geese') 'name of a bird', explained by Poucha (*Tocharica VI*, *Arch. Or.* 1933, 88 ff.) as the Chinese 鸚鵡子 *ʷng-m̄u-tsi* 'parrot', which is found also in a Sogdian text from Tun-huang translated from Chinese (*SCE* 144, 315, 352): *ym̄wtsy* **ēmūtsi*. Just as this proves contact with China for the Sogdian translator so also for the Agnean language. According to Pelliot, *T'oung Pao*, 1923, 317, and *SCE*. ii, p. 56, the use of 子 *tsi* as a suffix is attested from the third century A.D. to the T'ang period in this word.

The texts in Agnean and Kuchean are largely religious works, but in Kuchean other texts also, business documents and medical works, are found, with which Agnean has nothing extant to compare. Hence some of the foreign words appearing in Kuchean cannot be shown to have existed in Agnean. The existence of a group of words from Iranian in Kuchean and partly in Agnean is attested by *tvāñkarai*, *kurkamāṣṣi*, *kuñcit*, *ankwaṣ*, *arīrāk*, and with these, *āṣām* and *āṣānik* are probably rightly to be associated. The *ṣt* of *ṣostāñkāñ*, as indicated above, does not exclude a loan from Indian or Iranian, but it may be an indigenous Krorayina word. It can at least be said that the word is known so far only in Central Asia. The words *mahur*, *mahirṣāñ*, *mātār*, *ārṣi* and *kātāk* are equally Central Asian forms.

¹ Etymologically Engl. *sparrow* has been compared with Agnean *ṣpār-* ['sparrow' is Skt. *caṭaka*]. Would such a meaning suit here?

The importance for Dialect A is obvious. Here are words of Saka, Central Asian Prakrit, Chinese and possibly Krorayina origin, which could not be from Tokhāristān. It is further confirmatory evidence of the conclusion previously reached that Dialect A is truly a language of Central Asia, the language of Agni.

[To this I am tempted to add the more uncertain evidence of the word **okñi* deduced above, p. 899. The Sanskrit *agni*, the Saka *agnye*, Chinese *uo-* and *á* (if this *á* is independent of the Sanskrit) indicate a simple vowel and not a diphthong. Kuchean *auk-* is therefore excluded. If **okñi* has been rightly explained, it proves that the name Agni comes from Dialect A, the language of Agni itself.]

CONCLUSION

It has been urged that *toyara-toxara* is the indigenous name of a people of the *θpoava-δριων* region, who are later known in the Bactrian region under the same name *toxara*. Their history thus coincides with that attributed by Chinese historians to the 大月氏 and the *tuoxuálá*. A remnant of these is still known about A.D. 800 in the *θpoava* region. The native name *toyara-toxara*, and the name *θpoava-δριων* indicate a polysyllabic language with voiced and unvoiced fricatives. In Tokhāristān they employed the Graeco-Bactrian script. They had no attested ethnic or linguistic connection with the northern cities of Agni, Kuci and Bharuka, from whose language their own, as proved by these, the only certainly attested words of the language—*toyara*, *toxara*, and *θpoava*—diverged widely in phonemes.¹

A second people speaking dialects of one language extended according to the linguistic evidence probably from Krorayina and

¹ Reuter's suggestion, *Studia Orientalia* (offered to K. Tallqvist), 1925, 232-4, that *ts* in Dialect A might represent the fricative *θ* would introduce an isolated fricative into the language. Reuter himself recognized that no positive proof was to hand, but he suggested three pieces of indirect evidence. (1) *ts* in *aptsar-* Skt. *apsaras*, and *samtsāra* Skt. *samsāra*. Both these words, a fact probably not known to Reuter, occur also in Khotan Saka with *ts*, *avātsara*, *samtsāra* (the latter also in Kharoṣṭhī, BSOS viii, 423, 427). The *ts* may be due to a Prakrit form with *ts* or direct from Khotan Saka. Since Khotan Saka uses *th* = *θ*, it is definite proof against Reuter's suggestion of an interchange in Dialect A of *s* and *θ* in these two words. (2) Interchange of *ts*, *tst*, *tts*, *tss* and *ss*. A value *ts* is equally comprehensible in these alternations. It is also necessary to remember that *ts* > *s* may mark the later stage of the language. (3) *ts* is treated as a single consonant and may be written doubled. Reuter assumed that this excluded the value *ts*. There is an obvious error here in supposing that the speakers of Dialect A thought of sounds according to modern phonetic analysis. The case of *c* = *tś* indicates a different point of view. This *c* = *tś* was considered as a single consonant and was written doubled in native words as *kucc-aśśi* 'what indeed' and *māccēk* 'ipsi' (*Toch. Gram.*, p. 180, 192) and in Indian (Prakrit or Sanskrit) words,

Niya in the south through Agni and Kuci to Bharuka in the north. It still remains to discover if a single ethnic name existed for these peoples, whether used by themselves or by foreigners.¹ Of their national names two, *Agneya* and *Kauceya*, are known in Sanskrit.

West of Bharuka in the north and west of Niya in the south, Saka dialects were spoken.

as in *viccā-siṃ* adj. to Skt. *vidyā* (*Toch. Gram.*, p. 54), as also *ech* in *ucchiṣṭ* and *murechāntu*. That is, *tš* is written *cc* = *tš*. The adoption of *ts* for a sound felt to be simple filled a gap in the Brāhmī alphabet. Hence *tets* means *tts*, as *cc* = *tš* means *tš*, with which the alternative spelling *tts* agrees. The Chinese transcription of the name of Kuci as *kutsi* shows that *ts* was known there, and in Agnean *yāmutsi* *ts* represents Chinese *ts*. It must be noted also that in Khotan Saka *kh th ph* are used for fricatives (*χ θ f*), and that for Turkish *χ* Dialect A also uses *hkh* (and *hk*) (*Toch. Sprachr.* introd. xii, where *χatun* should be read for *qatun*). Dialect A was therefore aware of the convenience of this use of the Brāhmī aspirates. To express *θ*, *th* would be expected according to system in Dialect A. We may note also the proposed comparisons of the Niya Kharoṣṭhī Document *kitsayitsa* (a title, possibly 'elder') with Kuchean *ktsaitšāñe* 'age' and of *amkratsa* with Kuchean *aknātse*, Agnean *āknats* (= Skt. *bāla* 'ignorant, young'), *JRAS* 1935, 672-3. In these documents *ts* is used for Skt. *ts* as in *saṃveatsari*. Here too we find *th* chosen to represent Iranian *θ* in *thavaṃnae*, *thavaṃnamae* (*BSOS* vii (1934), 512), Khotan Saka *thauṇa* 'cloth'.* There is therefore no reason to conjecture that *ts* is *θ* in Dialect A. The proof against such a theory is positive.

* A word probably known also in Kuci since in the Kuchean *Fan-yu tsa-ming* (ed. Bagchi, pp. 48 and 279, No. 537) *thacapa* 'cloth' is probably a misreading of *thavapa*. Here too *th* represents Iranian *θ*.

¹ It is hoped to take up this problem later. We have to recognize at least a cultural connection between Krorayina and the northern cities. To this cultural unity belong the three titles: (1) *gauśura* in a Sanskrit document from Kuci (Lüders, *Zur Geschichte und Geographie Ostturkestans*, *SBAW* 1922), corresponding to *guśura* of the Kharoṣṭhī documents, (2) *sofhaṃgha* in Agnean *soštānk*, (3) *caza* in the Barēuq Saka, corresponding to Krorayina *cojhbo*. Three names may indicate even ethnic connections. In the Šacū document edited by Konow we have in the region of *Tturpamni* (Turpan, Turfan) the people *Argiña* in the phrase *Argiñxā bišā kamtha* 'the town among the Argiña'. With this may be compared the name *Argiya* in the Niya Kharoṣṭhī documents. A personal name in the Niya documents *cimola* probably appears in Khotan Saka, Ch. 00269, as the name of a people *cimūda* associated with the *hvaihu:ra*. It is possible to connect these with the *čumul* of Kāšyārī, a people near Bišbaliq. It is admittedly impossible to prove they were not originally Turks, but it is possible to see in them a people whom the Turks had absorbed. The third name is *acuñi*. In the Niya Kharoṣṭhī documents occurs *acuñiya amcuñi acu[ni]* as a personal name. The same name is attested as the name of a king of Kuci, in Chinese 阿主兒 *ā-tšiu-ñiē* **acuñi*, quoted by Lévi, *Le "Tokharien"*, 22-3. Lévi proposed to equate **acuñi* with Skt. *arjuna*, a phonetic equation which naturally seemed doubtful to Pelliot, *Toch.* 72, note 1. We may keep in mind also the still uncertain Niya Kharoṣṭhī *ogu* and *n/akw* of the Turkish colophon. There is also a possibility that the Niya Kharoṣṭhī name *kamjaka* is connected with *kančak*, see above, p. 913. In vocabulary we may, beside the reference to Burrow, *JRAS* 1935, 667 ff., note also Agnean *šlyok* 'strophe' beside Niya Kharoṣṭhī *šilyoka*, *šilyoga* 'urkundliches Schriftstück' according to Lüders, *BSOS* viii (1936), 654. It may further be indicated that a section of the 烏孫 *uo-suən* would probably solve the problem.

ADDENDA

I

The pages of the article "Ttaugara" were printed off in the early part of the year. The study of the Central Asian documents has proceeded during the succeeding months, and it is possible to suggest certain additions.

p. 883. The akṣara *ha* followed by the two dots : indicates Turkish *γ* (and possibly *q*). Hence *hvaihu:ra* **hvaiγur*; *-ttahi:*, *-ttaha*, *-stahi*, Turkish *taγ* 'mountain'; *uha:*, cf. Turkish *oq* 'division of a tribe' (not as p. 884, note 5, 'chief').

bādūmna may be compared with Turkish *pedun* 'a people': *ā* for Turkish *o* would be normal, and it is possible to conjecture a pronunciation **bodun* (after a suggestion of Minorsky).

In l. 78 it would perhaps be better to read *dūm va ucahi: spata*, supposing *dūm* to be the word *dūm* in *dūm saṃgalakā* of an unpublished text. *dūm* could be a place-name or tribal name (cf. perhaps the *dvan*, a clan (?) name in the Śacū region, twice recorded in a Tibetan document, *JRAS.*, 1927, 827); *ucahi:* could be a Turkish **uċay* (? **uċaq*); and *spata* could be careless writing for *spāta* 'general', which is attested both before and after names.

sūlya could equally well mean 'Sogdians' and so be added to the list of forms in *BSOS.*, vi, 948. A Sogdian colony is known at Lob-nor, Pelliot, *JA.*, 1916, i, 111 ff.

V. Minorsky has suggested a comparison of *inǰū* with Turkish *inčū* 'appanage'; of *aḍapahūtti* with Turkish *alpayut*; of *ttūrki bayarkāva* with *türk* and *bayırqu*, a tribe of the Uighurs; and of *hātti bara* with 詞 咥 *χā-d'iet*, a tribe of the Tölis federation.

p. 886, line 9. Read -*ḥ* for -*θ*.

p. 890. Read *pr'tyk'pud* for *pr'ty'pud*.

p. 895. Read *Nagarāhāra*.

p. 896, note 3. The kingdom of Kuci (*Kuci raja-*) is known in the Niya Kharoṣṭhī documents.

p. 897, note 3. A. Freiman has written to inform me that document no. 15 of the *Sogdiiskii sbornik* is written in Turkish runic script, but in a yet undetermined language.

p. 899. Read also *Δaot*.

p. 902. It may be useful to note that the "Four Great Divine Kings" are the four Lokapālas, Vaiśravaṇa, Dhṛtarāṣṭra, Virūdhaka,

and Virūpākṣa, famous in the seventh chapter of the *Suvarṇa-bhāṣottamasūtra*.

p. 906. The Skt. *ārya* appears in the Sanskrit-Tibetan formulary (ed. Hackin, *Formulaire sanscrit-tibétain*, 1924) in the forms *a-rja* (*j* = *dz*) and *a-rjya* (*j* = *dž*), and *tiryak* in the form *tri-ja-ka*. Hackin refers also to an unpublished Uighur Turkish text with *arja*, p. 102.

p. 907. Read *Maitreya-samiti-nāṭaka*.

p. 913, note 1. *kančak* is called *ga-hjag* in Tibetan documents, F. W. Thomas, *Tibetan Literary Texts and Documents concerning Chinese Turkestan*, pp. 118 and 133. Kāšgarī iii, 181, 8, quotes شنبوی 'drinking, carouse by night' as a Kančakī word, see Brockelmann, *Asia Major*, ii, 1, 121.

p. 914. Sogd. *ptβy ščyn·k* 'worthy of honour' (*ščy-* derivative of *arg-*) renders 'arhant', Dhyāna Text 14, Benveniste, *JA.*, 1933, ii, 215.

p. 916. It would be safer to say: "*toγara* and *θpoava* do not exclude a polysyllabic language."

p. 917 (in note 1 to p. 916). Both *ts* and *tsts* represent Chinese *ts* in *yāmutsi*. *tsts* for *ts* has also crept into Skt. texts from the same region, see *JRAS.*, 1912, 355, and 370: *uttsukeṣu tv anutsukā(h)*.

p. 917, note 1. Read 'the town among the Argiṇa', not 'towns': *kaṃtha* is singular.

II

The present opportunity should be taken to supplement two other articles in this volume.

(1) It was noted too late in the "Fragment of the Uttaratantra in Sanskrit", p. 86, that *ukāṭṭa*, l. 22, had been misread for *uskāṭṭa*, which in Saka means 'above'. It is therefore clearly a direction to the reader to transpose the two verses of Sanskrit, as Dr. Johnston had already seen to be necessary, p. 87, note 11. For *uskāṭṭa*, cf. *Siddhasāra*, 5, v. 4: *aṃstaṃ aṣtaṃ ~ uskāṭṭa uskāṭṭa*, Tibetan *phyi-ma phyi-ma la sna-ma sna-ma*.

(2) Iranian Studies V.

Further work at the Khotan Saka texts has brought some clearer views.

agane was wrongly explained as 'powerless'. It proves to correspond to Skt. *ūru-* 'thigh', *vakṣas-* 'breasts', Tibetan *ran* (? for *bran* 'breast').

ayūla is Skt. *ayogula* in the story of Mahāprabhāsa in the Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā, fol. 167, ed. Lüders.

dīde is (in a medical text) 'langour'.

ēsā (-ā is frequently for -am) < *alzana- NPers. *arzan* (after a suggestion of Morgenstierne).

haugā, E. 2, 49; 17, 12, *hulgo* 'soft'.

kaba, Chinese 合 *káp* 'decilitre', Turkish *qav*, F. W. K. Müller, *Uigurica*, ii, 82, cf. Kuchean *kawi*.

ñuska, *añuta* < *ni-yauk-* (according to a suggestion of Morgenstierne) or *ni-auk-*: -sk- unvoiced group indicates *k* not *g*.

pāja, E. 4, 26; 12, 35. *patārgya*.

phaṇnai, Skt. *tālu* 'palate', ? < older Saka **phatana-*.

śiṅga, Chinese 升 *šjəng* 'litre', Turkish *şing*, Müller, *Uigurica*, ii, 82. Both *dva śiṅga* 'two śiṅga' and *dva śiṅga hālai* 'two and a half śiṅga' translate Skt. *prasthaṃ*. Since we have also *dvī mātāṅgyi hālā* 'two mātāṅga and a half' for Skt. *prasthaṃ* we may infer that 1 *śiṅga* = 1 *mātāṅga*. Then *mātāṅga* will be the Saka word corresponding to the foreign *śiṅga*: *māc-* < **mātč-* < **mātak-*, cf. Saka *āce* 'water-bird' < **ātč-* < **ātač-* or **ātič-*.

ysuma 'broth', cf. Paštō *zwamna* 'soup, broth', Morgenstierne *EVP.*, p. 104 (? *wa* < *ū* < *au*) to *zau-*: *zu-* 'pour out'.

The following errata have been noted:—

s.v. *gvīr-*: *guḍā* 3 sing. fem. (not 2 sing.).

s.v. *gyasta-*: read *ysānāhāñu*.

Read *hamphīśāñā*.

Read *ihaṣṭā* with *i*.

s.v. *khāje*: read E 6, 90.

s.v. *kūṭāñā*: read Skt. *kutt-*.

Read *naṣpaṣṭāme*.

Read *pāraṃgā*.

s.v. *pārysa*: read E 2, 50 *parysa*.

s.v. *pūhī*: read *pūhyai*.

Read *saṃbajātu*.

s.v. *tuṃgare*: read *tvāṅkaro*, cf. the plate *JA.*, 1911, ii, facing p. 120: *tvāṅkarai* with *v*.

tvāñe, produces flesh. Skt. *bṛmhaṇa*.

Read *ustamjāñā*.

s.v. *vrī*: read *enema*.

POSTSCRIPTUM.

This may be the place to refer to two further contributions to the solution of the vexed problem of Central Asia. G. Haloun read a paper (which will, it is hoped, be published soon) to the German Oriental Society in Bonn in September this year. Pelliot in *T'oung Pao*, 1936, has contributed further matter of importance in an article entitled *A propos du "tokharien"*. From his discussion of the two Chinese characters 烏 and 偶 found in transcriptions of the name of Agni, it is clearly safer to leave them aside at present. There remain Barčūq Saka *agñye* (whence a nom. sing. *agñi-* could be deduced) and Chinese transcriptions indicating **angi-*. The initial vowel of the native name is uncertain: one can conjecture *a*, *o* or *e*. If we give greater credence to the more flexible Brāhmī script,¹ we may suppose a word ending in *-gñi* or in the system of Dialect A *-kñi*. Should it be desirable, a connection with Skt. *ahi-*, or the form with nasal as in Lith. *agñis* 'snake', may be maintained.

It may be noted, in reference to p. 265 touching Agni and Agnean, that "Agnean" is simply an Englishing of Skt. *agneya* which the Agneans themselves used, just as "Kuchean" is an Englishing of the Skt. *Kauceya*, *Kaucya* used by the people of Kuci.²

The name of Tun-huang (discussed here, p. 262 ff.) will need yet further consideration. In this connection Karlgren's study in the Ts'ai Yüan P'ei Anniversary Volume, 1933, *Some Turkish transcriptions in the light of irregular aspirates in Mandarin*, will be of service. It will not, however, be useful to start from the Chinese transcription. Sogdian *δrē*'n interpreted by Greek *θpoava* can alone be accepted as authoritative. In Sogdian words *δr-* may represent *δr-* (or *lr-*), Old Iran. *dr-*, or *θr-*, Old Iran. *θr-*. The more precise Greek script (which was not unknown in Central Asia) could define the *δr-* here as *θr-*.

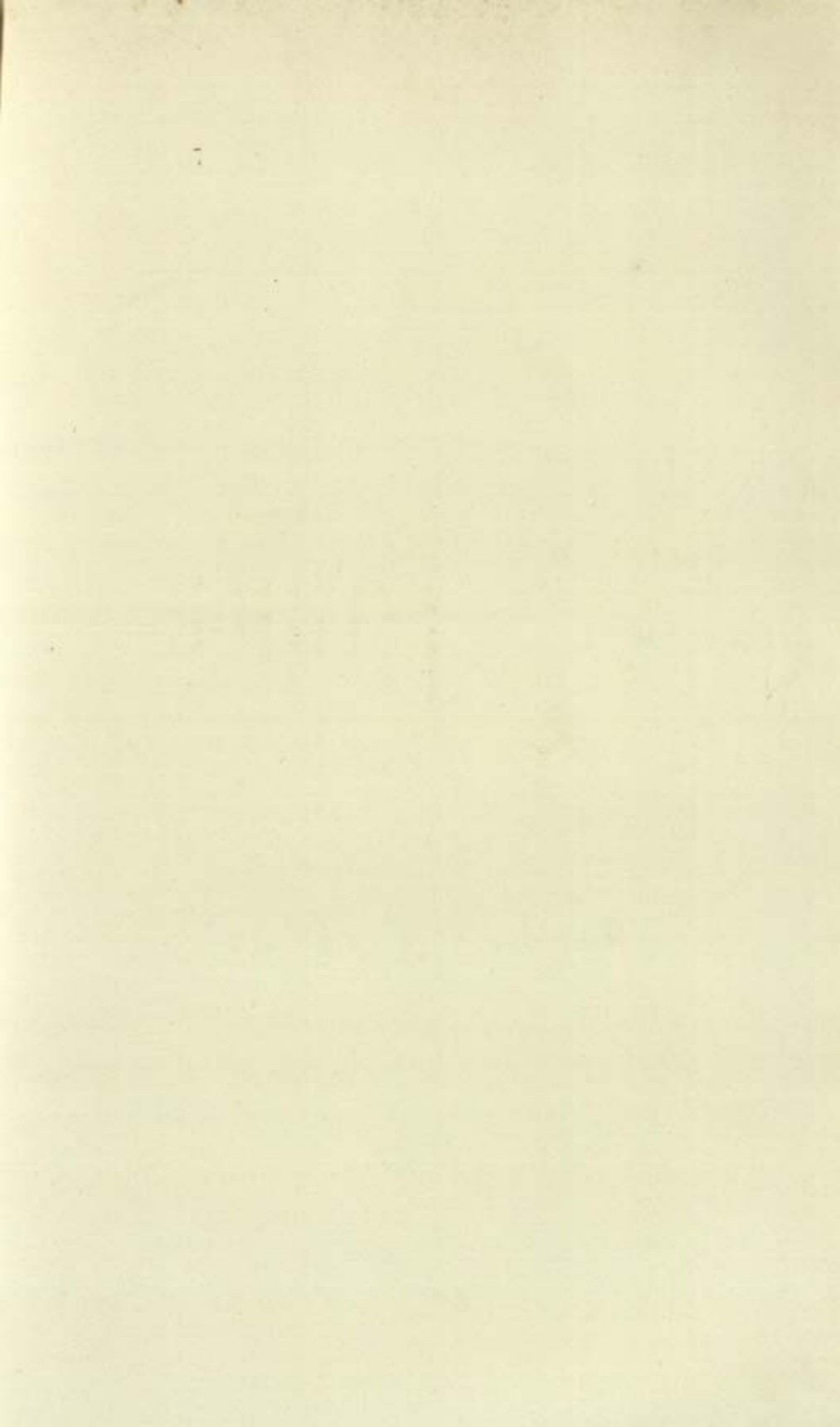
I am reminded by Hansen of the *twyr'kēny* in the Kara-balgasun inscription, § 19, and by Minovi of the *twh'ryk* of the Draxt ī asōrik, § 42.

¹ The name *taβyač* in Turkish, 拓跋 *t'ak-b'uāt* (or 拓跋氏) in Chinese, Greek *τavyaor*, similarly offers *βγ* and *kb'*. We should probably prefer to trust the form in Sogdian script.

² Three unimportant points may be indicated here. On p. 261 the reference to Switzerland is due to a misunderstanding of the phrase "identical language": Swiss *kai* 'been' is sufficiently different from German *gewesen*. On p. 264 the earlier explanation of Syriac *thwrsn* is repeated without reference to the essential difficulty, the absence of *w* in the first syllable. On the same page, lines 3-4 are not strictly correct, since neither of the two erroneous forms (due to an error in copying, since no originality was sought in the Chinese conjectural reconstructions) entered into the following discussion, and *t'uoχuālā* was attested by the third Chinese transcription.

on
v.

ā
1
b
3





Ch. ii, 002, folio 3.

Hvatanica

By H. W. BAILEY

IT has seemed desirable to make known at once certain information of interest to Central Asian studies contained in Khotan texts of the British Museum and India Office. This information may here be conveniently grouped under the heads (1) the animal cycle of twelve years, (2) the names of the months and seasons in Khotan, (3) dates and royal names.

Since the forms quoted in the following pages are from various types of Khotan documents, it will be well to prefix the statement that three linguistic stages can be easily detected in the extant Khotan manuscripts. The first stage is represented by texts such as those published by Ernst Leumann in *Das nordarische [sakische] Lehrgedicht des Buddhismus*, a stage which itself was preceded by an earlier period in which the orthography was fixed. The second stage may be found in the text of the Vajracchedikā, edited by Konow in Hoernle, *Manuscript Remains of Buddhist Literature from Chinese Turkestan*, in which the inflections are already much-reduced, and the orthographic system, still good, is much modified. The third stage is met with in many religious and other texts, showing confused knowledge of the old inflection and much interchange of the vowels. A good specimen can be seen in the Itinerary edited in *Acta Orientalia*, xiv, 258-267, which is of the tenth century A.D.¹ I am indebted to Professor Sten Konow for some valuable suggestions.

¹ I take this opportunity to give an explanation of the word *gava-* in lines 28 and 33 of that text. In the manuscript of Khotan, written by the Paṇḍita Mo-rgu-bde-ñil and translated in F. W. Thomas, *Tibetan Literary Texts and Documents concerning Chinese Turkestan*, 1935, p. 321, we read: "In the Li language 'hut' is *hgo-baḥ*." Li is Khotan. The word "hut" in the Tibetan text is, as Professor Thomas has kindly informed me, *spyil-bu*, that is, the Sanskrit *trṣa-kūṭra*, a hut of grass or straw. Now *hgo-baḥ* could represent *gava-* of the Khotan Saka text. In the Itinerary we have 28: *sagijā gavām jsa*, and in 33: *sagijā gavā jsa* "with *gava-* of stone". It is probably safe to conjecture that the author, familiar with thatched huts, felt the need to insist that here the huts or cells (*gava-*) were of stone. On another word, *spa*, beside the well-known 'a-ma-ca, in this Tibetan manuscript, see below, p. 934. It may also be of use to suggest that the *ka-ron* of the name *hjah-mo-ka ka-ron* (F. W. Thomas, loc. cit., p. 117), the first foundation of the Sarvāstivāda school in Khotan, is the word *karāna-*, nom. sg. *karām* of the Itinerary, ed. *Acta Orient.*, xiv, line 12. In line 17 *tharkye* is probably represented by *tharka* in the phrase *tharka mījā*, Ch. 00265, 37, "marrow or kernel of the *tharka*" in a list of plants, following *īrande* "castor-plant". It is not yet identified. A passage in which *bāda-* is parallel to *jinave* (Skt. *janapada*) has been noted. Two errata on page 266 of the same Itinerary should be corrected: read *janūb* and *yamtadd*.

I

Brit. Mus. Or. 11252 (1) presented by Sherriff, late Consul of Kashghar, probably from the region of Khotan. It is a roll of coarse brown paper, 152 × 28 cm., complete in length, but somewhat broken on the left side (obverse). Obverse 56 lines of cursive Khotan Brāhmī script. Reverse 1 line. [Italics in the transcribed text indicate lost syllables.]

Reverse

12 si salya bāyā u garaṇe *Twelve Year Leaders and their Influences.*

Obverse

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|--|
| 1. salya bāyā 12 cu śiri diri ī | <i>The year leaders are twelve. Know</i> |
| varai bva dvāsi salya bāyā śau | <i>therein what good and evil will be.</i> |
| 2. haḍā bāyīdi khu śau haḍā | <i>The twelve year leaders lead</i> |
| bāsti yanīdi ttī śā śā salī | <i>one day. As they can lead one</i> |
| bāyīdi | <i>day, so they lead each year.</i> |
| 3. . . paśā mūla | [10.0 p.m.] . . evening . Rat. |
| 4. śva ṣṣava gūhi | [12.0 p.m.] midnight . Ox. |
| 5. . . brrūnāṣṭi mui | [2.0 a.m.] . . . dawning . Tiger. |
| 6. . . . urmaysdā sahaici | [4.0 a.m.] sun . Hare. |
| 7. . . mase nā ysai ste | [6.0 a.m.] Dragon . . . |
| 8. . . stena mase śaysdi | [8.0 a.m.] Snake. |
| 9. . . ḍā mase aśi | [10.0 a.m.] Horse. |
| 10. . paryai śva haḍā pasi | [12.0 noon] . . midday. Sheep. |
| 11. . ma ha ra dā bāḍi makala | [2.0 p.m.] time. Monkey. |
| 12. . . ṇa-vaśāri krregi | [4.0 p.m.] . . . Cock. |
| 13. . . i *rdūnāri hime ttā śve | [6.0 p.m.] . . . Dog. |
| 14. . ma hverāṃ pāsi | [8.0 p.m.] . . . eating . Hog. |
| 15. . . tt(i) salya bāyā śau kāla | <i>These Year Leaders lead one</i> |
| bāyīdi būna būna | <i>period of time</i> |

Reverse

bāyā, pl. to *bāyai 'leader', cf. bārai 'rider'. bāy- 'to lead', as Skt. *nayati*, of control by supernatural agents.

garaṇe, Skt. *karaṇa*, cf. *ggaraṇiśāstra*-, Skt. *karaṇaśāstra*.

Obverse

7. ysai ste unknown.

12. -vaśāri, cf. *paśāra*- 'evening'.

16. || paḍauysa mula mulā salya hve ysaiyi muysga-jsīnī hime u ṇauḍi *First the Rat year. A man is born, he becomes short-lived and*
17. . . bariji ni śiri [hi]himāre u hve yaulajsi hime u sahautti *. . . crops are not good and the man becomes evil (?) and is not happy.*
18. ni hime cu jvidi ba-jsīnya himāre u trāvi pharāka himāre u hīni pha- *When they live they are short-lived and abound and armies are many and evil.*
19. rāka maśiri
20. . . . śva ṣṣava cu gūhi salya hve ysaiyi sahautti hime u cuai [ma] pū- *. . . Midnight, when it is the Ox year. A man is born, he becomes happy, and if to him sons*
21. ra himāde biśi sahautti himāre u cu barija-kerai śirai hime u stū- *are born, all are happy and as to a sower of crops, he is good for him, and cattle*
22. ra pharāka himāre u girye parā śiri yuḍi yamde u ūci jsai pyaṇi u dai *abound and he can do good buying and selling, and for him there is fear of water and fire.*
23. || muyi salya hve ysaiyi bihāysi hime u jauysi u barijai ni śiri hi- *Tiger year. A man is born, he becomes a traveller (?) and warrior and crops are not good for him, and he talks folly and is long-lived.*
24. me u haphāra-salā hime u buysa-jsīnī
25. || sahaici salya hve ysaiyi biśina sahautti hime mūryau jsa stūryau jsa aśau jsa *Hare year. A man is born, in all he is happy. With money, cattle, horses,*

16. ṇauḍi, perhaps cf. ṇaḍa- 'small'.

17. bariji possibly an adj. fem. -īṇja from bara-* 'crops', used as a noun.

21. barīja-kerai, cf. Or. 11344 (8) 8 : hvaṇḍi 24 miḍām jasti hīya kāmjsata-kerā u ganama-kerām '24 men, His gracious Majesty's sesame-sowers and wheat-sowers'.

22. girye parā to gir- 'to buy' and parā- 'to sell'.

23. bihāysi, see *Acta Orient.*, xiv, 263.

24. haphāra. E 13, 89, saṃgganye yande bodhisattvā haphāre. haphāra- (ha- < *fra-) beside āphāra- 'disturbance'.

26. . . biśau jsa biśina suhye . . . , houses, in all he is happy,
hime u hāysai paṃdi ni himye and for him there is no distant
u bedai āsyē travelling and on him itching
diseases (?) come, and as to
27. himāri u khu barīja-keri a sower of crops, he is not good
śirai ni hime u biśāna vaśū for him and with his tongue he
hime aysmūna is evil; in his mind he
28. vaśū hime grrahina mīḍe becomes evil. He dies through the
influence of a planet.
29. || nā salya bāri pha hime u Dragon year. Much rain falls
brāṃp̄thi tsīdi u ūtca pha hime and winds blow and water
u hīni abounds and many armies go out,
30. pha tsīdi bāḍa hamyāri u biśi times change and all are afraid,
pvañīdi u dai pītti daina pvañi. and fire falls, there is fear of fire.
31. . cu hve ysaiyi buysa-jsīnī When a man is born, he is long-
hime lived.
32. || śaysdi salya hvai ysaiyi Snake year. A man is born. For
ūtcai pha hime u bāri pha hime him water abounds and much
u ba- rain falls and
33. rījai śiri hire ni himāre u crops are not good things, and
āchai pha hime hvam̄ḍi mi- disease abounds, men die and
rāṃpre u
34. daina pvaṃṇe cu hve ysyāṇe there is fear of fire. When a man
buysa-jsīnī hime begets children, they are long-
lived.
35. || aśi salya hve ysaiyi hāysai Horse year. A man is born. For
aṇai hime u khu hiri maśū yīdi him there is distant travel (?) and
when he makes a thing . . . ,
36. kīrī ni parsti īdi u hvam̄ḍa his works are not . . . , and
sāni pha himāri u ba dū haysīdi. human enemies abound and they
work
37. vaśuni āchai hime mirāre. Evil disease arises, they die.

26. āsyē, āsyenī in 40, cf. āsyām, Skt. kaṇḍū 'itch'.

28. grraha-, Skt. graha- 'planet'.

38. || *pasi* salya hve ysaiyi
sahautti hime puṇaudi biṣe
hirina sa-
39. *hautti* hime jsārīna u mūryau
jsa u āchinuḍi hime u muysga-
jsī-
40. nī bedai vaṣuna āchā himāre
u āsyenī sarbīdi u vrranī ka
41. . . sti kūrī mījsī mirāre u cu
pura ysaniḍe muysga-jsīṇya
himāde
42. || makala salya hve ysaiyi
hāysai śamḍā añai hime u pūrai
pha himāre
43. *biṣi* hirina śīri hime biṣai pha
himāri u aśa u khu hiri maśā
44. . . -i *ñai ārhī īdi biṣī
jsīnīdi u pūryau jsa āspāta ni
bye-
45. *hīdi* u tsīdi ā mirāre
46. || *krregi* salya hve ysaiyi cuai
pūra himāde biṣī muysga-jsīṇya
hī-
47. *māde* u sahautta himāre
rrusa ganam aśa mūri pamṇe
hirina sahou-
- Sheep year. A man is born, he is
happy and virtuous. In every
affair he is happy,
with corn and with money, and
he becomes diseased and short-
lived.
Upon him come evil diseases, and
itching diseases (?) arise and
wounds for him . .
. . . perverse wives die for him and
when they bear sons they are
short-lived.*
- Monkey year. A man is born. For
him there is travel (?) to a far
land and for him sons are many.
In every thing it is good. For him
houses (or servants) abound and
horses and when he makes (?) a
thing . . .
. . . for him they are restricted.
All are slain and in sons they
attain no refuge,
and they go away or die.*
- Cock year. A man is born. When
for him there are sons, all are
short-lived
and are happy. With barley,
wheat, horses, money, with every-
thing they are happy.*

39. *āchinuḍa-* 'diseased', and in 54, cf. *pīrūḍa-* 'with worms', *padajūḍi* '*having rank' (*padamja-*), *āysdaḍa-* 'watched' < Old Iran. **azdā-krta-* (wrongly explained BSOS., vi, 77), beside *āysda-yanāka* 'watcher'. Ch. c. 001, 998; *āysdagarai* 'watching', *āysdarrja* sb. 'watching'; *pajsamaḍi* 'honoured' (corresponding to Skt. *pūjate*) < **pati-jama-krta-*.

44. *ārhi*, possibly a later form of *āhrrī* < **ā-θraχta-*, Skt. *stambha-*, Tibetan *dban-med-pa* 'powerless'.

48. *tta* himāri u kīrī ni parstī and for him they do not make
yanīdi daina pvaṇi u śalarbi and . . . his work. There is fear
hīsī- of fire and the locusts come and
eat the corn.
49. di jsāri hvarīdi
50. || śvā salya hve ysaiyi Dog year. A man is born, he is
muysga-jsīnī hime u dikhau u short-lived and unhappy, and if
cuai mū pūra they bear sons,
51. *ysanīde* biśī muysga-jsīṇya all are short-lived, and . . . and
himāre u biśā yina u haphāra- speak folly and are
sa-
52. *lā* u ṇauḍa u śalarbi hīsīdi . . . and the locusts come and eat
jsāri hvamrīdi the corn.
53. || cu pāsi salya hve ysaiyi Hog year. A man is born, he is
muysga-jsīnī hime u pūrai biśī short-lived, and for him all sons
muysga- are short-lived and diseased.
54. [.] jsīṇya himāri u In the whole country is much
āchinūḍa kṣīra biśī āchai hime disease,
pharā-
55. *ka* u hīni ni tsīdi u biśāna and armies do not go away and
satta vaśūna himāri u śalarbi with the tongue people become
evil and the locusts come and eat
the corn.
56. hīsīdi jsāri hvamrīdi

Or. 11252 (1) accordingly supplies the complete list of the twelve names of the animal cycle, some of the names being repeated. The names compared with other known Central Asian lists may be tabulated as follows :—

Khotan Saka	Sogdian	Krorayina Prakrit	Sanskrit	Kuchean
mūla, mula, mulā	mwā	muška	mantilya	arśakārēa
gūhi	γ'w	gava	govrṣa	okso
muyi	myw	vyagra	vyāghra	mewiyo
sahaici	χγwšy	śaśaka	śāśa	saṣe
nā	n'k	nāg'a	nāga	nāk
śaysdi	kyrmy	jampdunamea	jantunaḥ	auk
asī	'spy	aśpa	aśva	yakwe
pasi	payy	paśu	paśu	śaiyye
makala	mkr'	makaḍ'a	markata	mokomške
krregi	mryyy	kukuḍ'a	kukkuta	kraṅko
śve, śvā	kwty	śvana	śvāna	kū
pāsi, pāsi	k's	sug'ara	sūkara	suwo

48, 52, 55, *śalarbi* 'locusts' cf. Ch. 1, 0021b, b 53 *hīna jsā pveṇa harīysa dārabaikṣa* . . . *śalarba* . . . *āchā* 'fear of armies, trembling, famine . . . locusts . . . diseases.' E 2, 66 *śśalarba*.

To the names should be remarked :—

1. **mūla-** 'rat', *mū-* < **mūž-* Old Iran. **mūš* (Skt. *mūṣ-*, NPers. *mūš*), with suffix *-la*.

2. **gūha-** translates Skt. *go-*, Tib. *ba-lan* 'ox'.

3. **muya-** 'tiger' for **mūya-* < **mauya-*. Sogdian *myw* 'tiger' can be read **mōy-* or **mūy-* (earlier transcriptions **mēw*, **māw* assume that the Sogdian orthographic system was identical with the West Iranian. It is well to remember such Sogdian forms as *sywdyk* 'Sogdian' and *rywšn* 'bright', West Iranian *rwšn*). Kuchean has *mewiyo* (Lüders, *Zur Geschichte des ostasiatischen Tierkreises*, p. 24), *maiwyai* 'tiger' (Lévi, *Le "Tokharien"*, p. 23), *mewya* 'tigress' (Lüders, loc. cit., p. 24), which agree in form with Khotan Saka and Sogdian. There would be no need to maintain the improbable connection with Chinese 貓 *mīāu*, *mau* 'cat'.

4. **sahaici** 'hare', attested in the medical text Siddhasāra in the list of edible flesh, 16, v. 5, *sahaicā hīya guṣṭa*, Tib. *ri-bon gi śa* 'flesh of hare'.

5. **nā**, Skt. *nāga-* in Khotan Saka also *nāga-*, *nāta-*.

6. **śaysda-** 'snake', in Leumann's texts *śšaysde*. The Krorayina Prakrit *jaṃḍunaṃca* and Skt. *jaṃṭunaḥ* may perhaps include the snake with the 'insect, worm', as does Mid. Pers. *χrafstr* from Av. *χrafstra-*. We may note also an example of this inclusion of snake with worm in Ossetic *kalm* 'snake, worm', NPers. *kirm* 'worm', Sogd. *kirm-* 'snake'. The lists would then all be in agreement for this year of the cycle.

7. **aśi**, older *aśśa-* 'horse'.

8. **pasi** probably applies to either 'sheep' or 'goat'. Av. *pasu-* refers to small cattle in contrast to *staora-* 'big cattle'. The special names are given in the Siddhasāra 16, v. 3, *mīṇa guṣṭa* 'sheep's flesh', Old Iran. **maiśa-*, and *buysīṇa guṣṭa* 'goat's flesh', Old Iran. **buza-*. In Ch. 0048, 1, *pasa salya* (the *pa* is broken but certain) was misread *ssa salya* by Hoernle, *JRAS.*, 1911, 470, and so caused trouble to Konow, *Acta Orient.*, vii, 66, and Lüders, loc. cit., 26, no. 3.

9. **makala** 'monkey', corresponding to Skt. *makara* of the Kuchean *Fan-yu Tsa-ming*, ed. Bagchi, no. 905, p. 297. It was wrongly read *maḍala* (?) by Hoernle, *JRAS.*, 1911, 470, misleading Konow, *Acta Orient.*, vii, 71, and Lüders, loc. cit., 27. In the cursive Brāhmī script of the Khotan documents *ḍa* and *ka* approximate graphically, but never so closely as to be confused.

10. **krregi** 'cock', frequent, older *krringā-*.

11. *śve*, *śvā* 'dog', elsewhere *śvānā*, nom. pl.
 12. *pāsi*, *pāsi* 'hog'. In the Siddhasāra, 16, v. 4, *pāśa guṣṭa* renders Skt. *māṃsaṃ vārāhaṃ* 'boar's flesh'. Morgenstierne has recognized in it Old Iran. **parsa-*, Latin *porcus*, corresponding to Kurd. *purs* (see *Acta Orient.*, i, 277).

It is unfortunate that the names of the two-hour divisions of the day are so badly broken initially.

II

The second text is an excerpt from the Khotan translation, Ch. ii, 002, of the Siddhasāra of Ravigupta (sixty-five folios have survived). In Indian medical texts, the physician is instructed to observe the seasons and the months in his diagnoses. To this we owe the following complete list of the names of the Khotan months and seasons.

Siddhasāra 3 r 4 — 4 r 1. Plate VI.

ttye hīya piṣkistā jsa ttā biraysāre ~ rve kṣa birasṭe ||
 haṃdyaji māstā u rarūya ṣi hamāpnā rva ṣṭe ||
 cu ttāmjāra u brakhaysdya ṣā paśāpnjsya rva ṣṭe ~
 cu mutcaci māscā u muṃṇamja ṣi ysumāpnā rva ṣṭe ||
 cu skarhvāra māstā u rrāhaja ṣi ysumi ṇastyi bisā rva ṣṭe ||
 cu cvātaji māstā u kaja ṣi pasālya ||
 cu hamārīji māstā u simjsimja ~ ṣi ṇastyi pasālā bisā rva ṣṭe ||

They are so explained according to its divisions. Six seasons are distinguished. The month *Haṃdyaji* and *Rarūya* are the summer season. *Ttāmjāra* and *Brakhaysdya* are the autumn season. The month *Mutcaci* and *Muṃṇamja* are the winter season. The month *Skarhvāra* and *Rrāhaja* are the season at the end of winter. The month *Cvātaji* and *Kaja* are the spring season. The month *Hamārīji* and *Simjsimja* are the season at the end of spring.

Skt. Text.

vacat

prāvṛṇ nabho-nabhasyau ca

iṣorjau ca śaran matau

Tibetan Translation

dehi rgyun gyi rnam-pa dbye-ba
 ni | dus ḥigs rnam drug-tu
 bsad-de |
 de-la dbyar zla-tha chun dan ston
 brla ra-ba gnīs ni dbyar gyi
 dus-so |
 ston zla hbrin-po dan ston zla-
 tha chun gnīs ni ston gyi
 dus-so |

Skt. Text.

mārga-pauṣau ca hemantaḥ

śiśīrau māgha-phalgunau

vasantaś caitra-vaiśākha

nidāghaḥ śuci-śukra-bhāk

*Tibetan Translation.*dgun zla ra-ba dan zla hbrin-po
gñis ni dgun gyi dus-so |dgun zla-tha chun dan dpyid zla-
ra-ba gñis ni dgun smad kyi
dus-so |dpyid zla hbrin-po dan dpyid
zla-tha chun gñis ni dpyid
kyi dus-so |dbyar zla ra-ba dan dbyar zla
hbrin-po gñis ni sos-kahi dus-
so ||

There follows a section absent from both Sanskrit and Tibetan texts :—

pātcā śau pacaḍa ~

cu haṁdyaji myām māṣṭi āṁna aūdā ttāmjeri myām māṣṭi hime

ṣi hamāmñā rva

ttāmjeri myām māṣṭi āṁna aūdā mutcaci myām māṣṭi bure

ṣi paśāmñsya rva

mutcaci myām māṣṭi āṁna ōdā skarhveri myām māṣṭi bure

ṣi ysumāmñā rva

skarhveri myām māṣṭi āṁna aūdā cvātaji myām māṣṭi bure

ṣi nastya ysumām bisā rva

cvāvaji myām māṣṭi āṁna ōdā hamārīji myām māṣṭi bure

ṣi pasālya rva

hamārīji myām māṣṭi āṁna aūdā haṁdyaji myām māṣṭi bure

ṣi nacyi pasālāmñsya rva

Afterwards a second division :—

From mid Haṁdyaja to mid Ttāmjāra is summer.

From mid Ttāmjāra to mid Mutcaci is autumn.

From mid Mutcaci to mid Skarhvāra is winter.

From mid Skarhvāra to mid Cvātaji is the end of winter.

From mid Cvātaji to mid Hamārīji is spring.

From mid Hamārīji to mid Haṁdyaji is the end of spring.

This second account is perhaps independent of the Indian tradition. We are, however, hardly justified by this alone in conjecturing that the month Haṁdyaji was the first month of the Khotan year.

Two short following paragraphs should be noted here for the names of seasons.

khu urmaydsi hauda rrichām pa
jsāte u rravye pa jsāte ~ dvyām
pamdāvām paṣṭāme jsa ~ varṣa-
vāysā¹ ~ u ysumāmñā u
hamām

*When the sun goes northwards,
and goes southwards, because of
his moving on two paths, there
are the rains, and winter and
summer.*

Skt. Text.

ete ca varṣa-sītoṣpā ravi-vartma-
dvayāśrayāḥ

Tibetan Translation.

ñi-ma byan phyogs-su hgro-ba
dan | lho phyogs hgro-ñin lam
gnis-su hzug-pahi phyir de-la
char hbab-pa gran-bahi dus
dan | čha-bahi dus-su gyur-pa-
ho ||

varṣavāysā u ysumām u hamām
ttavaṃdya ~ u śiliṣām u beta
vī bure paśā u pasālā u hamām
āphirāre

*The rains and winter and summer,
the bile and phlegm and wind
gather (?), autumn and spring
and summer they are agitated.*

Skt. Text.

cayo varṣa-himoṣṇeṣu pitta-
śleṣma-nabhasvatām
kopāḥ śarad - vasantāmbuvāha -
kāleṣu kīrtitaḥ

Tibetan Translation.

char hbab-pa dan | gran-ba dan |
čha-bahi dus-su mkhris-pa
dan | bad-kan dan rlun rnams
gsog-cin | ston dan dpyid dan
dbyar hkhrug-par gyur-te |

This text has therefore preserved for us all twelve month names in regular order and in good orthography. The names are also known in documents in various later spellings. It will hardly be necessary to repeat here earlier misreadings. They can be found in Hoernle's article, *JRAS.*, 1911, 471.

The months with Sanskrit equivalents are therefore as follows :—

1. haṃdyaji	śrāvaṇa	} hamāmñā rva
2. rarūya	bhādrapada	
3. ttāmjāra	āśvina	} paśāṃjsya rva
4. brakhaysdya	kārtika	
5. mutcaci	mārgaśīrṣa	} ysumāmñā rva
6. mumñamja	pauṣa	

¹ Pali *vaṣṣavāsa*., Niya Kharoṣṭhī doc. *varṣavasa*..

7. skarhvāra	māgha	} pastya ysumām bisā rva
8. rrāhaja	phalguna	
9. cvātaji	caitra	} pasālya < rva >
10. kaja	vaiśākha	
11. hamāriji	āṣāḍha	} pasālāmjsya rva
12. simjsimja	jyestha	

Variant forms :—

ttāmjeri (gen. sing.), ttaujiṃri

skarihvāri

cvāvaji cūviya [not cūvijsa, *Acta Or.*, vii, 66]

Khotan seems to have known four seasons: *pasālā* 'spring', *hamām* 'summer', *paśā* "autumn",¹ *ysumām* 'winter'. To translate the Indian text two additional phrases were invented to correspond to the Indian division into six seasons.

A fragmentary calendar is also given by Leumann, loc. cit., ii, p. 357, preserved on fol. 290b of MS. E. It can now with these new data be more successfully interpreted. For completeness it may be added here.

śva brramkhaysji māsti štāmna audi rrāhajā māsti buri
 hemmamntai samai teahau māsti
 śva rrāhajā māsti griṣmi samai . . .
 buri vārṣi samai śā māsti
 tti vā śva hamdyajā māsti štāmna audi śva brramkhaysji
 māstā buri dīrgha-vārṣi samai drai māsti

Here, too, the reckoning is from mid-month (*śva* = middle). But the seasons differ greatly from the other two accounts.

III

Dates from the Khotan Saka documents have already been discussed by Hoernle, *JRAS.*, 1911, 469 ff., and Konow, *Acta Orient.*, vii, 66 ff. Other dates which have since come to light may suitably be given here.

It is particularly useful to have both a name according to the cyclical animal years and the serial number of the year. Of such double datings Konow had only two. Five new cases can now be added.

¹ *Jātaka-stava* 5 r 3 *paśāmjsye purre hīvi ttiśā* 'splendour of the autumn moon', also contains the adj. form to *paśā*.

	First year of <i>kṣuṇa</i>
Ch. i, 0021b, a 43: pūhye kṣuāṃṇi pasa silya 'fifth <i>kṣuṇa</i> , Sheep year'.	Hare
Ch. 00269: gūha salya hau kṣaṇi 'Ox year, seventh <i>kṣuṇa</i> '.	Sheep
S 2469: 24 kṣuṃṇi aśi salya '24th <i>kṣuṇa</i> , Horse year'.	Sheep
Śacū Document (ed. Konow): 14 kṣuṃṇi krrimṅi salya '14th <i>kṣuṇa</i> , Cock year'.	Monkey
Ch. 00275 (Hoernle, <i>Manuscript Remains</i> , plate v, fol. 1): 30 myi kṣaṇa gūha salya '30th <i>kṣuṇa</i> , Ox year'.	Monkey
Ch. c. 002: naumye kṣaṇa aśa salya 'ninth <i>kṣuṇa</i> , Horse year'.	Hog
Ch. 00272: tcaulasamyi kṣaṇapv aisa ¹ salya 'fourteenth <i>kṣuṇa</i> , Hog year'.	Dog

The word *kṣuṇa*, which is found also in the Niya Kharoṣṭhī documents, as in no. 715, *aṃgvaka devaputraśa kṣuṃṇammi* 'in the *kṣuṇa* of Aṃgvaka the devaputra', and in Kuchean *kṣuṃ* (Lévi, "Tokharien" B, *langue de Koutcha*, pp. 8 ff., and *Le "Tokharien"*, p. 23) has already been explained as "regnal year". The new dates with cyclical names give five starting-points for *kṣuṇa* in Khotan Saka documents. This fact seems to exclude the conjecture (Konow, *Acta Orient.*, vii, 71, 76) that the *kṣuṇa* were contemporary eras of different regions. We have evidently to do with regnal periods reckoned from each new king's accession. The kings are certainly in some cases kings of Khotan, and probably all the *kṣuṇa* must be referred to them.

Since, then, the *kṣuṇa* are an indication of the length of the reigns of the kings, other documents giving serial numbers of the years without cyclical names become important.

A series of documents exists which can be shown to have come from the Khotan region, largely concerned with the official business of the General Sudārrjām. That is in Khotan Saka *spāta sudārrjām*, and *spāta* < **spādapati*-, beside which the later form *spā* is found, corresponds in the *Sumukha Dhāraṇī* to Tibetan *sde-dpon*. In one of these, Or. 11252 (37) B, a document of Sāmdara addressed to the General Sudārrjām, the name and title are repeated at the foot of the document in Tibetan script as *spa : sor : ḥon : la* 'to the Spa Sor-ḥon'.

¹ *pva* in a badly written text for *pāsa*.

We have here *sor-žon* = *sudārrjām* and *spa* = *spā* (*spāta*) 'general'. The *o* of the name resembles the frequent examples elsewhere, as in the Tib. *bohan*, Khotan Saka *vāham* of the royal name *Viṣa-vāham*, or in the Tibetan text translated by F. W. Thomas, loc. cit., 303-323. One may note especially p. 321, '*or-ñon*', the name of a Sanghārāma, in which will be recognized Khotan Saka **uryām*, older *uryāna*- 'garden'. The *o* is incidentally of interest for Khotan pronunciation.¹ It may be useful to indicate that a man of Khotan called *Sar-žon* appears in *JRAS.*, 1930, 51-2. We shall probably also recognize in this *spa* 'general' the word *spa*, evidently a title, of the same Tibetan text, p. 320. For a similar transcription of a title in Tibetan script at the foot of a document we may note Or. 11252 (36), where the frequent Khotan title *pharṣa* (found also in the forms *pharṣavata*, *pharṣata*, *pharṣava*, *pharṣṣa*, in which *-vata* is Old Iran. *-pati*) is reproduced in Tibetan script as *pha r(a) ṣa*. In connection with the origin of these documents of *Sudārrjām*, it may be noted that besides other places *phimāña kītha* (loc. sing.) occurs. This is the *phimāṇna kaṁtha* of the Śacū document (ed. Konow), Chinese 娑摩 *p'iei-muá*, Tib. *phye-ma* (F. W. Thomas, loc. cit., p. 24).

In these documents of *Sudārrjām* we have the dates:—

Or. 11344 (3) B 10: 33 kṣuṇi.

Or. 11252 (30) 1: 35 kṣuṇi.

Or. 11252 (34) 7: *sala kṣeradirsā* 'year 36'.

Or. 11252 (16) B 3: *sparadirsamye kṣā* 'thirty-fifth kṣuṇa'.

Since the General *Sudārrjām* is mentioned in each document, we can evidently refer them all to a king who reigned thirty-six years, and, since the Tibetan script is used, subsequently to the Tibetan conquest of Khotan.

¹ This use of *o* = *ā* suggests an explanation of the word, *ibidem*, p. 116, *no-le* 'dramatic performance' in the Li (= Khotan) country. It would correspond to Khotan Saka **nālai* < Prakrit *nāḍaga-* (Ardha-Māgadhī *nāḍaga-*, *nāḍaya-* 'drama') < Skt. *nāṭaka-*, cf. F. W. Thomas, *JRAS.*, 1925, 498 ff. The word is attested in Central Asia in Dialect A [= Agnean] *nāṭkaṁ* loc. sing., and in Kuchean *nāṭak*. In the Dictionary of Dīrghāyur-indrajina (*bhe-rim-dbar-rgyal*), ed. Bacot 118 b 1, *nāṭaka* is rendered by *bro-gar* 'drama'. In *no-le*, *no* = *nā* and *le* = *lai*. For *-e* = Khotan Saka *-ai* we have a second example in Tib. *phyi-se*, *phye-se*, *ibidem*, p. 25, Khotan Saka *pīsai* 'teacher', in which I prefer to see Old Iran. **patidaisaka-* to *dais-* 'to show', Mid. Parth. *'bdyāšn* pres. *'bdys-* 'to show, teach', Oss. *āwdesun* 'to show, inform', *fādes* 'cry of alarm'. This may also be the place to indicate a better etymology of Khotan Saka *pīr-*, ptc. *piḍa-* 'to write' as from Old Iran. *pati-kar-* 'to imitate, copy', used in Old Persian of the rock sculptures of Behistun, and in Mid. Pers. *patkar*, NPers. *paikar*, Armen. *patker* for 'representation, picture'. Cf. also Mid. Pers. *nikārak* 'a diagram', NPers. *niḡār*, *niḡāstan*. Hence we have **patidai-* > *pī* and **patika-* > *pī-*.

In other documents three royal names are found :—

(1) Viśa dharma.

Ch. 1,0021a, a 20, viśa darma baudasatvām rāṃdi kṣuṇi ye pūha cū hīja kamala aśiri bāsti salī haudama māści ' *Of Viśa Dharma, the Bodhisattva, the King, it was (ye = vye) the fifth kṣuṇa, the year when the Red Heads wrought evil, the seventh month.*'

The *hīja kamala* 'Red Heads' may refer to Tibetans, who are named 'Red Faces' in Tibetan texts, cf. F. W. Thomas, loc. cit., p. 78. We know the Tibetans also as 'Black Heads', *mgo nag* (*JRAS.*, 1910, 955).

(2) Viśa śūra (not hitherto noted in Tibetan or Khotan texts).

Ch. 1, 0021b, a 43, pūhye kṣuāṃṇi paśa silya ttaujiṃri māsti hāṃdūsammye haḍai . . . viśa śūri ' *fifth regnal year, Sheep year, the month of Ttāmjāra, the seventeenth day, . . . of Viśa Śūra*'.

Ch. 00274, 2 r 4, the *Jātaka-stava*,¹ in the introduction : śrī viśa śūrrā mistye rṃṃdā hye udiśāyā ' *for the welfare (hita-) of the Great King Śrī Viśa śūra*'.

(3) Viśa Kīrti.

M. Tagh c. 0018 : viśa kīrtta (facsimile in *Serindia*, plate cli).

M. Tagh b ii, 0065 (facsimile *ibidem*) kṣasimī ṣṭām tsve kṣuṇṇi ' *his sixteenth kṣuṇa passed*' in a poem celebrating Viśa kīrttā of *hvaṃ kṣīri* 'Khotan'.

We have therefore the following chronological data :—

Viśa śūra 5 + *x* years beginning in a Hare year.

Viśa dharma 5 + *x* years.

Viśa kīrti 16 + *x* years.

Reigns of unknown kings :—

36 + *x* years after the Tibetan conquest.

24 + *x* years, beginning in a Sheep year.

30 + *x* years, " " Monkey year.

9 + *x* years, " " Hog year.

14 + *x* years, " " Dog year.

¹ It has not yet been possible to learn if the *Jātaka-stava* of the Derge Tanjur (Tōhoku Catalogue, no. 1178) is the same or a similar poem.

Old-Iranian "Peership"

By ERNST HERZFELD

IN the course of studies connected with the social order of Iranian antiquity, I have broached, without expounding it in context, a problem contained in the expressions *vispatiš*, *visō puθra*, and *vāspuhr*. The matter has been taken up by H. H. Schaeder in his contribution to the volume dedicated to Sir George Grierson "Ein parthischer Titel im Soghdischen," where, while adopting the main results which I had abstracted from my epigraphical material, he argues against opinions imputed to, but never put forth by me. I may, therefore, be allowed to explain the view I really hold.

Back to prehistoric times goes the fourfold graduation of Iranian social order into *nmāna*- "house", *vis*- "clan", *zantu*- "tribe", and *dahyū*- "people". Each term may signify the people themselves as well as their habitat. Each degree has its chief. (1) *nmānōpatiš*, Germ. "hausherr", is etymologically the same as Gr. *δεσπότης*; (2) *vispatiš*, chief of the *vīcus* "clan", or *paterfamilias* in the oldest acceptance of that Latin term, comes near to Engl. "earl"; (3) *zantupatīš*, rendered in later Greek (Agathangelos) by *γενεάρχης*, since *zantu*- is a large subdivision of, or sometimes a satrapy, assumes the meaning almost of *comes*, *dux*; (4) *dahyūpatīš*, Gr. *ἐθνάρχης*, can be the satrap, but in Media where the old empire coincided with the later Persian satrapy, it was the sovereign title, which it remained under changed political conditions down to the time of the Paikuli inscription, l. 31: *āryān xsatr masišt xvatāvi u dēhpati* "of Ērānšahr the most great lord and sovereign", and down to al-Bērūnī, who explains *al-dahūfadhīyya* "sovereignty" by "the office of guarding the world and ruling over it".

The various chiefs and their *nmāna*- "kleinfamilie", constitute the high nobility which ranges above the class of the *tunvant*-, Akk. *mār-banī*, the "vollfreie". The higher degrees of *zantupatīš* and *dahyūpatīš* mean greater power, but no social distinction: they were all *vispatīš*. A. Christensen is perfectly right in calling the chiefs of the great families of the Achaemenian epoch *vispatīš*. There can be no distinction between "die Clan-herrn schlechthin" and "the chiefs of an aristocratic family",¹ for, to be chief of a clan is the only title to aristocracy.

¹ Sch., l.c., p. 747.

Those families, of which a great number are mentioned in Greek authors, as well as in the Avesta, were called after an eponymus. Some of the families may be traced through almost a thousand years. The oldest is the house of Deiokes. Sargon of Assur mentions the eponymus in 715 B.C. as governor of the province of Man, under the King of Urartu. His descendants, the Deiocids of Herodotus, became the Median great-kings, and we can follow their career from chiefs of their clan to sovereignty. The Spitāma, the family of Zarathustra, appear in Ctesias's *Median History* as the owners of a great part of Media, which must have been Rhages. Their name is mentioned in Babylonian documents of the fifth century. Another house were the *Vivahana*, in the Pap. Elephantine *Vaivaḍana*, "of the family of Vīva," father of the first man Yama. They are mentioned in Zarathustra's Gāthā Y. 51, 12, where *vaiPyō* is a disfiguration of *vaiVaHyō*: "Not did the royal *Vaivahya*, in (the month of) *prtō.zimō* (December), welcome him, the Spitāma Zarathustra, as he debarred him from shelter, when his carriage-and-pair put up with him and the horses were shivering with cold." One of them was the satrap of Arachosia under Darius, who is called only by his family name. Later that name became M.Med. *Vēzan* or, synonymous, *Gēwpuhrān*. They held the province Hyrcania as hereditary fief, and the Gathic verses allude to Zarathustra's "hidjra" from his home, Rhages, via Hyrcania, to Taosa, the residence of his protector Vištāspa.

Another of the grandees of Darius, Gobryas, whose clan according to Strabon hailed from Persis, is called *pātishvariš* in the inscriptions, i.e. *zantupatiš* of the country Patishvāra, later Padišxvār, Ṭabaristān. The fact that the *vis* is called after its fief proves that they held it already a long time before Darius.

Such dukes or princes or kings were the most successful among the *vispatiš*, but being the chief of their clan was the *conditio sine qua non*.¹ That the Achæmenids were one among many aristocratic clans needs not to be inferred from the fact that, in speaking of their own family or its residence, they use the expression "this *vis*"; they use that expression because they are the *vis* of the eponymus Achæmenes.

Under their rule the chiefs of the leading houses had the right of unannounced entrance to the king—similar to the grandees of

¹ I cannot refrain from telling a rather pertinent anecdote I remember from my childhood: a member of the Quitzow family said to a Hohenzollern prince: "We have been in the Mark long before the Hohenzollern." The prince answered: "Perhaps we were later, but surely more successful."

Spain and the ambassadors of old—of saluting the king by a kiss, of sharing his meals, and of intermarriage. That shows that they were peers. Herodotus explains some of those prerogatives as agreed upon between Darius and his six helpers at the assassination of the magus Gaumāta; but it stands to reason that those are old inherited customs. The language must have had a term for the peership, which I recognize in the Avestic word *xvaetuš*, rendered into Greek by *συγγενεῖς*.¹

Already Darius tried to restrict these prerogatives, and historical developments naturally lead to a limitation of the number of such privileged chiefs of clans.

The dignity of *vispatiš* probably belonged to the eldest member of the family, in the case of the later royal houses not necessarily to the king. From this "chief of the house" *vispatiš*, the term *visō puθra* must be distinguished.² It means literally "son", better "heir of the clan".³ Its full meaning is "heir to the chieftainship of the clan", then, a little wider, "born, member of the chief family of a clan"; but it never includes the clients, the feudal vassals of the chiefs. Such is the meaning from the beginning and always.

In the Avesta *visō puθra*- occurs only twice. First in *Yt.*, v, as an epithet of the hero *Θraitauna*, the *visō puθrō āθwyāniš*, that means "heir", in later language "*vāspuhr* of the clan *Āθwya*", not a vague and insignificant "noble scion". The other instance is *Vidēvdād*, vii, 43: a physician is entitled to as much fees from a *visō puθra*- as from a *zantupatiš*; a *dahyūpatiš* only has to pay more, a *vispatiš* much less. As the "son of the clan" here ranks above the "chief of the clan" with the *zantupatiš* = duke, only second to the *dahyūpatiš* = sovereign, obviously the term is used with a latent qualification: it is the son of the royal clan, the clan *καπ' ἐξοχήν*, an expression I used in *AMI.*, ii, 32, and vii, 18, and Schaefer twice on p. 743. That is the reason why in the OP. inscriptions *viθ*- stands for the royal clan and for their residences, Persepolis and Agbatana. In the same way, the residence of *Vištāspa*, the town **Taosa naotarānām*, later *Tōs* i *Nōdar*, is called *vis naotarānām* in *Yt.*, xv.⁴

¹ Rostovtzeff accepts this view in *Cambr. Anc. Hist.* III, iii, p. 114, and identifies them also with the *megistanes* of Josephus.

² *AMI.*, iv, 54.

³ *AMI.*, ii, 52.

⁴ *AMI.*, vi, 74. But the reading *viθbiš* in *Dar. Pers.e*, three times, is wrong; the text has thrice the normal *hadā visaibiš bagaibiš* "with all the gods"; there were no "gods of the clans."

The special meaning of *visō puθra* in the Vidēvdād cannot be older than the establishment of the kingdom in Iran. But it is nothing but an arbitrary assumption that *visō puθra*, at that period, was solely used for a son of the royal clan. The expression *visō puθrō āθreyāniš* has certainly not been introduced into the legend of Θraitauna as late as the Achaemenian empire: such expressions are primary. And its unqualified meaning, "heir to the chieftainship of the clan," when applied to the royal clan, by itself becomes "heir to the throne". Nor was the application of *viθ-* in OP. limited to the royal clan. In NiR b, Darius addresses the reader *utā viθiyā utā spāθmaidayā*, Akk. *ina bīti u ina madaktum* "whether in a clan or in the army"—a prehistoric expression, for it recurs in Latin *domi militiaeque*; there is no question of the royal clan; he does not speak to princes, but to warriors. In a similar way, in Beh. § 14, *viθ-* is opposed to *kāra*, Akk. *ūqu*, i.e. the military, lower nobility, the "vollfreien, wehradel". The Elamite had not the ideogram *UL-ĤI*, normal translation for *viθ-* in the sense of royal clan, residence, but apparently *ulammani* with the ending of a personal plural. The passage refers to two classes of the nobility but not to members of the royal house.

Another instance is the expression *kāra hya viθāpatiy* in Beh. §§ 24 and 40. The translation, "the army stationed at or near the *viθ-*, the guards"¹ implies again the limitation of the meaning of *viθ-* to the royal house. Darius speaks of a body of troops, in 24 in the province of Māda, in 40 of Pārsa, that mutinied in his absence. In the first case, the king was somewhere between Pārsa and Elam, in the second, engaged in battles in Bactria and other provinces. He would scarcely have left, in his precarious situation, his own troops idle in Pārsa or Agbatana. The expression must have a very special meaning, for the embarrassed translators do not reach a uniform rendering. The Elamite avoids, as in § 14, the ideogram *UL-ĤI*, and uses *appo* loc. *ulammani* "those in the U". The Akkadian has, in 24, *māla ina bīti* "all that in the B." (*bītu* means house, clan, also fief), but in 40, *māla ina allūka ša āli*. *ālum* "village" is written with the ideogram *ER*, as in the Assyrian rendering of Med. *vispatiš* by *EN.ER*, i.e. *bēl-āli* "chief of a village, clan". *allūka* belongs to *ilku* "statute labour, Fron". The phrase, hence, means "all those in the feudal service of the clans". The OP. version says that the troops *hačā Yadāyā fratarta* "secessi ex Y." The reading or the writing of *Ydaya*

¹ Sch., l.c., p. 743, n. 2.

must be erroneous. Before, I felt inclined to restore *Hdaya*, after Skr. *sahāya* "auxiliary". But having discussed the problem with A. Yahuda, I prefer a synonym of *ilku*—*alluka*, the OP. rendering of Akk. *mandattu*, Aram. *mandā*, hence *Mdaya*. *hačā mandāyā fratarta* means "they deserted from their duty of service".

The § 40 thus decides the problem: *kāra hya viθāpati*⁹ cannot mean the royal guards which were "soldiers", Gr. *μισθοφόροι*, Oir. **mizdāvara* in the *spāθmaidaγā*, but only the troops provided by the high nobility, called *σύμμαχοι* by Xenophon, a militia or yeomanry of the clans—*viθiyā*—of Persis or Media. *viθāpati*⁹, a compound of *viθ-* with the postposition *pati*⁹, is what Herodotus expresses by "they lived" *κατὰ κώμας*, *κώμη* being the *viθ-* as a place; as clan it would be *φράτρα*. *viθāpati*⁹ is exactly *κατὰ φράτρας* "organized in clans", in contradistinction to the otherwise organized troops of the satraps and the king. The adverbial compound of substantive plus postposition has the value of an adjective, like its entire type which survives in MP. and NP. Neither in Avestic nor in OP. has *viθ-* ever ceased to signify the clan in general.

The MMed. or MParth. form of *visō puθra* is *vispuhr*, from which is derived, with *vrddhi*, as already explained by Bartholomae in *WZKM.*, 25, 1911, pp. 251–4, the adjective *vāspuhr*, i.e. "*vispuhr-ian*". In the Sasanian inscriptions, whether Pahlavik or Pārsik, the word is always written with the ideogram *brbyl*¹ "son of the clan", for which the reading *vispuhr* had been generally adopted, also by myself in the Paikuli book. A secondary adjectival derivation in *-akān* occurs in phonetical spelling in the Naqsh i Rostam inscription,¹ which, from the old photograph of Stolze, I had read, as Nöldeke did,² *vispuhrakān*. After having discovered, on the rock, that *vāspuhrakān* was the right spelling, I annotated in *AMI*, vii, 19: "[*vāspuhrakān*]: Paikuli, p. 170, und wo sonst dies wort vorkommt, dessen simplex *vāspuhr* immer ideographisch geschrieben ist, ist danach *vās-* für *vis-* zu verbessern." That means, without ambiguity, the corrections to be carried out in my Paikuli book. In *AMI*, ii, 32, I remarked that "die rangklasse des hochadels in arsakidischer und sasanidischer zeit *vāspuhr*, nicht *vispuhr* genannt würde." While adopting both statements as "ohne zweifel richtig", Schaeder, quoting the two places, strongly objects to

¹ I profit of the occasion to correct myself: in *AMI*, vii, p. 19, l. 8, the abridged names Sar Mashhad and Naqsh i Rostam for the two inscriptions, are by mistake exchanged; the passage containing the word *vāspuhrakān* stands in *NiRst.*, and is omitted in *SMshh.*

² I had overlooked the reading with *ā* in Westergaard's rare book.

my "contesting the form and denying the independent subsistence of *vispuhr* for the Arsacidan and Sasanian time in general". Against this undeserved accusation I plead "Not Guilty", although it would be totally indifferent.

It had been Bartholomae's opinion that *vāspuhr* signified the members of the Iranian nobility only "inasmuch as they were, or were believed to be, descendants of the royal house". Schaefer's slight modification, that it originally meant the descendants of the royal princes, and later became transferred to their equals, the members of the highest aristocracy, is based on the presumption that a clear distinction existed between the simple *vispuhr*, the "prince royal", and the adjectival derivation *vāspuhr* "which no longer signified the royal princes but the members of the high nobility". According to this theory, OIr. *visō puθra-*, though originally meaning "son of a clan", was never used as such, but solely for the heir to the throne; in the reverse, *vāspuhr*, though derived from the word for the "heir to the throne", was never used as such, but exclusively for the members of the aristocracy. Both contrary assumptions are erroneous.

In the Paikuli inscription, two royal princes, Pērōč and Narsahe—both, if I remember rightly, uncles of the King Narsahe—are twice called *brbyt'*, *vāspuhr ē sāsānakān* "the Sasanian prince royal".¹ Hence, *vāspuhr*, not *vispuhr*, was the predicate of the royal princes, and at the same time of the high noblesse. In the latter meaning it appears in the series *šahrdārān*, *vāspuhrān*, *vazurkān*, *āzātān*, the social signification of which cannot be questioned² as it not only occurs in Haġjiābād but several times in Paikuli in a long context. The distinction at the Partho-Sasanian period between *vispuhr* "prince" and *vāspuhr* "peer" is not ascertained,³ but imaginary and contradicted by epigraphical evidence. Exactly as OIr. *visō puθra-*, thus MP. *vāspuhr* has both the acceptances.

The application to the high nobility is well known. But the "erweislich unzutreffende These" of the application to the prince royal is worth studying. Since the fundamental idea is the son as the heir at law, "son" alone can have the value of a title when used of the son of a ruling king. Already in Assyrian, *mār šarri* "king's son" is

¹ When writing the commentary to Paikuli in 1921, I had not yet studied the question, whether the two princes might have been "heir presumptives", and I thought at that time that one or both of them might have been *vispatiš* of the royal clan.

² Sch., l.c., p. 744, n. 1.

³ Sch., l.c., p. 746.

a princely title, and *mār šarri rabū* "the king's great son" is that of the heir to the throne. The same in Old Iranian. In *Yt.*, xiv, 59, the simple *puθrāhō* "the sons", the *παῖδες* of Thukydides, is a title either of the royal princes or of the cadets of the high nobility. The OP. text of a trilingual inscription in the *tačara* of Darius at Persepolis, much mutilated, may be restored to "Xerxes, the son of King Darius, the Achæmenid". That is Xerxes as heir apparent. As the Harem-inscription of Xerxes shows, *maθišta*, said of a son of the king, means the designated heir to the throne. Likewise, in the last verse of the last Gāthā, *Y.*, 53, 8-9, Zarathustra prophesies to the one that kills the "Evildoer", i.e. the magus Gaumāta, that he soon shall be *mazišta*, i.e. shall inherit the throne.

In the Iranian epics the King Gōdarz, i.e. Gotarzes II, has a son Vēzan, from OMed. **vaivazana*, OP. *Vaivašana* (Pap. Elef.). He is not an historical figure, but the personified name of the clan, for which the king in his inscription uses the synonymous form *Γεοποθρος*, the *Gēwpuhr*. The family name has been materialized into the son of Gōdarz, because, just as *Θraitauna* is called *visō puθrō āθwyāniš*, thus the heir of Gōdarz bore the title *vāspuhr ē vēzan*, OMed. **visō puθrō vaivazaniš*.

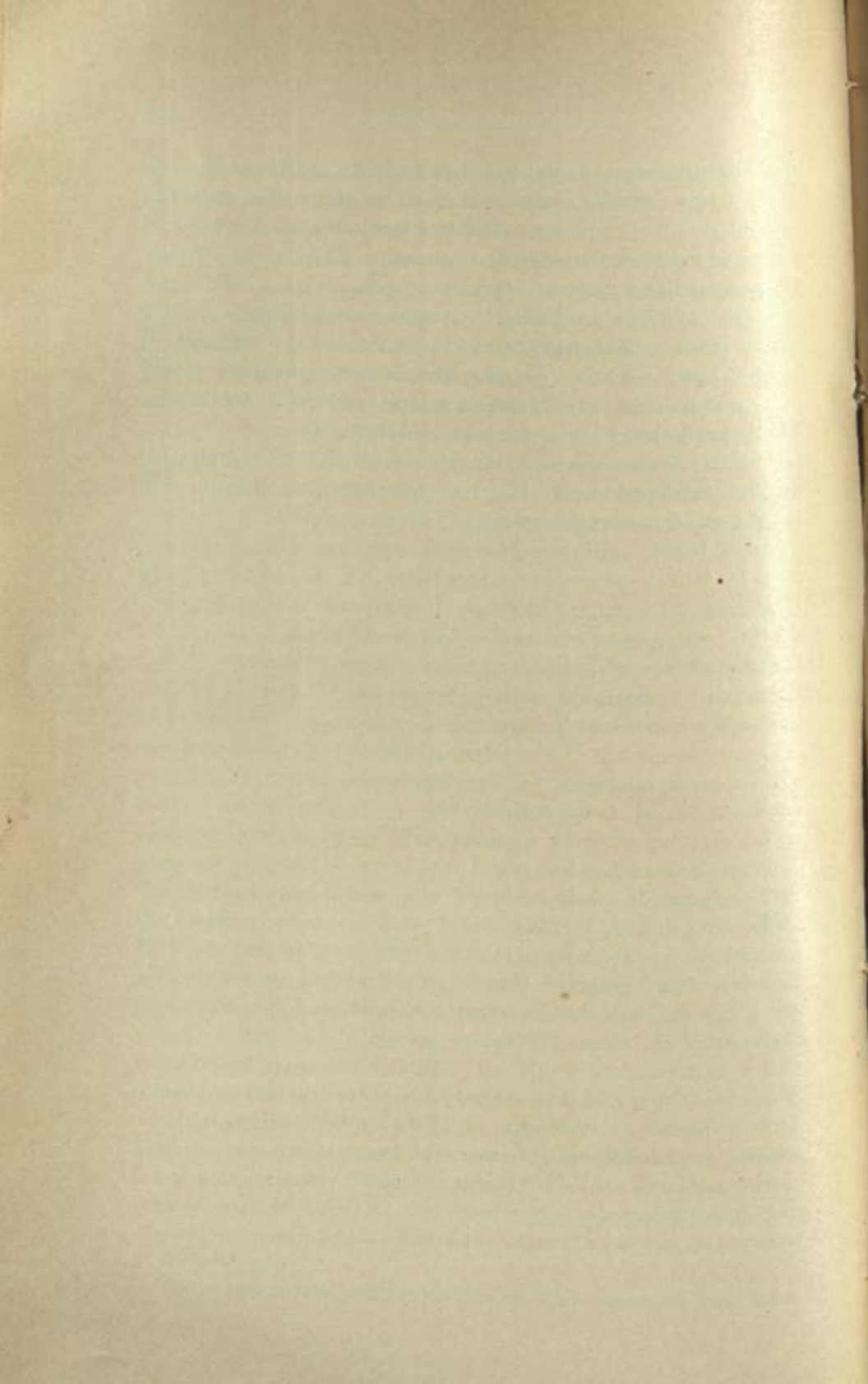
In the *Sūr Āfrīn*, a late Sasanian pamphlet, the heir to the throne is addressed, after the king, and before the *vazurg framātār* (while in Paikuli the two *vāspuhr ē sāsānakān* follow the *hargupet* or grand-vizier), with the words *pus i vāspuhr i šāhān farraxvtum*, etc. In *AMI.*, ii, 20, n. 1, I had translated "*vāspuhr*-Sohn (*wali-ahd*)" and in vii, 18, "infant, sohn des (königlichen) hauses, glücklichster (or glorreicher) der könige". *pus* alone, in a ceremonial address to the prince royal, is certainly not a pet-name, hence, justifies "infant"; *vāspuhr* and *šāhān farraxvtum* stand, hence may be translated, in parallelism; all royal princes are "kings"; "*vāspuhr*-sohn" means "vispuhrischer sohn"; Schaefer translates "hochadliger Sohn", that is exactly the same, but censures my translation as "unhaltbar", as if it became "tenable" by repetition. Those are trifles. But an important point is: by no means is *vāspuhr* an "*epitheton ornans*" in the sense of an arbitrary epithet. All such titles are *ornans*, and yet they constitute the official protocol. Unconditionally we must allow *vāspuhr* instead of *vispuhr* to be the official predicate of the heir apparent.

The adjectival derivation *vāspuhrakān*, on the phonetic spelling of which in *NiRst.* the reading *vāspuhr* of the ideogram *brbyt'* is based,

occurs in the title of a high official, *vaspurakan hamarkar* in the history of the Armenian Sebeos. From comparison with the various classes of titles formed with local appositions, and especially with official seals of the *amārkār's* of Garamæa and Mosul, to which I could have joined Fārs, I had ventured, against the authority of Hübschmann, to explain *vaspurakan hamarkar* as "tax-collector of (the district of) Vaspurakan". This is another of my finds which Schaeder accepts, adding as confirmation the *āturpātakān amārkār* of the Darband inscriptions. If one concedes that *vāspuhrakān* in this connection cannot mean "of the high nobility", but must be the name of a district, it necessarily is Isfahan, for the theatre of Sebeos' story is Isfahan, and it is expressly said that the collector had the taxes of Isfahan in his house. The identification is quite independent from the meaning of *vāspuhr*. Adducing the correlative evidence of the "Royal Sophene" and the "Royal Marw", called thus for having been under the direct administration of the crown, I explained the name *vāspuhrakān* as "under the governorship of the *vāspuhr*, the crown-prince". "For the same reason," I wrote, "the Armenian province (of Vaspurakan) received its name." This scarcely justifies the response "Keinesfalls kann die armenisch-persische Grenzprovinz V. im Osten des Wan-Sees, das Stammland der Arcrunier gemeint sein". I never identified the *Vāspuhrakān* of the inscription with the Armenian province. The reasons alleged against the identification speak in favour of the explanation of the name: Vaspurakan is a frontier province and its name can probably be traced back to a period of Armenian emancipation, in the second century B.C. There are plenty of examples—from the Assyrian period on—of the heir to a throne preparing himself for his future task by administering a frontier province, e.g. the Sasanian prince-governors first in Bactria, then in Sakastān; and, of course, that could only have been at a period of independence, e.g. in the second century B.C. Sebeos, under the name of Vaspurakan, undoubtedly speaks of Isfahān; the Kartēr-inscription of NīRst. contains no clue as to the locality, but the Armenian province is almost out of question, and it would be arbitrary to assume a third *Vāspuhrakān*. Isfahān must have received that official name, because it had been, probably during the second half of the Arsacidan period, between A.D. 50 and A.D. 225, under the administration of the *vāspuhr*, the crown-prince. Under the Qajars Tabriz was the province of the *walī-ahd*.

As to the merely philological side of the problem, we must state

that, although *vispuhr* would be the primary designation for the heir to the throne, actually, during the Sasanian period, the Arsacidan word *vāspuhr* was employed. The two words are to each other as e.g. *consul* to *consularis*, *praetor* to *praetorius*. The derived adjective has been used as a substantive and has replaced the original. Since the notion of *vāspuhr* includes the *vispuhr*, the substitution is not against logics: the *vāspuhr kat'exochèn* is the *vispuhr*. Distinctions like that between a primary *vispuhr* and a secondary *vāspuhr* may be grammatically right, but are unfit for proving historical conclusions. For the application of such closely related words is not ruled by considerations of grammar, but by practice. Which one of them is eventually used and which is its specific acceptance at a defined period is not a question of philology but of history.



A New Contribution to the Materials concerning the Life of Zoroaster

By S. H. TAQIZADEH

THE life of Zoroaster has been the subject of both comprehensive and exhaustive study since Hyde and Anquetil. The amount written on this difficult question and the discussions which have taken place among scholars are disproportionate to the insufficient and fragmentary materials which we possess. Even the available data are lacking in precision and are not very reliable. However, every old document available relating to Zoroaster has been carefully examined and most of them collected by students of Iranian history. The outstanding collection of these scattered fragments, so far, is the famous work of Professor A. V. W. Jackson, *Zoroaster, the Prophet of Ancient Iran*, to which some subsequent additions have been made by the author himself, his pupils, and others.

A new note relating to the life of the Iranian prophet written by Biruni, the famous and eminent man of learning of the eleventh century, has recently come to light, which, no doubt, deserves to be added to the materials already published. This is an article in Biruni's well-known book *Al-Āthār al-bāqiyat 'an il qurūn al-Khāliyat*, better known as *Chronology of Ancient Nations*, edited in Arabic text and translated into English by Sachau. The text of this edition, however, has unfortunately many lacunæ owing to the defectiveness of the original manuscripts on which it was based. In those copies which were at Sachau's disposal large portions of the text had in many instances been omitted. One of these lacunæ happens to be in the chapter dealing with the subject of heretics and the founders of false religions, which is covered by pages 204-214 of Sachau's edition. It is evident that a substantial part is missing from the end of page 205, which fact Sachau himself indicated in the footnote with the words "Grosse Lücke".

In Teheran (Persia) there are some copies of this book which were not known to Sachau. One of these is preserved in the Library of Sepahsālar's Mosque (now converted into the School of Theology) and perhaps another was known to that learned Prince, Ali-qoli Mirzā E'tiqād es-Saltaneh, who was the Persian Minister for Public Education about half a century ago, and who gives extracts from it in

his learned book *Falak es-sa'adat*, printed in Teheran in A.H. 1278, which extracts are at variance with Sachau's edition.

Now in a new and interesting book entitled *Dānishmandān i Azarbāyijān* and compiled by Muḥammad-'Alī Tarbiyat of Tabriz, the author, who following some traditions believed that Zoroaster was a native of Azarbāyijān, devotes an article to this "most famous man of that province". The book in question has just been published in Teheran and comprises 414 pages, and is, in fact, a biographical dictionary of the learned men of the province of Azarbāyijān (in the wider sense of the word) arranged alphabetically. In the article "Zardosht", pp. 163-4, the author, after writing a few lines about the modern researches into the life of Zoroaster, finds the best way of giving a concise account of the career of the Persian prophet by quoting the text of Biruni's note in his "chronology" taken apparently from one of the above-mentioned copies in Teheran. This note, which corresponds to some of the lacunæ in Sachau's edition, runs as follows:—

«ثم اتى زرادشت بن سفيدتومان الأذربايجاني من
نسل منوشهر الملك واهل بيوتات موقان واعيانها واهل افها
وذلك عند مضى ثلاثين سنة من ملك بستاسف في مدرعة
مشققة الجا نين عن اليمين وعن الشمال من نر نزار من ليف
مقرم بقرام من لبد ومعه طرس بال قد ضمه بيده الى صدره
فيزعم المجوس انه نزل من السماء من سقف الأيوان ببلخ عند
انتصاف النهار فيشق له السقف واتاه بستاسف من قيلولته فد
عاه الى المجوسية والى انهائ الأيمان بالله وتسيحه وتقديسه
والكفر بعبادة الشيطان رطاعة الملوك واصلاح الطبيعة ونكاح اقرب
الأنساب فامتنكاح الأمهات فقد سمعت الأسبهبذ مرزبان بن
رستم يحكى انه لم يسن ذلك لهم وانما افتي به حين جمع له بستاسف

كبار اهل زمانه وعلماهم قسالو فى خلال مسائلهم عمن انفرد عن
الناس مع امه وخشى انقطاع نسله ولم يجد سبيلا الى الظفر
بالاثاث غير امه فاجابهم بجواز وطئى الأم له وجاء بكتاب يسمونه
ابستا وهو على لغة مخالفة للغات جميع الأمم بل هو مبنى بلغة
مفردة بحروف زائدة العدد على حروف جميع اللغات لعلا¹ [sic]
يختص بعلمه اهل لسان دون لسان و وضعه بين يدي بستاسف
وقد حضر علماء اهل مملكته فاجتمع الخلق منهم وامر باذابة النحاس
فاذيب وقال اللهم ان كان هذا كتابك الذى ارسلتنى به الى
هذا الملك فامنع مضرة النحاس عني ثم امر بصبه عليه فافرغ على
صدره وبطنه فجرى فوقه وتحتة وتعلق بكل شعرة من شعوره
بندقة مستديرة من نحاس وسمعت ان تلك البنادق كانت محفوظة
فى خزائنهم ايام ملكهم فاجابه بستاسف وزعم ان ملائكة من
عند الله جائته فامرته ان يؤمن بزرادشت حين اتى قبول ماجاء
به ومكث بعده³ ذلك يدعوا الى دينه سبعين سنة وقيل بل ستّة
واربعين وقد زعم العبرانيون ان زرادشت من تلامذة الياس
النبي وذكره فى كتاب المواليد انه كان يقتبس العلم بجران فى
صباه من البوس الحكيمة وزعم الروم انه كان من الموصل واعلمهم
ضافوا فى هذا القول حدود آذربايجان الى حدود موصل وزعمت

¹ apparently.

² Read بذلك.

³ A word or two seems to be missing from here, perhaps we must read وبقول.

اليونانية وحكى ذلك امونيوس في كتابه الذى عمله فى آراء
 الفلاسفة انه كان لفيشاغورث تلميذان يقال لأحد هما فلايوس
 وللآخر فيلو كوس فاما فلايوس فانه صار الى بلاد الهند وتلمذ له
 برهن الذى ينسب اليه البراهمة سبع سنين وتلقى عنه رأى
 فيشاغورث فلمآمات فلايوس اخذ برهن آرائه على مذهب
 فيشاغورث واما فيلو كوس فانه صار الى بابل فلقبه وارطوش
 المعروف بزرادشت بن بور كشسب المشهور بسفيد تومان واخذ
 منه المذهب فلمآمات فيلو كوس دخل زرادشت جبل سبلان
 ومكث فيه سنين حتى لفق كتابه وحدث ما احدث والصحيح انه
 كان من آذربايجان دليل هذا هو ما حكيناه عنه انه ذكر فى كتابه
 المواليده انه كان يختلف مع ابيه الى حران وتلقى [sic] البوس الحكيم
 فيستفيد منه وقد ذكر فى كتب التواريخ ان فى آخر ملك سابور
 ذى الأكتاف ظهرت امة مخالفة للمجوسية فهاجمهم اذرباد بن
 مارسفند بن سسب بن دوشرين بن منوشهر وغلبهم ثم اراهم
 آية بان امر بصب نحاس مذاب على صدره فصب عليه وجد ولم
 يضره فحينئذ صير سابور اولاده مع اولاد زرادشت من الموبدان
 موبديه وليس يطلق على ما فى كتاب ابستا الذى جاء به الالرجل
 منهم يوثق بدينه ويحمد طريقته عند اصحاب دينهم ولايوسع له
 فى ذلك الا بعدان يكتب له سجل يحتج به من اطلاق ارباب

الدين ذلك له وكانت له نسخة في خزانة دارا بن دارا الملك مكتوبة بالذهب في اثني عشر جلد من جلود البقر فاحرقه الأُسكندر حين هدم بيوت النيران وقتل الهراينة ولذلك ضاع من حينئذ منه قدر ثلثة اخماس فانه كان ثلثين نسكاً والباقي في ايديهم الآن قدر اثني عشر نسكاً و نسل اسم قطعة من قطعاته كما نسمي نحن القرآن اسباعاً »

[Translation]

“ Afterwards came Zaradosht (Zoroaster),¹ son of Sfidtoman (Spitamān) of Azarbāyijān, who was a descendant of King Minutshehr and of the Houses of Mūqān belonging to the nobles and grandees of that place. This happened when thirty years had elapsed from the [beginning] of the reign of Vishtasp. He came forth clothed in a tunic split at both sides, right and left, wearing a waist-belt (*zunnār*) of palm-tree fibres, as well as a painted² gown of felt and having with him a dilapidated document which he held in his hand against his breast. The Magians (*majūs*) believe that he had descended from heaven from the roof of the Court hall in Balkh (Bactra) at midday and that the roof was opened for him.³ Vishtasp came to him (to Zoroaster) from his midday rest and Zoroaster called him to Magianism (the Mazdayasnian religion), to the fulfilment of belief in God, to magnify Him and to reverence Him, to reject the worship of the Devil, to the obedience to Kings, to the correcting of nature, and to the marriage with next-of-kin.⁴ As to marriage with mothers, I have heard Sepahbed Marzbān, son of Rostam,⁵ say that Zoroaster did not establish this

¹ The words in parentheses throughout the translation are added by myself.

² The text has مُقَرَّم بِقَرَام, which is given in dictionaries as meaning a parti-coloured gown of wool with stripes of figures, but I presume is used here as meaning a veil.

³ The text has فَنَشَقُّ, but I presume the correct reading is فَتَشَقُّ.

⁴ Lit. the nearest of the relations.

⁵ The well-known author of Marzbān Nameh. Biruni often mentioned his name as the source of his information about things relating to old Persia.

for his followers ¹ but approved ² it when Vishtasp called before him (Zoroaster) an assembly of the great men of his time and the learned people, and one of the questions they put to him was about the man who living with his mother alone, far from other people and having no access to women except to her, felt disquiet lest he should have no descendant. Zoroaster replied to them that in this case intercourse with the mother was permissible. He brought a book which they call 'Abesta' (Avesta); this is written in a language differing from those of all other nations. It is based on a unique idiom which contains letters exceeding in number the letters of all languages, so that the acquaintance of it may not be the monopoly of the people (speakers) of one language to the exclusion of the others. He set the book before Vishtasp when the learned men of the country were present and the crowd was gathered there. Zoroaster ordered copper to be melted and then said: 'Oh God, if this is your book with which you have sent me to this King, then prevent the copper harming me.' Then he ordered the molten copper to be poured over his body; it was poured over his breast and his abdomen, but the copper ran over and beneath him [without doing any harm to him] and from each of his hairs hung a round bullet of copper. I have heard that these bullets were preserved in their (Persian) Treasury during their sovereignty. Vishtasp accepted [the new religion] and professed that angels had come to him from God and ordered him to believe on Zoroaster when he came [and] to accept the message he brought. Zoroaster lived after this and preached his religion for seventy years, though some say (only) forty-six years. The Hebrews assert that Zoroaster was one of the disciples of the prophet Elijah. He (Zoroaster) said of himself in the book of nativities ³ that he had in his youth acquired knowledge in Harran ⁴ from Elbus (?) the philosopher. According to the Romans he was a

¹ Lit. he did not legislate this.

² Permitted.

³ This book, to which the Muhammadan authors on Astrology often refer, ascribing it to Zoroaster and sometimes quoting him without giving the title of the book, seems to be an apocryphal book attributed to him. The book, which must have contained old Persian Astrology, especially that part relating to nativity or horoscopes, might have been the work of some of the Persian Astrologers of the late Babylonian and Syrian schools in the Sassanian period who had the name of Zoroaster, which was not an uncommon name at that time. The materials derived from the book by Abu M'ashar of Balkh and others show also some relation to Greek Astrology, perhaps coming through Harran. The oldest Arabian sources refer to this Zoroaster as Zaradusht the philosopher (زرادشت الحكيم).

⁴ The well-known centre of a pagan community with the Hellenistic culture.

native of Mawsil. They may have included, in this case, the frontiers (the region) of Azarbāyijān in those of Mawsil. As to what the Greeks said about him, this is related by Ammonios¹ in his book on the doctrines of the philosophers. According to this version Pythagoras had two disciples, of whom one was called Philayus² and the other Phylacus.³ The former went to India, where Brahman, the founder of Brahmanism, became his disciple for seven years and learned from him the doctrine of Pythagoras. After the death of Philayus, Brahman began (to found) his dogma on the Pythagorean doctrine. As to Phylacus, he went to Babylonia where Wärtush,⁴ better known as Zoroaster, son of Pourkushasp (Pourushaspā) and called Sfīdtuman (Spitamān), met him. The latter learned from Phylacus the doctrine and after his (Phylacus's) death entered the mountain of Sabalān and stayed there for some years. There he compiled his book and created what is well known. But the truth is that he was of Azarbāyijān, which fact is proved by what we have related of him that he said [of himself] in his book of nativities that he used to go with his father to Harran to meet⁵ Elbus the philosopher, and to acquire knowledge from him.

"It is registered in the books of history that towards the end of the reign of Sābūr, the piercer of shoulders,⁶ there appeared a sect adverse to Zoroastrianism. These [heretical] people were attacked (by argument) by Ādharbād, son of Marsfand, son of Sesb (?), son of Dushrin, son of Minutshehr,⁷ and were overcome by him. Then he showed them a sign (miracle) by ordering melted copper to be poured on his own breast. This was done, and the copper congealed and did no harm to him. Then Sapor raised his (Adhardbad's) descendants together with the descendants of Zoroaster to the rank of Mobadanmobads. No one is allowed to have access to the book of Avesta which Zoroaster brought, except those who are trusted in their faith, and whose conduct is found praiseworthy by the followers

¹ Possibly Ammonios Heremeias of Alexandria of the fifth century.

² Possibly Philolaus, the famous Pythagorean and propagator of Pythagoreanism of the fifth century B.C.

³ I am unable to identify this person though it is a common Greek name.

⁴ Perhaps a miswriting of Zartush for Zaratushtra corresponding to Latin Zaratus and Greek Zaratos.

⁵ The text has *والتقى*, but apparently it should be *والتقى*.

⁶ Dhul-Aktāf, the Sassanian King Shapūr II (310-379).

⁷ This is the well-known Āturpāt Mārspanan. As far as I know, this is the only place where the names of his grandfather, great-grandfather, and great-great-grandfather are mentioned.

of that religion. Moreover, one can get full access only after a certificate is written for him wherein it is attested that the leaders of religion have authorized access to the book. A copy of this book was kept in the Treasury of Dārā, son of Dārā (Darius Codomanus). It was written in gold on the skins of twelve oxen. Alexander burned it when he also demolished the fire temples and killed the Zoroastrian herbedhs (priests). Therefore three-fifths of the book are lost from that time. It contained 30 Nasks,¹ but now what remains in the hand of Zoroastrians is only 12 Nasks. Nask is the name for each section of that book similar to *asbā'*² by which we name the sections of the Koran."

POSTSCRIPTUM

Since writing the above article I have been making inquiries as to the original manuscript of *Al-Athār al-bāqiyat* from which the above-given text quoted in *Dāneshmandāne Azarbāyejān* was taken. The author of this last-named book now informs me that this and other parts of Biruni's book corresponding to the lacuna of the Sachau's edition were copied by him about twenty-five years ago "from the only complete manuscript of the book" preserved in the Sultan Bayazid Library of Istanbul (also called "*Kutubkhaneye Umumi*" or Public Library). He has kindly sent to me the rest of the text wanting, which is about twenty lines preceding the part published by him in *Dāneshmandāne Azarbāyejān* and some sixty lines (corresponding to the lines of this bulletin) following it (dealing with Zoroaster), up to the words *فيجتمع له ثلثة آلاف واربعمأة وسبعة وخسون* in the last line of page 206 of Sachau's edition. This line, with the following twelve lines on page 207 of the same edition, constitute the end of the article relating to Zoroaster. I hope to publish these remaining parts also in the next number of *B.S.O.S.*

¹ The chapters of the Avesta.

² The seven sections into which the Koran used to be divided for convenience.

The Copper Plate Grant of Śrīvīraśāghava Cakravartin

By K. GODAVARMA

[The following abbreviations of languages and names are used in this article:—
Languages : B. = Bengali ; G. = Gujarātī ; H. = Hindustānī ; Kan. = Kanarese ;
M. = Marāṭhī ; Mal. = Malayālam ; P. = Pañjābī ; Pk. = Prākṛit ; Tam. = Tamil ;
Tel. = Telugu. Names : Dan. = Daniel ; Gund. = Gundert ; Jos. = Joseph ;
Kel. = Kelu Nair ; Venk. = Venkayya.]

THE plate in question has been the subject of great controversy. The facsimiles of the plate have appeared in *Epigraphica Indica*, vol. iv, and in *Indian Antiquary*, vol. liii. Translations of the plate with comments have been published by Dr. Gundert (*Madras Journal of Literature and Science*, vol. xiii, part i, pp. 115–125), Kookel Kelu Nair (*ibid.*, vol. xxi, pp. 35–8), Venkayya (*Epigraphica Indica*, vol. iv, pp. 290–7), and Mr. K. N. Daniel (*Indian Antiquary*, vol. liii, pp. 185–196, 219–229, 244–251, and 257–261).

The fact that the plate has attracted the attention of many historians, linguists, and palæographers is itself ample proof for its importance from various points of view. In this article I propose to give a true transliteration of the document and to discuss the etymology of the name of the donee, the significance of the term *Maṇikkīrāmapaṭṭam*, the formation and meaning of certain expressions regarding which the opinions of scholars are seen to differ, the linguistic peculiarities worthy of note in the copper plate, and the probable date of the grant.

I

TRANSLITERATION¹

Harī śrī mahāgaṇapatē nama śrīpūpālanaśapati śrīvīraśākēra
 śaśakravartti ātiyāyi muramuraiyē pala nūrāyīṭattāṇṭu
 ceṅkōl naṭattāyi niṇṭa śrīvīraśāghavaśakravarttikku tīruvīrā
 cyam cellāyi niṇṭa makaśattul viyālam mīnañāyaru irupattoṇḷu
 ceṇṭa cañīrōhañināl peruṅkōyilakattirunnaṟuḷa makōtaiyar paṭṭiṇa
 ttu iravikōrttañāñāya cēramānlōkappeṟuñ-ṇettikku maṇikkīrāma
 paṭṭaṅkututtōm viḷāvāteyūm pavaṇattāṅkum perupērum kaṭuttu
 vaḷeñciyamu vaḷanciyaṭṭil taṇicceṭṭum murecollum muṇa

¹ The system of the Royal Asiatic Society is followed for transliteration, except *ū*, *ā*, *ī*, *ṛ*, *ḷ*, and *ū*, where *ū* is used for *oo*, *ā* for *ā* (—*ā*), *ī* for *ī*, *ṛ* for *ṛ*, *ḷ* for *ḷ*, and *ū* for the final attenuated *u* of Malayālam.

*teyū pañcavādyamum śankhum pakalvīlakkum pāvāṭayum aintōlamum
kōṭṭa*

*kkuṭayum vaṭukapparayum itupaṭitōraṇamum nālucērikkum taṇi
ccettum kuṭuttōm vāñiyarum aiñkammālaṛeyum aṭima kuṭuttōm
nakaṛattukku karttāvāya īravikōrttañukku parakoṇṭaṇnu nirakoṇ
tu tūkki nūl koṇṭu pāki enñiñṭatilum eṭukkiñṭatilumuppi
nōtu śarkkaṛayōtu kaṣṭūriyōtu vīlakkennayōtu itayil ullata eppēr
ppaṭṭatiñum taṛakum aṭiṇaṭutta cuñkamum kūta koṭuñkūlūr aṭivi
yōtu kōpuṛattōtu viṣṣāl nālutaṭiyum taṭikkaṭutta kiṛāmattōṭṭa
yil nīrmutaṭāyi ceppētu eṭuti kuṭuttōm cēraṁānlōkappeṛuñ
ceṭṭiyāña īravikōrttañukku ivan makkaṭmakkaṭkkē vaṭivaṭiyē pērā-
kakkuṭu*

*ttōm itariyum pañṭiyūr kiṛāmamu cōkiṛakkiṛāmamum ariyakkuṭuttōm
vēṇāṭum oṭunāṭumariyakkuṭuttōm ēraṇāṭum vaḷḷuvanāṭumariyakkuṭut-
tōm candrā*

*dītyakaḷuḷḷa nāḷekku kuṭuttōm ivarkaḷariya ceppēṭeṭutiya cēraṁānlōkap-
peṛuntaṭ*

ṭān nampi caṭeyan kaiyeḷuttu.

II

DONEE

The donee is referred to in the grant by the name of *īravikorttañan* in one place and *īravikorttan* in two places. Of these two forms, the possibility of *īravikorttañan* being the original and *īravikorttan* being a corrupt form of the same, has not been considered by those who have commented upon the grant hitherto. Even with regard to this *īravikorttan*, two opinions have gained ground, namely that *īravikorttan* is a non-Christian and that he is a Christian. Dr. Gundert, Kookel Kelu Nair, and Venkayya opine that the name is non-Christian in spirit (ref. *Madras Journal*, vol. xiii, part i, pp. 120 and 146; *ibid.*, vol. xxi, p. 40; *Epigraphica Indica*, vol. iv, p. 292). In recent years Mr. K. N. Daniel has made an attempt to show that the donee must have belonged to the Syrian Christian community. According to him the name *īravikorttañan* is a mistake. *Korttan*, he thinks, is probably derived from *Karttan*, i.e. "Lord". In this connection he also draws attention to the clergymen of the Christian community being called *Kattañārs*. *Kattañār*, in his opinion, is no doubt *Karttañār*, which is the honorific form of *Karttan*.

I cannot agree with Mr. Daniel, inasmuch as the arguments he has advanced to prove his point (see *Dissertations on the Copper Plates*

in possession of the St. Thomas Christians, p. 5) are not at all convincing, and the etymology he suggests is phonologically faulty. The change of Karttan to Korttan has not been substantiated by examples; nor has the principles underlying the change been enunciated by him.

Of the two forms Korttañan and Korttan, I am for considering Korttañan to be the original. Korttañan can change by the loss of the final syllable to Korttan. On the other hand, Korttan can never assume the form Korttañan with the addition of a new syllable without any significance whatever.

The next point to be considered is the form that would admit of giving rise to the one we meet with in the copper plate. It is to be remarked here that there is only one script employed to denote long and short *o* throughout the plate. What has been read as Korttañan or Korttan must have been really Kōrttañan, which can only be a Tadbhava of Sk. Gōvardhana—with the elision of *va* after *o*. That such disappearance of *va* after *o*, long or short, is a common phonological phenomenon in Malayālam, is borne out by examples as *cuaṭū*, *covaṭū*, *cōṭū* "foot or the underpart"; *cuvappū*, *covappū*, *cōppū* "red colour"; *tuañan*, *tovañan*, *tōñan* "fried vegetable dish"; *kōvaṇi*, *kōṇi* "ladder"; *kōvaṇam*, *kōṇam*, etc. It is the light contact involved in the pronunciation of *va* coupled with its following a vowel having the same place of articulation as that required for the utterance of *va*, that causes the elision of the latter. Names like Gōrdhan Dās (Gōvardhana Dāsa) obtaining in Northern India exhibiting a similar change also go to corroborate the above interpretation. The appearance of voiced stops of other languages as voiceless stops in the loanwords of Malayālam need not be illustrated here, as it is a very familiar sound change in Malayālam. *i* before *ṛavi* is a prothetic vowel which is found to develop before *r* and *l* in early Indo-Aryan borrowings. Cf. *Irāman* for Sk. *Rāma*; *ilavañnam* for Sk. *lavaṅga*. Thus Iravikōrttañan is obviously a natural and scientific phonological modification of Ravigō-vardhana, which undoubtedly is a Hindu name.

As to the identity of the Ravigōvardhana on whom was conferred the Maṇikkīrāmappaṭṭam, only very little can be inferred. That he belonged to the Ceṭṭi class, is evident from the class appellation found in the copper plate to follow his personal name (cf. Iravikōrttañanāya Cēfamānlōkappeṭṭikkū). From the grant it is also clear that the donee is a Makkattāyi, i.e. one whose succession goes to his own son, as opposed to Maṛumakkattāyi "one whose succession goes to his

sister's son". As Ceṭṭis also are Makkattāyis, Mr. Daniel's inference that Ifavikorrtan must be a Christian on the ground that he is referred to as a Makkattāyi, cannot stand. In conclusion it may be said that the donee was a Hindu by name Ravigōvardhana, and that he was a member of the Ceṭṭi class and a resident of Makōtaiyar Paṭṭaṇam.¹

III

GRANT

The grant made by Vīraāghavacakravartin to Ravigōvardhana is Maṇikkīrāmapaṭṭam. As to the meaning of the term Maṇikkīrāmapaṭṭam, opinions of scholars differ. Dr. Gundert observes: "A Syrian tradition relates that the Syrian Christians sorely tried by a heathen conjurer (the poet Mānikkavācakar ?) at last divided into two parties, one of ninety-six families, who submitted to heathen purification and adopted the conjurer's tenets, whence they were called Maṇigṛāmakkār, etc." (*Madras Journal*, vi, xiii, part i, p. 121). Later Dr. Gundert remarks in a letter he wrote to the Reverend Taylor, commenting upon the views expressed by the Reverend Peet, of Mavelikarai, as follows: "I now venture the conjecture, that they were disciples of Mani, a colony of Manicheans, such as the Arabian Travellers found in Ceylon" (*Madras Journal*, vol. xiii, part i, p. 146). Kookel Kelu Nair explains Maṇikkīrāma as the village called Maṇi, the name, according to him, being derived from the wealth it then possessed. Maṇi, he says, may also mean best or chief (*Madras Journal*, vol. xxi, pp. 35 and 41). Mr. Daniel interprets Maṇikkīrāmapaṭṭam as the title of Maṇigṛāmakkāfan, which, he says, might mean a valued civic privilege of the time. As regards the etymology of the word, Mr. Daniel is silent.

We shall now examine the above views one by one. Concerning the opinion that Maṇi is the name in memory of Mānikkavācakar, it has to be remarked that the tradition is only that the Christians relapsed into heathenism through the influence of a sorcerer. The incident

¹ Makōtaiyar Paṭṭaṇam, says Dr. Gundert, "is identified with Tīruvañcikkulam river harbour, lat. 10° 13' N." The place is also known by the names of Mahādēvar Paṭṭaṇam and Mahōdēvar Paṭṭaṇam. Makōtaiyar Paṭṭaṇam is obviously from Sk. Mahōdaya. Mr. Daniel's interpretation of Makōtaiyar Paṭṭaṇam as the town of the Great Cēra King cannot be justified, inasmuch as a combination of "mahā" and "kōtai" would give rise to a form "Mākōtai" and not "Makōtai". Mahādēvar Paṭṭaṇam is probably a name given in reverence of the presiding deity of the place, while Mahōdēvar Paṭṭaṇam is evidently a name that has been formed by cross analogy of Mahōdayar Paṭṭaṇam and Mahādēvar Paṭṭaṇam.

was associated with the name of Māṇikkavācakar by Dr. Gundert and the Reverend Peet mainly on the external resemblance of the two words Maṇiḡtāmam and Māṇikkavācakar. This is evidenced by the interrogation mark Dr. Gundert has used after the word. The change of Māṇikka(vācakar) to Maṇi, even if it be contended that it is an abbreviated form, is against the principles of all sound changes. The shortening of the long vowel of the initial syllable and the elision of the final letter which forms, so to speak, a prominent member of the word are against the phonetic tendencies of Malayāḷam. The inference Maṇikkiḡfāma took its name from Manicheans presupposes that Manichean missionaries visited Kēraḷa. Such a presumption is unsupported by any historical evidence. Further, the ancient Christians of Malabar are found from history to have been followers of true Christian faith unlike the Manicheans of mixed religious beliefs (see *Indian Antiquary*, vol. iv, p. 311). The meaning that Kelu Nair gives is out of the question, being far-fetched and impossible to derive: Maṇiḡrāma can never connote in Sanskrit the sense that he makes out. Nor can Maṇikkiḡfāmapaṭṭam be a mere civic right as suggested by Mr. Daniel, inasmuch as the rights and powers conferred on the donee are of such a supreme order as are not likely to be bestowed upon every citizen of the place.

Let us now consider what sound changes may have legitimately occurred in the word. That initial *v* and *b* in the Dravidian languages may sometimes be pronounced as *m* when there is a nasal in the body of a word, is illustrated in the following examples:—

Earlier Form. ¹	Later Form.
<i>Vanṇān</i> (Tam.)	<i>maṇṇān</i> (Mal.)
<i>baṅkḷāvū</i> (cf. H.M. <i>bāglā</i>)	<i>maṅkḷāvū</i> (Mal.)
<i>viḷuṅgu</i> (Tam.)	<i>miḷuṇṇu</i> (Mal.)
<i>vāṇam</i> (Tam.)	<i>māṇam</i> (Mal.)
<i>viṇa</i> (Tam.)	<i>miṇa</i> in <i>miṇakkētū</i> (Mal., ref. Gundert)

It is thus clear that Maṇikkiḡfāma must be derived from Sk. *Vaniggrāma*,² which means an association or guild of merchants. Attention may also be drawn to the meaning *kuḷuvīn pēr* (name of an association or company) given to the word *Vanikkiḡfāmam* by Naccīnārkiṇiṃyār in his commentary on *Tolkāppiyam*. The fact that

¹ That the forms quoted represent an earlier stage in the history of the words in question, can be known through comparison.

² In *Vaniggrāma*, *grāma* means only a collection (cf. suffix *grāmac* of Pāṇini) and not a village as interpreted by some.

the name Maṇikkirāmakkar denotes a certain section of the Nair community as well, goes against the possibility of its being an appellation of the Christians alone. The rights and privileges vested upon Ifavikōrttaṇan will be seen to be those connected with foreign and inland trade, the levying of duties and kindred matters pertaining to commercial transactions. Maṇikkirāma is also found to have been used as a name of the Indian colonists in Siam (ref. the article "A note on Maṇigrāma" in *Epigraphica Indica*, vol. xviii, p. 69). Maṇikkirāma, therefore, does not admit of being interpreted as the name of any particular village or community. What Ravigōvardhana received must have been only the lordship of the trading corporation which transacted business at Kotunkūlūr during the days of Viṭaṭāghavacakravartin.

IV

INTERPRETATION

In this section I propose to give my interpretations of certain expressions worthy of note in the document. I have shown against each word the views of others who have worked in the line, and have also tried to accommodate my conclusions with the phonological changes manifested in each case.

(1) *Viṭāvāṭa*: Gund. "feast cloth"; Kel. *piṭāvāṭa* = "a cloth permitted to be worn round the shoulders by people of high caste alone"; Venk. "the right of festive clothing"; Dan. "the right of the feast-cloth" (derived from the word *viṭā* meaning "festival"; the chief guest during the marriage festival of the St. Thomas Christians is seated on what is called *vellayum karimpaṭavum*).

There is no word *viṭāvu* in Tamil. Besides, it has to be inferred, on the strength of the evidences offered by other words in the copper plate, that the change *l* to *ḷ* was not in vogue at the time in Malayālam. Cf. *viyālam*, *aliviṇṇōtu*, *eluti*, *vaḷivaliyē*. Even to-day Malayālam, of all the Dravidian languages, has preserved *l* without confusing it with *ḷ*. If the original form of the word is *vilāvāṭa*, meaning "cloth covering the sides of the body" (*vilāvū* = "sides of the body"), the vowel in between *v* and *l* could elide as in *ktāvū* < *kiṭāvū*, *piṭāka* < *piṭāka*, *ṭākam* < *viṭākam*, etc., and the *l* in conjunction with a consonant could easily change to *ḷ* as in *plāṣū* (l.w. from Sk. *palāśa*), *plāvū* (earlier *piṭāvū*). The consonant group may, at a later time, split itself into two syllables with the development of a vowel in between. The

existence of words like *piḷācū*, *piḷāvū* are instances to illustrate the point. When we remember that the wearing of upper garments on public occasion was a privilege bestowed only upon persons of high rank and dignity, by monarchs in ancient Kēṭāḷa, the meaning that I have suggested will be found to suit the context.

(2) *Pavaṇattāṅkū*: Gund. "house pillars" or "pictured rooms"?; Kel. "a carved pillar"; Venk. "house pillars"; Dan. "house pillars"; Jos. means perhaps "an enclosure around houses". Should the reading *pavaṇittāṅkū* be accepted, the word would mean protection for *pavaṇi*, i.e. *prayāṇa*.

The meaning "house pillars" or "carved pillars" is only conjectural, besides being unsuited to the context. The erecting of pillars for houses cannot be, in any way, considered a mark of such a great dignity as to require royal sanction. Mr. Joseph's interpretation is for the reading *Pavaṇittāṅkū*, which he has adopted. I am inclined to think that *Pavaṇattāṅkū* means support for the house, i.e. sentries to keep watch over the house. To a person who has been raised to such a responsible position as that of the lord of Vaṇiggrāma, in which capacity he has to keep large amounts of money in his house, it is only proper and reasonable that the necessary safeguards are allowed.

(3) *Perupēṛū*: Gund. *verupēṛū* "all the revenue"; Kel. *puṛupēṛ* = "all the revenue"; Venk. *perupēṛ* = "income that accrues"; Dan. "all the revenues"; Jos. *vērupēṛū* "other privileges".

The readings of Dr. Gundert and Mr. T. K. Joseph are due to a mistaking of *v* for *p*. Kēlu Nair seems to have purposely read the word as *puṛupēṛ* to inject into it the idea which he had in view. I agree with the reading and meaning given by Venkayya and Mr. Daniel. *peru*, which appears as the initial member of a compound, means "that which accrues" and *pēṛū* means "income", the whole compound conveying the sense "all the revenues".

(4) *Kaṭuttuvalēṇciyam*: Gund. "the curved sword" (or dagger); Kel. "ferry tolls"; Venk. "export trade"; Dan. *valēṇciyam* may mean something akin to feudal barons suggested by Sundaram Pillai; Jos. "export trade".

Only Mr. Venkayya has made an attempt to trace the derivation of the word. He draws attention to the various forms of the term *valaṇciyar* appearing in Ceylonese and Mysore inscriptions, and quotes related words from Kanarese and Telugu. The words cited by Venkayya are *vīrabalaṇji*, *baṇaṇjika*, *baṇaṇju dharma* (Mysore inscriptions of Mr. Rice, Nos. 38 and 55), Kan. *baṇajiga*, and Tel. *balija* and *balijiga*

(a class of merchants). These, he thinks, are cognate and are derived from Sanskrit *vaṇij-*.

I fully accept the meaning given by Venkayya. As regards the etymology, I would connect the word with Sk. *vaṇijyā* and account for its present form by assuming the following steps in the course of its evolution.

Sk. *vaṇijyā*, Pk. *vaṇijjā* and **vaṇijjika* (with the extension in *ika* of the three suffixes of extension in Prākṛit, namely, *aka*, *ika*, and *uka*). The Prākṛit form must have been borrowed into the Malayālam vocabulary through Kanarese, for the change of *-n-* to *-l-* is a feature of Kanarese alone. Kan. **vaṇiṇjika* > *baṇijika* (probably influenced by a new Indian dialect where the simplification of long consonants with the nasalization of the preceding vowel is very common (cf. Sk. *Kubja-*, Pk. *Kujja-*, B. *Kūj*; Sk. *yudhya-*, Pk. *jujjha-*, M. *jūjh*)). Kan. **baṇējiya* (*i* when followed by an open vowel in the next syllable regularly changes to *e* in the colloquial dialects of the Dravidian languages, and *-g-* frequently elides). Kan. **baḷējiya* or *baḷēṇjiya* (for the change of *-n-* to *-l-* in Kanarese see Kan. *aṇil*, *aḷil* "squirrel", Mal. *aṇṇān*; Kan. *uṇi*, *uḷi* "one who eats", Mal. *uṇ-*; Kan. *tuṇaku*, *tuḷaku* "fragment", Mal. *tuṇi*). Mal. *vaḷēṇciyam* or *vaḷaṇciyam* (for the substitution of *v* for *b* of a foreign language in Malayālam see Mal. *villa* for H. *billā*; Mal. *vītam* for H. *būdḥā*; Mal. *vattam* for H.M. *baṭṭā*, and Mal. *vāṇṇū* for H.M. *bāḷ*).

(5) *Vaḷaṇciyattil taṇicceṭṭum*: Gund. "in the sword the sovereign merchantship"; Kel. "sovereignty or executive jurisdiction"; Venk. Dan. "monopoly of trade"; Jos. "sole monopoly of trade".

As the meaning of the term *vaḷaṇciyam* has already been discussed, we need consider here only *taṇicceṭṭū*. The word is used in the sense of sole monopoly of trade. *Ceṭṭū* goes back to Pk. *satta-*, derived from Sk. *sārtha-* "a travelling company of traders" (cf. Mal. *caṇṇātam*, *cavaḷam*, and *caṇṇāla*, borrowed from Pa. *saṅghāta-*, Pk. *savvala-* and *saṅkhalā* respectively, exhibiting the change of Indo-Aryan *s-* to *c-*; *e* for *a* after *c* is a colloquialism in Malayālam which is evidently due to the palatal position of the tongue required for the production of the consonant influencing the vowel that follows. See Sk. *campaka-*, Mal. *cempakam*; Mal. *caṇivū*, *ceṇivū*; Mal. *caḷi* and *ceḷi*; cf. Kan. *saḷi*; Pk. *camma-*, Mal. *cemmān*; Pk. *cakka-*, Mal. *cakkū* or *cekkū*). For the expansion and contraction in meaning of the original Sk. *sārtha-* in the course of its history in different languages may be

compared H. *sātā* "exchange", P. *sattī* "exchange market", G. *sātū* "bargain", etc.

(6) *Pāvāṭa*: Gund. "the spreading cloth"; Venk. "clothes spread in front to walk"; Dan. "clothes over which lamps are placed"; Jos. by *pāvāṭa* is meant *naṭapāvāṭa* or "clothes spread to walk".

The word *pāvāṭa* is not Dravidian in origin. It is derived from Pk. *pāvaḍa*- traceable to Sk. *prāṇṭa*-. The long vowel after *v* in Mal. *pāvāṭa* is due to a frequent tendency in Malayāḷam to lengthen the vowel preceding the last syllable.

Cf. Sk. <i>kāmalā</i>	Mal. <i>kāmāla</i>
Pk. <i>pattaya</i> -	Mal. <i>pattāyam</i>
Pk. <i>bandhaya</i> -	Mal. <i>pantāyam</i>
Pk. <i>viakka</i> -	Mal. <i>viyākkū</i>

Dr. Gundert gives the meaning "table cloth or other sheet used to fan" to *pāvāṭa*. A similar development of meaning is to be seen in Kanarese (see Kittel's Dictionary: *pāvaḍa* = "a cloth waved like a fan in front of a procession"). The word, by reason of its being enumerated in the text along with the honours and privileges the lord of *vaṇiggrāma* was to enjoy in his processions, is better interpreted as a sheet used to fan or a cloth waved like a fan in front of a procession.

(7) *Itupaṭitōraṇam*: I take this as one word instead of two, as explained by others. The reason for my so doing, is the absence of the connective *um* after *itupaṭi* as in *vilāvāṭeyum*, *pavaṇattāṇkum*, etc. *Itupaṭitōraṇam* means "festoons over gateways". The lord of *vaṇiggrāma* was to be honoured by people during his processions by ornamental arches or festoons over the gateways of their houses.

V

LANGUAGE

The language of the copper plate is old Malayāḷam. There are to be seen in the text a fairly large number of Sanskrit and Prākṛit loans, some as Tatsamas and others as Tadbhavas, while New Indian words are totally absent. From a study of the Sanskrit and Prākṛit loans we can easily discern that the initial media and media aspirates are represented as tenses in the copper plate, ex. *kiṛāmam* for Sk. *grāma*-, *pavaṇam* for Sk. *bhavana*-, and *pūpāla* for Sk. *bhūpāla*-. The same in the intervocalic position appear in certain instances without the above-mentioned change. See *vīraśāghavan*, *candrādityakaḷ* (without change), and *āṭiyāyi*, *makōṭaiyar*, *iṇavikōrttaṇan* (with the substitution of tenses

for media aspirates). From this it could more or less be inferred that against the then general tendency in Malayāḷam to pronounce voiced sounds as voiceless, the sounds to be pronounced first as voiced, i.e. true to the original, may have been those which occurred in between vowels, in which position even voiceless stops are pronounced voiced. (The voicing of intervocalic stops is a regular phonetic phenomenon in Prākṛit and Dravidian.)

Another interesting phonetic peculiarity that we may notice is the confusion between *c* and *ś*, original *c* sometimes being represented as *ś* and vice versa, ex. *śakravartti* for Sk. *cakravartin-* (*ś* for *c*), *caṇi* for Sk. *śaṇi-* (*c* for *ś*). It may reasonably be conjectured that *ś* of Sanskrit was at one time represented as *c* in Malayāḷam and that later there arose in Malayāḷam a tendency to pronounce *c-* as *ś-* colloquially. Cf. modern Malayāḷam colloquial words *śittū* for *cittū*, *śappan* for *cappan*, *śappatta* for *cappatta*, and *śaṇi* for *caṇi*. The language of the plate also points to the fact that Prākṛit had great influence over Malayāḷam at the period in question. For want of comparative study, the Prākṛit element in Malayāḷam has not received careful attention of the scholars who have worked in the line previously. I give below the Prākṛit borrowings in the copper plate with their Sanskrit equivalents :—

Mal. form in the Plate.	Prākṛit.	Sanskrit.
<i>ceṭṭi</i>	<i>seṭṭhi-</i>	<i>śrēṣṭhin-</i>
<i>paṭṭiṇam</i>	<i>paṭṭana-</i>	<i>pattana-</i>
<i>ceṭṭu</i>	<i>saṭṭa-</i>	<i>sārtha-</i>
<i>pāvāṭa</i>	<i>pāvaḍa-</i>	<i>prāvyta-</i>
<i>vāṇiyar</i>	<i>vāṇiya-</i>	<i>vāṇija-</i>
<i>kammā'ar</i>	* <i>kammāḷa-</i>	<i>karmāra-</i>
<i>cuṅkam</i>	<i>suṅka-</i>	<i>śulka-</i>

The above words cannot be considered as borrowings from Sanskrit, since they are not governed by the rules regulating the change of Sanskrit sounds in Malayāḷam as adduced by philologists. For example, a word like *śrēṣṭhin-* should naturally give a form *cireṭṭi* in Malayāḷam and Tamil if it were a direct borrowing from Sanskrit. The absence of new Indian words goes to prove that at the time of the document the New Indian languages have not had any tangible influence over Malayāḷam, although they had by that time established themselves as independent dialects.

Regarding the Dravidian words, it has to be observed that nasal assimilation or *aṇunāsikātiprasaṇa*, which is a characteristic feature of

the Malayālam language, had not manifested itself in all combinations at the period in question. It is only *nt* that shows assimilation while *ñl* and *ñk* remain without change. *nt* and *ñl* of ancient Malayālam have, however, fallen together and have become *nn* in modern Malayālam. We can also infer that the first combination to take the assimilation was *nt* and the second in order was *ñk*. There is every probability that the copper plate belongs to a period prior to that of Uṇṇunīlisandēśam, in so far as *ñk* as a whole is met with in that work only in its assimilated condition, that is *ññ*. Cf. *tāññittāññi*, *eññal*, *nuruññu*, etc., in Uṇṇunīlisandēśam.

VI

DATE

The only material in the copper plate which affords some clue to its probable date is the astronomical positions mentioned therein. It is found that the document was executed on a Saturday, which was also a day of the fourth lunar mansion, that is Rōhaṇi, and on a twenty-first Mīṇam when Jupiter was in Makafam. Kookel Kelu Nair¹ dated the plate 6th March, A.D. 230, as he found, on calculation, that it suited the astronomical requirements referred to. Dr. Burnell,² after consulting native astronomers, arrived at A.D. 774 as the date of the grant. Keilhorn³ corrected the above date to 11th March, A.D. 775, to be precise, and also suggested that 10th March, A.D. 680, would also fulfil the astronomical requirements. Venkayya, on palæographic and linguistic evidences, has tried to prove that the document must have belonged to the fourteenth century A.D. (*Epigraphica Indica*, vol. iv, pp. 292 and 293). Later, Keilhorn, in the light of Venkayya's evidences, pointed out 15th March,⁴ 1320, as the only date in the fourteenth century which will satisfy the astronomical clues. In recent years Mr. K. N. Daniel is seen to have taken considerable pains to ascribe the document to A.D. 230. On an examination of the language and script employed in the copper plate, I am inclined to think A.D. 1320 to be the date of the grant. In this connection I should like to refute the main arguments brought forward by Mr. K. N. Daniel in support of his theories and against the views of Venkayya.

¹ *Madras Journal of Literature and Science*, vol. xxi, p. 39.

² *Indian Antiquary*, vol. i, p. 229.

³ *Ibid.*, vol. xxii, p. 139.

⁴ *Epigraphica Indica*, vol. iv, p. 293.

It cannot be argued from the fact that the document under consideration uses the form *kuṭuttōm* nine times, but never *koṭuttōm*, that it is a very ancient one. Mr. Daniel has proceeded on the assumption that *kuṭu* is the earlier form, and *koṭu*, the later. I should think that *kuṭu* is only a colloquial pronunciation, and as such it is not helpful in any way to determine the comparative anteriority or posteriority of the plate. The change of *u* to *o* occurs when there is an open ¹ vowel in the succeeding syllable, ex. *uraññuka*, *oraññuka*; *unañka*, *onañka*; *kuṭa*, *koṭa*; *tuñakkuka*, *toñakkuka*; *muṭantan*, *moṭantan*. On the other hand, when there is a close vowel in the syllable that follows, no such change is possible. See *Kuṭikkuka*, *tuṇi*, *umikkāṇi*, *uṇṇi*, *uṭuppū*. It may be remarked that there is a probability of *o* being made closer when there is *u* in the next syllable. Hence *koṭu* may show a form *kuṭu* in the colloquial dialect. *Kuṭuttōm*, therefore, can only be a colloquialism that has crept into the copper plate.

Mr. Daniel quotes two south Travancore inscriptions of the thirteenth century, A.D. 1237 and 1251 (*Dissertations on the Copper Plates in possession of the St. Thomas Christians*, p. 21), and compares the specimens of the Malayālam prose therein with the language of the Viśaṅghava plate, and observes that we cannot help concluding that the copper plate is many centuries prior to the thirteenth century. But a careful comparison of the inscriptions referred to with the Viśaṅghava plate, will show that there are more points of similarity than difference. The following are a few words that are found to be common to the Viśaṅghava plate and the inscriptions under reference: *viyālam*, *ñāyaru*, *cellā (yi) niñla*, *eppērpeṭṭa*.

The plate, showing the variations of the Ārya *eḷuttu* alphabet given by Mr. Daniel in his book, is in no way calculated to show that the characters in the Viśaṅghava plate are more archaic than those found in the Tāṇuṇavi plate. It may also be observed that the Ārya characters employed in the Viśaṅghava plate resemble best those used in the inscription of Rājendra Cōla, dated A.D. 1012. Above all, a mere glance at the table will show that, of the sixteen types illustrated in the plate, the one that is nearest to the modern Malayālam alphabet, is that of the Viśaṅghava plate.

Mr. Daniel's contention that Viśaṅghava is earlier than Pārkaṇavi, on the ground that Viśaṅghava is a pure Sanskrit name while Pārkaṇavi is Tamilized Sanskrit, can in no way be acceptable to those who are familiar with the history of the influence of Sanskrit

¹ *a* is an open vowel while *i* and *u* are close vowels.

over Malayālam and the mutual relationship of Tamil and Malayālam. Of the two names Pārkaṭaṭavi and Vīṭaṭāghava, the one that is evidently older is the former. This is proved by the representation of voiced aspirates without change in the name Vīṭaṭāghava and the substitution of *tenues* for the aspirate in Pārkaṭaṭavi.

Palæographic evidence, Mr. Daniel contends, especially that afforded by the character *lu* of *vaṭṭeḷuttu*, also goes to prove that Vīṭaṭāghava is earlier. From the plate showing the variations in the *vaṭṭeḷuttu* alphabet given in Mr. Daniel's book it seems that Mr. Daniel is labouring under a misapprehension. Otherwise he would not have attempted to draw a comparison between the *lu* of the Vīṭaṭāghava plate and that in the Tāṇuṭavi plate, etc. It is not the *lu* found in Vīṭaṭāghavacakravartin's plate that has developed into the various types illustrated in the table given by Mr. Daniel. The truth is that the *lu* in numbers 1, 4, 5, and 21 is *vaṭṭeḷuttu*, while the remaining are variants of a different kind altogether. They are in reality different forms of Dēvanāgarī *l* (ल) with the addition of the symbol for *vaṭṭeḷuttu* ு. That Dēvanāgarī ल has been borrowed by other Dravidian languages also, is evidenced by the script in Kanarese to denote consonant group as *kl*, *gl*, etc.

I, therefore, think that of the four dates satisfying the astronomical requirements, A.D. 1320 is the probable date of the grant, in the light of the linguistic and palæographic evidences available.

CONCLUSION

To sum up, the purport of the document is the grant of the lordship of Vaṇiggrāma with the rights and honours pertaining thereto to one Ravigōvardhana, a member of the Ceṭṭi community and a resident of Mahōdayarpaṭṭanam by Śrī Vīrārāghayacakravartin, on Saturday, the 15th March, A.D. 1320.

A propos du génitif absolu en vieil indien

Par H. DE WILLMAN-GRABOWSKA ¹

LE problème de cette espèce de génitif a été traité à fond par F. de Saussure (De l'emploi du génitif absolu en sanscrit, 1881, réimprimé dans le Recueil des publications scientifiques de F. de S., Heidelberg 1922). Au début du mémoire on lit : " Un premier fait, constaté depuis longtemps, c'est l'absence du génitif absolu dans les monuments de la période védique."

La notion " védique " ne comprend pas uniquement, chez F. de S., la période des Samhitās, mais s'étend plus loin, sur les Upaniṣads. Aussi l'auteur tient-il compte de la Maitrāyaṇīya-Up. et analyse le passage où intervient *miṣato bandhuvarṃśasya*, cité par le Diction. de Pétersb., mais refuse à cet exemple la validité de témoignage. Remarquons cependant que la Maitr.-Up., texte tardif, proche par sa langue du sanscrit classique (cf. H. Oldenberg, Zur Geschichte der altindischen Prosa, p. 33), ne saurait rien prouver pour la période ancienne. L'absence ou la présence du génitif absolu est l'affaire du style, propre à ce texte.

Delbrück (Altind. Synt., p. 388, s.) est moins affirmatif. D'accord avec Gaedicke (Der Accusativ im Veda, p. 47 ; Breslau, 1880) il voit un génitif absolu dans la phrase du ŚB. I, 1, 4, 15 : *tāsyālabdhasya sâ vāg āpacakrāma* ² et traduit le groupe au génitif non pas comme le complément d'objet indirect (le gén.-possessif), mais comme le complément circonstanciel ou plutôt comme une proposition circonstancielle subordonnée : " après qu'il fut immolé." Du même avis est J. Eggeling ; il rend ce passage par : " on his being killed the voice went from him." Aux exemples relevés incidemment par Gaedicke, Delbrück ajoute plusieurs autres. Ils se laissent tous analyser de façon formelle, grammaticalement, comme des compléments de nom, mais tous voisinent en même temps avec l'emploi du génitif absolu tel que l'indique de Saussure pour ses groupes A et B (Recueil, p. 278 s.).

Ce n'est que le voisinage, car la notion de génitif abs. de Altind. Synt. est un peu différente de celle que pose " De l'emploi du gén. abs." De Saussure, à l'examen de l'épopée et des textes classiques, arrive à la constatation : " L'action du génitif absolu accompagne dans

¹ This article was intended for Vol. VIII, 2 and 3, the volume dedicated to Sir George Grierson, but it unfortunately arrived too late.

² Cf. la phrase tout à fait analogue de *Nala et Damayanti*, xiv, 12 : *tasya daṣṭasya tad rūpaṃ kṣipram antaradhīyata*.

le temps l'action principale¹; la première n'est jamais donnée comme close au moment où la seconde s'accomplit." Le sens d'*après que* est exclu. Tel n'est pas le cas dans les tournures du type de *tāsyālabdhasya* . . . ou de *apām taptānām phēno jāyate* (A.S., p. 390). Non seulement l'action du génitif précède ici l'action exprimée par le verbum finitum (*apacakrāma, jāyate*), mais elle doit être terminée avant que la seconde commence. Nous sommes ainsi dans le domaine occupé avec plein succès par le locatif absolu.

De Saussure constate dans le génitif absolu de son groupe A "une sorte d'arrière-plan sur lequel le fait principal se détache." Dans le groupe B, inverse de A, le génitif renferme "une circonstance essentielle à l'action", et cette dernière souvent, mais pas toujours — se passe malgré l'existence d'une entrave du fait de cette même circonstance essentielle. Ce dernier cas, est seul mentionné par Pāṇini dans le sūtra ii, 3, 38, *ṣaṣṭhī cānādare*.

Ainsi d'un côté l'application restreinte et tout à fait particulière, spéciale, du génitif absolu, désignée par le grammairien indien, de l'autre la notion élargie, due à l'examen des textes postérieurs à Pāṇini, les épopées, les Purāṇas et les contes, créations vivantes, en partie populaires; car c'est là surtout que de Saussure a fait ses recherches. L'observation pénétrante de Gaedicke (op. cit.) et de Delbrück (op. cit.) vint ensuite enrichir notre connaissance du sujet.

Cependant à mesure qu'on élargit la notion de génitif absolu, elle paraît moins nette et on ne saurait toujours distinguer où commence le génitif indépendant et où finit le génitif possessif ou autre. Le contexte n'est pas dans tous ces cas une garantie suffisante, car nous ne sommes que trop enclins à juger de la relation entre les groupes d'une phrase d'après nos habitudes de penser et de parler (" . . . to view the syntactical relations of one language through the disturbing medium of another " — H. Oertel, *The Syntax of Cases in the narrative and descriptive Prose of the Brāhmaṇas*).

H. Oertel dans son étude minutieuse des Brāhmaṇas et des Upaniṣads que de Saussure n'av. pas analysés, cite beaucoup d'exemples du génitif qui pourrait passer à la rigueur pour absolu sans l'être certainement. Il s'arrête en fin de compte sur un petit nombre — quelques uns déjà relevés par Gaedicke et par Delbrück — pour les classer comme de vrais génitifs absolus.² Ils ne disent pas tous "pendant que"; plus souvent: "après que"; aucun ne dit: "bien que"; ils sont donc contraires à la règle de Saussure et à celle de

¹ Souligné dans le texte.

² p. 142 s.s., op. cit.

Pāṇini. Et néanmoins l'auteur a raison de ne pas voir en eux que des génitifs possessifs.

On est cependant étonné de ne pas trouver dans cette petite liste deux exemples, ou plutôt un en double, du Bṛhad-Āraṇyaka 2, 4, 4, et 4, 5, 5. Le groupe au génitif désigne là une circonstance contemporaine à l'action, nommée— injustement mais habituellement— "principale" (le groupe A chez de Saussure), il la met en relief et reste en même temps condition essentielle pour qu'elle puisse se produire (le groupe B); de plus, le sujet du génitif est le nom d'une personne. Autant de traits valables pour un génitif absolu.

Maitreyi demande à Yajñ. de l'instruire. Y. répond : *ehy āsva vyākhyāsyāmi te vyākākṣāṇasya tū me nīdidhyāsva* Br.Ar. 2, 4, 4, "viens, assieds-toi, je vais t'expliquer, mais pendant que je parlerai, suis-moi bien avec ta pensée". L'action du verbe *dhyai* ne peut se dérouler qu'à condition de voir s'exercer celle du verbe *vi-ā-caks*, elles sont simultanées mais il faut que l'une commence avant l'autre; avant que Yajñ. ne se mette à parler, Maitreyi n'aura pas à réfléchir, et l'action "principale" est commandée par l'action "secondaire", elle lui est subordonnée. Il est évident que cette subordination est le résultat de la pensée entière du passage; elle n'a rien à voir avec le génitif même. — Le fait est analogue à l'indépendance de l'anādara du génitif que constate de Saussure p. 280. — On ne saurait considérer *vyākākṣāṇasya me* comme l'objet du verbe *dhyai*; l'objet serait *me* (si l'on veut construire *dhyai* avec le génitif), et *vyākākṣāṇasya* est l'attribut de *me*. Mais la notion qu'implique ce génitif absolu de Br. Ar. permet un emploi beaucoup plus large qu'on ne le constate plus tard, dans la littérature classique.

L'autre exemple c'est le même passage élargi au moyen d'un substantif Br. Ar. 4, 5 : *vācam tū me vyākākṣāṇasya nīdidhyāsva*. La présence de l'objet direct *vācam*, objet du génitif *vyākākṣāṇasya* et du prédicat *nīdidhyāsva* ne change rien à la valeur de la tournure même.

Ces deux exemples où l'action du prédicat est simultanée à celle du génitif, sont à peu près exceptionnelles dans la vieille langue. On les a construits aussi régulièrement que *iti cintayatas tasya āyayuh striyaḥ* Kath. xviii, 356, ou *na hi traṁ jīvato tasya vanam āgantum arhasi* Rām. ii, 101, 3, cités par de Saussure (op. cit.) et par J. S. Speijer (Sanskrit Syntax, p. 228).

La règle générale que le gén. abs. est appliqué avec le sens premier de "au moment où" n'est pas toujours observée non plus, même

dans la littérature épique qui fournit le plus grand nombre de ces cas. Ainsi dans le 1^r chant d'Adiparvan, vers 7 du MBh., chant d'origine incontestablement tardive, les *ṛṣi* voudraient entendre raconter le MBh.; l'un d'eux interpelle longuement Sûta et finit par ces mots: *śamsaitat prcchato mama* "Dis-le (ou: récite-le) puisque je te le demande" ou: "du moment que je te le demande", comme nous dirions simplement: "je t'en prie." La relation entre le génit. et le verbe n'est ni "pendant que" ni "quoique", c'est "puisque"; *prcchato*... est la subordonnée de cause. Les sages de la forêt Naimiṣa sont supérieurs à Sûta, cf. les śloka 8-13. Il n'oserait leur parler s'ils ne l'y autorisaient pas; *prcchato*... est une forme polie de commandement. On trouverait sans doute plus d'exemples de cette large application du gén. abs.

Ainsi la prose post-védique et la poésie épique permettent de conclure qu'il existait des tournures composées d'un participe présent et d'un nom, tous les deux au génitif, et ayant la valeur d'un complément circonstanciel ou d'une circonstancielle subordonnée de temps ou de cause, tournures qu'on doit compter parmi les génitifs absolus.

Maintenant si l'on se tourne aux Védas, on y rencontre des phrases qui ne sont pas sans intérêt pour le problème qui nous occupe.

Ainsi RV. viii, 37, 7a *Śyāvāśvasya sunvatās tāthā śṛṇu yāthāśṛṇor ātreḥ karmāṇi kṛṇvatāḥ* peut être traduit: "écoute Ś. pressurant le Soma (qui presseure? quand il presseure?) comme tu écoutais. A. quand il offrait le sacrifice," mais le contexte et d'autres passages se rapportant à Atri ne nous interdisent point une traduction comme celle-ci: "écoute quand Ś. presseure... comme tu écoutais lorsque A. offrait..." De même viii, 35, 19a *ātrer iva śṛṇutam pūrvyāstutīm śyāvāśvasya sunvatō madacyutā* "Vous deux, o ruisselants de mada, écoutez l'ancien hymne de Ś. quand il presseure le Soma, comme vous avez écouté... etc."

"Quand il..." s'impose ici pour traduire *sunvato*. Quant au fait que *śru* peut avoir l'objet ou génitif (ce serait alors un génitif partitif), fait noté par les dictionnaires, il ne change rien. Autant que j'aie pu voir, c'est à côté d'un participe prés. (qui n'indique pas nécessairement le présent mais seulement la simultanéité) que *śru* a été relevé construit avec un génitif; dans tous les cas vérifiables ce génitif du participe pouvait être traduit "pendant que".

D'autres exemples sont plus douteux; ainsi RV. 38, 9b, *gopājihvasya tathāśo virūpā viśve paśyanti māyīnaḥ kṛtāni* "de G., quand il s'est levé, les dieux (*māyīnaḥ*) voient les diverses créations" est

incertain, car le contexte, qui semble avoir peu de rapport avec cette phrase, ne l'éclaircit pas. Du reste le participe présent est assez peu employé dans le RV. ; ses formes sont nombreuses, leur application est limitée ; le participe au génitif est le moins fréquent, et là où on le rencontre il apparaît le plus souvent en fonction d'adjectif. Ainsi la matière à construire le génitif absolu fait défaut.

Le butin de l'Atharva-Veda n'est pas riche, non plus. AV. iv, 2, 8, paraît sûr : *āpo vatsām janāyantīr gārbham āgre samairayan—tāsyotā jāyamānasyōlba āsīd dhiraṇyāyah* ; Whitney et Lanman (HOS. vii) le traduisent "The waters, generating a young, set in motion in the beginning an embryo ; and of that, when born, the foetal envelop was of gold". Aussi AV. xix, 62, 1 : *priyām mā kṛṇu devēṣu priyām rājasu mā kṛṇu | priyām sārvasya pāśyata utā śūdrā utāryé* "rends moi agréable aux dieux, . . . aux rois . . . aussi au śūdra et à l'ārya, en présence de tout (ce qui vit)." Je me permets ici de ne pas être d'accord avec les traducteurs qui disent : "dear to everything that sees, both to Śūdra and to Ārya." La strophe entière construit *priyām mā kṛṇu* avec le locatif (*devēṣu, rājasu, śūdré, āryé*) ; il y est répété quatre fois à titre de procédé stylistique. L'auteur pourrait très bien conserver la mesure du vers avec *sarvasmin* . . . s'il désirait dire "à l'égard de, etc." ; l'emploi du génitif, seul parmi tous ces locatifs, était provoqué par des raisons du sens : "je veux être agréable . . . à la face de tout," textuellement "quand tout (me) regarde". C'est un génitif absolu.

On en trouverait plus d'exemples, mais l'extrême concision des formules et le style poétique du RV. et de l'AV. accumulent les fonctions qui devraient appartenir à plusieurs mots et en chargent un seul. C'est surtout frappant pour le génitif : il lui arrive d'être à la fois gén. possessif, gén.-datif, gén.-ablatif et gén. absolu, tout cela selon la manière dont on envisage l'ensemble.

Si peu qu'on puisse tirer des Védas, leur examen est instructif. Lorsqu'on est en présence des phrases-types (cette espèce étant très répandue) comme suivantes : *śītāḥ sānto hīdayam nīr dahanti* x 34, 9b, "(tout en) étant froids, ils brûlent le cœur," où le participe est l'attribut du sujet, et *jāyā tapyate kitavāsya hīnā mātā putrāsya carataḥ kvā svit* x, 34, 10a : "la femme et la mère du joueur se désolent abandonnées, pendant qu'il erre on ne sait où," où le participe attribut d'objet peut correspondre à notre phrase circonstancielle,—on assiste à la naissance du génitif absolu. La formation des tournures plus ou moins autonomes, équivalences des propositions subordonnées, était

inévitables en vieil indien. La langue des hymnes, de bonne heure stabilisée, était le seul modèle de parler noble. Mais c'était la langue de poésie. Son but n'étant pas de faire comprendre mais de faire sentir, deviner et voir, enfin d'éveiller des associations ; elle évitait tout ce qui pouvait enlever à la phrase son caractère rapide et ailé. Cependant pour tracer en grandes lignes, et de façon concise, l'ensemble d'un tableau, elle avait besoin de tournures brèves et nettes qui disent autant et même plus que ne dise une prop. subordonnée. C'était le lieu de se créer des génitifs et des locatifs absolus. Le premier s'est développé du génitif adnominal (cf. les exemples cités dessus) comme en grec et il est probable que ce fût l'aboutissement—incomplet en sanscrit—d'une tendance indo-européenne (cf. Wackernagel, *Vorles.* ii. Synt., i, 292).

Mais avant le génitif absolu le vieil indien a déjà eu le temps de se créer le locatif absolu, dont la valeur concrète et adverbiale a vite aidé à fixer son application. Le génitif, cas grammatical, était vague de nature (voir ci-dessus). Il se prêtait, avec son caractère complexe, à la phrase poétique, toute en sous-entendus ; se montrait moins utilisable, parfois dangereux pour la clarté, en prose. C'était autant d'empêchements à vivre. D'autre part la catégorie de temps pénétrant de plus en plus le système de la langue, le génitif indépendant disant " quand " et " après que " (cf. *tasyālabdhasya* chez Delbrück, A.S. 388) s'est trouvé inutile ; dès qu'on voulait souligner le moment de l'action sans plus, le locatif abs. y suffisait parfaitement ; avec le participe passé, il indiquait l'action secondaire achevée avant l'action principale ; avec le participe présent — leur simultanéité. Au fur et à mesure du développement des procédés syntaxiques, cette seconde fonction échut au génitif abs., mais le tour verbal cédant dans la langue de plus en plus au tour nominal, le locatif abs. avec son participe passé passif — adjectif, convenait bien au système évolué, tandis que le génitif abs., avec son participe présent à valeur verbale s'est trouvé du côté des formes refoulées. Aussi son application devint-elle restreinte et le bon usage du temps de Pāṇini l'a réservée aux cas particuliers (*anādara*). La langue plus négligée et plus vivante des épopées et des Purāṇas (cf. les exemples chez de Saussure) n'y a pas apporté beaucoup de changement : le génitif absolu formé avec des participes moyens ou des participes actifs des verbes indiquant l'état (*cint*, *paś* et pareils) n'est plus qu'une tournure adverbiale, une expression toute faite, dépourvue de vitalité et rare, car peu nécessaire. Il n'a jamais été vivant à l'état pur.

Ḍholā-Mārūrā Dūhā : A Fifteenth-century Ballad from Rājputānā

Is the present conclusion original ?

By T. GRAHAME BAILEY

THE story of Ḍholā and Mārūr is told in a stirring Rājputānī ballad published in the Bālābakhsh Rājput Cāraṇ Pustakmālā series. It is reviewed on another page of this *Bulletin*.

The story of the poem is briefly this. Pingal, the king of Pūgal, had a daughter called Māravaṇī ; Naḷ, the king of Narvar, had a son named Ḍholā. During a famine Pingal sought temporary refuge in Narvar, where the two rajas betrothed their children to each other. Some years after this Naḷ, reflecting that Pingal lived far away, and that the journey to his country was perilous, married his son to Mālavaṇī, daughter of the Raja of Mālvā. In due time Pingal sent messengers to call Ḍholā, but the wily Mālavaṇī had them killed. Ultimately Māravaṇī succeeded in getting a message delivered by singers. Ḍholā was charmed by their description of his early fiancée and set out for her country. After some vicissitudes he reached her, and they were married. On the return journey Māravaṇī died of snake-bite and was restored to life by a jogī. She was nearly seized by a Muhammadan chieftain, but was warned by a Gipsy woman, and through the swiftness of her camel, which, like Mālavaṇī's parrot, had the gift of speech, she and Ḍholā got to Narvar in safety. There they all lived in mutual affection, an affection clouded once by a domestic disagreement. Each of the wives praised her own country and decried that of the other. Ḍholā supported Māravaṇī, and this, rather inconsequently, restored peace.

This episode, which forms the conclusion of the poem, strikes me as unnatural and out of place. The story appears to end properly with dohā 653, which tells us of their settling down in peace, and says that it was God Who had joined them in this happy union.

Now when we think the poem has come to a suitable ending there starts a sudden argument between the two wives about the merits of their respective countries. Ḍholā supports Māravaṇī, whom he obviously prefers to this other wife, and his one-sided attitude appears to satisfy even Mālavaṇī, whom he had failed to uphold. Once again the poem comes to an end. The final words closely resemble those of

dohā 653. The two conclusions are alike ; the sense and several of the actual expressions of the last three lines (dohās 673, 674) are the same as in the previous ending, dohās 651 and 652. Not only so, but three other dohās, Nos. 666-8, are almost letter for letter the same as dohās in an earlier part of the poem. I have drawn attention to them below.

After Ḍholā and Māravaṇī reached Narvar in safety, we read :—

(dohā 651) *Ḍholāṁ Narvar āviyāṁ, mangal gāvāi nār*
uchav huvāṁ āyāṁ ghare, harakhyāṁ nagar apār
Sālhkumar bilasāi sadā kāmīṇ suguṇ sugāt.

Ḍholā came to Narvar, the women sing songs of rejoicing. There was a feast ; he came home ; the city rejoiced beyond measure. Sālh Kumār (i.e. Ḍholā) made merry with his wives, virtuous and beautiful.

The next dohā appears to end the story.

653 *Māravaṇī nāi Mālavaṇī, Ḍholāṁ tin bhartār*
ekaṇi mandir rang ramāi, kī joṛī Kartār.

Māravaṇī and Mālavaṇī, and Ḍholā their husband lived joyously in one palace ; God had made their union. (This hemistich reminds us of Tennyson's " marriages are made in heaven ".)

654 *talkhaṇ Mālavaṇī kahāi, " sābhaḷi kant surang*
" sagla des suhāmṇā, Mārū des virang.

At that time Mālavaṇī says : " Listen, charming husband ; every country is beautiful, (but) Mārvaṛ is insipid.

655 *" bālāṁ, bābā, desṛāṁ, pāṇī jihā kuvāḥ*
ādhirāt kuhakkaṛā, jyāṁ māṇasā muvāḥ.

" I would burn up, father, a land where the water is in wells, and at midnight there is a shouting as if people had died.

656 *bālāṁ, bābā, desṛāṁ, pāṇī sandī tāti*
pāṇī kerāi kāraṇāi prī chaṇḍāi adhrāti (v. l. sīcai).

I would burn up, father, a land with anxiety about water, where for the sake of water, the husband leaves (the house) at midnight (v. l. draws).

657 *bālāṁ, Ḍholā, desṛāṁ, jāi pāṇī kūven*
kūkū varaṇā haththṛā nahī sū ghāḍhā jēṇ.

I would burn up, Ḍholā, a land where water is in wells, and where red-coloured hands do not draw it. (*ghāḍhā*, of doubtful meaning ; perhaps connected with H. *kāḥṇā* ; Pj. *kaḍḍhā* ; Kś. *kaḍun*.)

- 658 *bābā, ma deis Māruvā, sūdhā evāḷāh*
kandhi kuhāṛāū, siri ghaṛāū, vāsāū manjhi Thālāh.
 Father, Thou shalt not give me (in marriage) to Mārvār, to simple
 shepherds, axe on shoulder, waterpot on head, to live among
 (the people of) Marusthal (Mārvār).
- 659 *bābā, ma deis Māruvā, var kūāri rahesi*
hāthi kacolāū, siri ghaṛāū, sīcantī ya maresi.
 Father, thou shalt not give me to Mārvār, I will (rather) remain
 virgin from a husband; cup in hand, waterpot on head, I
 shall die drawing water (or watering); (i.e. if I go to
 Mārvār).
- 660 *Māraū, thākāi desṛāi ek na bhājāi riḍḍ*
ūcāḷāū ka avarasaṇāū, kāi phākāū, kāi tiḍḍ.
 O Māraṇī, in your country, not even one difficulty flees away;
 there is either journeying (from the country), or lack of rain,
 either hunger or locust.
- 661 *jiṇ bhūi pannag pīyaṇa, kayar kaṇṭārū rūkh*
āke phoge chāḷṛī, hūchā bhājāi bhūkh.
 A country in which are (blood)-drinking snakes, and the trees
 are thorns and thorny shrubs; the shade is only āk and leaf-
 less shrubs, and hunger flees by (eating) hūch (thorny plant,
 the seeds of which are eaten).
- 662 *pahiraṇ-oṛhaṇ kambālā, sāthe purise nīr*
āpaṇ lok ubhākharā, gāḍar chālī khīr.
 For clothing and putting on (only) blankets; water sixty puris
 deep; the people themselves wanderers; milk (only) of sheep
 and goats. (A *puris* is about four feet.)
 Māraṇī replies by running down Mālvā and praising Mārvār.
- 663 *vaḷatī Māraṇī kahāi "Mārū des surang*
vījā tāū saglā bhalā, Mālav des virang.
 In turn (returning) Māraṇī says "Mārū land is charming;
 others indeed all are good, (only) Mālvā land is insipid.
- 664 *bālū, bābā, desṛāū, jahā pṛṇī sevār*
nā paṇihārī jhūlarāū, nā kūvāi laikār.
 I would burn up, father, a country where the water has *sevār*
 growing in it; (*sevār*, Hindi *shaivāl*, a water plant); neither
 companies of water-women, nor melody at the well.
- 665 *bālū, bābā, desṛāū, jahā phikiriya log*
ek na ḍīsāi goriyā, ghari ghari ḍīsāi sog.

I would burn up, father, a land, where the people are uninteresting ; women are not seen, even one ; in every house is seen sadness.

- 666 *Mārū des upanniyā, tihākū kū dant suset
kūjh bacī gorangiyā, khanjar jehā net.*

This dohā has already occurred as No. 457, where for *upanniyā* we have *upanniyā*, a better reading. I assume it here.

Girls born in Mārvār, their teeth are beautifully white ; they are fair as young cranes, and their eyes are like those of wagtails (or are like wagtails).

- 667 *Mārū des upanniyā, sar jyāū paddhariyāh
karvā kade na bolahī, mīthā bolāniyāh.*

This is almost word for word the dohā which we have already had as No. 484. There the ending is *-yāh*, which is preferable.

Girls born in Mārvār are straight as an arrow, they never speak bitter words, they are speakers of sweet things.

- 668 *des nivāṇū, sajal jal, mīthā bolā loi
Mārū kāmīni dikhani dhar Hari dīyāū tāū hoi."*

This dohā, with one word of difference, occurs as No. 485.

The land is low-lying (therefore fertile), fresh in water, with people speaking sweet words ; Mārvārī women (women like them) might be in the land of the south, but only if God gave them.

Now Dholā speaks and favours Māravanī.

- 669 *des surangāū, bhuī nijal, na diyā dos Thalāh
ghari ghari cand-vadanniyā, nīr caṇhāi kamlāh.*

The land is charming, (yet) the soil is waterless ; do not attribute fault to Marusthal ; at every door are moon-faced girls, like lotuses which rise to the water (or who ascend to the water like lotuses).

- 670 *suṇi, sundari, ketā kahā Mārū des vakhān
Māravanī mīlyā pachāi jānyāū janam pravāṇ.*

Listen, fair one, how much shall I praise Mārvār ? Since I met Māravanī I have regarded my life as fruitful.

This, while a charming compliment to his favourite wife, was depressing to the other. Reading the compliment we think of Browning's:

The purpose of my being is accomplished
And I am happy. I, too, Federigo.

- 671 *jhaḡṛāũ bhāḡāũ goriyḍ, Ḍholāi pūri sakkkh*
Mārū ruḷiyāũt huī, pāmī priya parakkkh.

The quarrel of the fair ones fled away; Ḍholā supported (Māravaṇī); Māravaṇī became happy; she had tested her loved one.

- 672 *Māḷav des vikhoṛiyā, Mārū kiyā vakhān*
Mārū sohāḡiṇ thaī sundari saḡuṇ sujāṇ.

He decried Māḷvā, and praised Mārvār; Māravaṇī, beautiful, virtuous and wise, became fortunate.

- 673 *ḡim madhukar nāi ketakī, ḡim koil sahkar*
Māravaṇī man harakhiyāũ tim Ḍholāi bhartār.

As the bee and the *keoṛā*, as the *koel* and the plintain, so Māravaṇī's soul rejoiced in Ḍholā, her husband.

We are not told how the other wife regarded the situation, and the final couplet which follows is unnatural at this point.

- 674 *āṇand atī, ūchāh atī, Narvar māhe Ḍhol*
sasnehī sayañḍ taṇḍ kaḷimḍ rahiṇā bol.

Much happiness, much feasting, Ḍholā in Narvar; and the story of those loving lovers continued in this iron age.

The sense of this doha is the same as that of No. 653.

Phonetic Observations on the Brāhūi Language

By M. B. EMENEAU

IN January of 1936 Dr. Ernest Mackay, director of the excavation of the American School of Indic and Iranian Studies at Chanhudaro, courteously arranged that I should have the use of a Brāhūi speaker and an interpreter for a number of sessions. The Brāhūi, Dad Muhammad by name, belongs to the Nīchārī tribe of the Jhalawān division of the Brāhūis.¹ Some confirmatory notes were made as well with the aid of another of the Brāhūi speakers working at the excavation, of the same tribe and village as Dad Muhammad. The notes made were chiefly phonetic. The results in the main need not be detailed here; Sir Denys Bray's account is entirely accurate for the phonemic system of the language, except, it seems, in one small point to be noticed later, and needs to be supplemented only by a few phonetic observations, some of which I make in this paper. All examples are written phonemically unless indicated otherwise. Accents are not written; all polysyllabic words quoted have a stress accent on the first syllable, except [kaʔe:k], accented on the second syllable and treated in the paragraphs of *Bray*, i, referred to below when the word is quoted.

The phonetic system of Brāhūi is, on the whole, simple and straightforward, and the phonemes show few variants. The fricatives [x] and [ɣ], for example, Bray's *kh* and *gh*, are always made in the velar position, rather far back towards the uvula, but not involving any trilling of or friction against the uvula; they are not advanced in position before or after front vowels. Examples: [xaŋ] "eye", [xa:xar] "fire", [trax:as] "crack" (especially chap on hand or foot caused by cold), [xi:suŋ] "red", [xe:r] "behind", [li:x] "neck", [ti:xta] "put it down", [se:xa:] "shade", [paŋx] "bark of tree"; [be:y] "knead (imperative)", [liyir] "naked", [ɣaʊr ke:s] "think it over!" [i: pirya:tta] "I broke it", [zaym] "sword".

The two tremulants, Bray's *r* and *ṛ*, are respectively [r] and [r̥]. The former is a voiced trill of two or three or more taps made just in front of the alveolar ridge. Examples: [bra:ʔu:i:] "Brahui", [drik]

¹ See Bray, ii and iii, p. 4. References will be made to: Bray, i = *The Brāhūi Language*, part i, Introduction and Grammar, by Denys de S. Bray, Calcutta, Superintendent Government Printing, India, 1909. Bray, ii and iii = *The Brāhūi Language*, part ii, The Brāhūi Problem; part iii, Etymological Vocabulary, by Sir Denys Bray, Delhi, Manager of Publications, 1934.

"jump (noun)", [irat] "two", [ma:r] "son", [i: pirya:tta] "I broke it", [o: truḡa:a] "he choked (in drinking water so that the water came out of his mouth)". This [r] is also lengthened and made with five or six or more taps (written by Bray rr). This [r:] is phonemically different from [r]; e.g. [ara:] "which?" [ʔar:a] "(he) tore (it)". When [r:] is final the last few taps tend to be unvoiced, e.g. [bir:] "wild" in narrow transcription might be written [bir̥]. The other tremulant [r] is, in Dad Muhammad's speech at least, a single-flap sound made in the same position as [r], with the fully-voiced downflap heard prominently when the phoneme is final or before another consonant. Examples: [va:r] "hedge" contrasted with [var] "turn, time", [ro:r] "calf", plural [ro:rk], [ḡar] "dismount (imperative)" contrasted with [ḡar] "take away (imperative)", [i: tare:tta] "I cut it", [ʔarḡe:] "every day".

The two liquids, Bray's l and lh, are respectively [l] and [l̥], both made just in front of the alveolar ridge. The voiceless lateral is accompanied by a considerable amount of friction. Examples: [ʔal] "rat", [ʔal] "seize (imperative)", [ʔil] "fever", [ʔi:l] "a fly", [ʔi:l] "respect for a person's authority", [xal] "stone", plural [xalk], [xal] "pain", [i: xalkutta] "I beat him", [xalta] "beat him", [pa:l] "milk", [me:l] "sheep", plural [me:lk], [ʒa:la] "hail", [t̥e:la:mba:] "like a scorpion".

In forming the dentals [t̥], [ḡ], and the groups [nt̥] and [ḡḡ] the tip of the tongue touches the back of the upper teeth with a certain amount of contact of the edge of the tongue all around the backs of the teeth. [p̥], when not followed by [t̥] or [ḡ], has its contact somewhat further back, probably at the roots of the teeth. [t̥], [ḡ], and the groups [nt̥] and [ḡḡ] are formed by contact of the tongue-tip with the alveolar ridge, not, as in the English sounds, by contact of the blade with the alveolar ridge. [n] is said by Bray (i, p. 28) to occur in some words not in the neighbourhood of [t̥] or [ḡ], but I have no examples of it and am unable to say anything about its point of articulation. Only a few examples need be given to supplement the material contained in the preceding and following lists of examples: [tu:] "month", [tu:] "fat", [aḡt̥] "what?", [ko:nd] "cave", [ko:nt] "wool rug, drugget", [ko:ndo:] "fowl-ticks".

The phoneme given by Bray as h is probably to be divided into two: a voiceless aspirate [h] and a glottal stop [ʔ]. The former was found in a few words only, always intervocalic: [a:har] "mid-summer", [baha:] "price", [baha:na] "excuse", [ḡahar] "wild

animal". Although no words could be found differentiated from these merely by the occurrence of [ʔ] instead of [h], yet such words as [t̪aʔa:r] "dark", [maʔa:laʊ] "soon, in good time", make it impossible to set up [h] as a positional variant of [ʔ].

[ʔ] occurs initially in all words in which Bray writes h, including those for which he gives variants without h, except, it seems, the word [ara:] "which?". Examples: [ʔame:ʔun] "just in that way", [ʔa:ɖi:] "hajji", [o:ʔe:st̪a] "he brought it" [ʔimpa] "do not go", [ʔis] "ashes", [ʔuʔ] "camel", [ʔust̪] "heart", [ʔo:r] "finger", plural [ʔo:k]. Other examples are to be found in the preceding and following lists.

Examples of intervocalic [ʔ] are: [kaʔe:k] "(fire) is dead" (Bray, i, §§ 203, 206), [ke:ʔalk t̪am:a:] "(he) stumbled and fell", [pi: aṇṭa xwa:ʔisa] "what do you want?" [o:ʔuṇ] "in that way", [pe:ʔa:] "(he) entered", [pi:ʔuṇ] "white", [saʔi: af:at] "I don't know".

In absolute final position and before a consonant [ʔ] is very weak and hard to hear, being somewhat masked by a very short but fully voiced re-articulation of the preceding vowel. Examples: [d̪a:ʔ] "complaint", [d̪ro:ʔ] "treachery", [de:ʔ] "region", [muʔ] "ahead", [no:ʔ] "9"; [ma:ʔri:] "riding camel", [me:ʔr] "kindness", [miʔṇat̪] "wages", [mo:ʔje:f] "descent". A comparatively large number of words has the vowel [a] preceding [ʔ]. The vowel is fronted and raised to a position between [æ] and [ɛ]; the words are given here with the phonemic transcription [a]. Examples: [d̪aʔ] "10", [d̪gaʔ] "abode", [gaʔ] "jibbing", [ṇaʔ] "no", [raʔ] "side, river-bank" (cf. [raʔat] "by the bank", with [a] unmodified), [traʔ] "sudden start", [zaʔ] "flock of kids and lambs"; [kaʔv] "spleen", [maʔr] "dowry settled on wife by husband", [paʔra] "sentry-go", [paʔre:z] "avoidance", [saʔt̪] "jewellery", [jaʔd̪] "honey", [jaʔr] "village", [t̪aʔti: ʔurak] "look inside", [zaʔr] "poison".

The diphthongs, Bray's ai, ei, āi, au, are respectively [ai], [ae], [a:i], [au]. Examples: [aiṇo:] "to-day", [jaiṛ] "song", [ba xaiṛat] "welcome!"; [bae] "grass", [aṇṭae] "why?" [sae] "three" in [bi:st̪ o: sae] "23", [si: o: sae] "33", etc., [saeʃambe:] "Tuesday", [ʃaeʃta:ṇ] "devil"; [d̪a:iska:] "up to now", [i: ba:ife:t] "I lost at gambling"; [lauz] "language", [kulaʊ] "message", [ʔau] "yes", [ʔauḍ] "small tank". The word for "black" which Bray gives as *maun* was pronounced by my informants [mo:ṇ], homonymous with [mo:ṇ] "face". So also [d̪o:ṇ] "in this way" was given for Bray's *daun*.

Ein türkisches Werk von Haydar-Mirza Dughlat

VON AHMET-ZEKI VALIDI

UNTER den osttürkischen Mss. in der Martin-Hartmann-Sammlung der Berliner Staatsbibliothek gibt es ein in Versen (mutaqarib) verfasstes Werk namens Ğihān-Nāme (Ms. Oz. Oct. 1704), das in dem Verzeichnis Hartmanns (*MSOS*, vii, 1904, Bd. ii, S. 10, N. 83) nur als „Erzählung über Firuz-Šah“ bezeichnet ist. Als ich 1924 diese Sammlung nach dem Vorschlag von Prof. Weil katalogisiert habe, stellte ich fest, dass es sich hier um ein unbekanntes Werk von Haydar-Mirza Dughlat handelt. Die Hs. besteht aus 125 Seiten im 16^o und die Abschrift ist von einem gewissen Molla ‘Umar ibn Molla Hāġi am 16. Ğumādi ii, 1229h. (5. Juni, 1814) vollendet worden.

Der Inhalt des Büchleins ist eine Erzählung. Sie lautet:

Prinz Firūzšah, der einzige Sohn des Königs Šāhsewār und der Königin Ğihān-Bānū von der Stadt Šehri-Simīn (Silberstadt) verliebt sich im Traum in ein Mädchen aus unbekanntem Lande. Mit dem Geheimnis des Prinzen ist nur Firūze-Rāy, der Sohn des Wezirs Selim, vertraut. Der infolge der Sehnsucht nach dem unbekannten Mädchen sehr bekümmerte Prinz wird auf einer Jagd durch eine Gazelle in die Wüste gelockt, er verirrt sich und, die Gazelle verfolgend, kommt er zum Schloss Gulistān-i-Īram, dem Wohnort des unbekannten Mädchens. Sie ist die Prinzessin Perizād, die Tochter des Königs Tāġ-Baht und der Königin Māhrū aus der Stadt Šehri-Zerrīn (Goldstadt), dem Lande der Feen. Die Bedingung für die Heirat, die schlafende Prinzessin durch wundervolle Märchen dreimal aufzuwecken, wird vom Prinzen glücklich erfüllt. Ihm kommen zur Hilfe der Thron, die Weinkaraffe und die Kerze, die sich bei der schlafenden Prinzessin befinden.

Zuerst erzählt ihm der Thron, wie er, ein Holzstück aus dem Niltal, nach langen Erlebnissen zum Thron geworden ist. Demgegenüber erzählt der Prinz die Erlebnisse eines Holzes, wie es durch Wundertaten eines Gelehrten, eines Goldschmieds und eines Schneiders die Gestalt eines schönen, lebenden Mädchens annahm. Jetzt entsteht die Frage: wem von diesen dreien gehört das Mädchen?

Zum zweiten erzählt die Weinkaraffe über ihre Erlebnisse, wie sie als ein Steinfels auf dem Alburuz-Gebirge am Heerweg der grossen Eroberer Darius, Alexander u.a. lag und wie sie von einem Steinhauer gesprengt, weggeschleppt, behauen, geschliffen, endlich zu einer Weinkaraffe geworden, und bis zu den Lippen der Prinzessin gelangt ist. Demgegenüber erzählt der Prinz von einem schönen Mädchen, das von einem Dämon entführt war, von drei Personen: einem Fürsten,

einem kriegerischen Helden und einem Steinschleuderer gerettet wurde. Die Frage ist nun: wem von diesen dreien gehört das Mädchen?

Drittens erzählt die Kerze über ihre Erlebnisse, wie sie anfangs als ein Schaf zuerst geschlachtet und dann zur Kerze der Prinzessin gemacht wurde. Demgegenüber erzählt der Prinz von zwei Verliebten, die nachdem sie von einem Räuber enthauptet waren, von einem Reisenden wieder ins Leben zurückgerufen wurden. Dabei aber wurden bei der Herstellung ihrer Gestalt ihre Köpfe irrtümlicherweise verwechselt. Die Frage lautet: wem von diesen zwei verliebten gehört das Mädchen?

Um auf alle diese drei Fragen zu antworten, unterbricht die Prinzessin ihren Schlaf. Der Prinz bekommt die Hand der Prinzessin; er lässt auch seinen Freund, den Sohn des Wezirs, Firūze-Rāy in die Šehri-Zerrīn kommen, wo auch er ein Mädchen namens Nāzenīn erhält. Nach den Hochzeitsfeierlichkeiten in Šehri-Zerrīn fahren Prinz und Prinzessin Perizād nach Hause, wo Firūzšāh von seinem alten Vater und den Untertanen „von Türk und Tāgik“ nach dem „Tüzük“ empfangen wird. Nach dem Tode des Vaters kommt er auf den Thron. Nach hundertfünfzigjähriger glücklicher Herrschaft stirbt zum grossen Kummer des Firūzšāh die Königin. Ihr Leichnam wird von Feen nach ihrer Heimat Šehri-Zerrīn gebracht und an einem unbekannten Orte heimlich beerdigt. Firūzšāh durch den Verlust seiner geliebten Frau tief betroffen und vom Gram niedergeschlagen, kann sich nicht mehr mit den Staatsangelegenheiten befassen. Er schickt seinen Sohn, den Kronprinzen Farruh-Sewar in die Šehri-Zerrīn, damit er sich über die Grabstätte seiner Mutter erkundige; aber alles ist vergebens. Der Wezir Firūze-Rāy schlägt dem König, der die Staatsführung vernachlässigt, vor, auf den Thron zugunsten seines Sohnes Farruh-Sewar zu verzichten. Er nimmt den Vorschlag an. Er begibt sich nachher voll Verzweiflung auf die Jagd in die Wüste, wo er wieder dieselbe Gazelle trifft, die ihn früher zum Schloss Gulistān-i-Īram geführt hatte. Sie führt ihn jetzt zur geheimen Grabstätte seiner Geliebten, wo auch er seinen Tod findet.

Im ganzen Buch ist der Verfasser nirgends namentlich erwähnt. In seiner Vorrede (S. 2–11) und im Schlusswort (S. 121–125), die ich hier beilege gibt er aber das Datum der Abfassung und die Schilderung der Umstände, unter denen das Buch geschrieben wurde, welche verraten, dass der Verfasser kein anderer war als Ḥaydar-Mirza. Das Buch ist vom Autor selbst *Ġihān-Nāme* betitelt und im Ragab des Jahres 939 (in Buchstaben: فرخنده), d.h. 27. i–25. ii, 1533, im Pferdejahr vollendet worden (S. 124, v. 10–12). Diese Tage, in welchen er offenbar nur den Schlussteil geschrieben hat, gehörten, wie aus S. 124, v. 1–S. 125, v. 3, hervorgeht, zu der schwersten Zeit seines Lebens. Er konnte sich damals nur durch die Erinnerungen an das Vergangene

trösten. Nach den Ausführungen in der Vorrede und im Nachwort ist der Verfasser beim Chaqan oder Chan Osttürkestans (Sa'id-Chan, den er aber nirgends mit Namen nennt) so beliebt, wie Ayās bei Maḥmūd von Ġazna (S. 8, v. 6); auch sein dichterisches Pseudonym war *Ayāz* (S. 122, v. 4). Er war mit dem Chan schon im „Vilāyet“ (S. 5, v. 3), dass in der Sprache der damaligen Türken und Tāḡiken Turkestans „bebaute Bezirke und Städte von Mawerannahim“ heisst, zusammen. Dann haben der Chan und er (der Verfasser) einen Feldzug gegen Andiḡān unternommen (S. 6, v. 10). Von hier aus sind sie mit ihrem Heer weiter gegen den Herrscher von Kaschgar, Abābekir-Mirza gezogen, um den Thron, der den Vorfahren des Chans immer gehörte, zurückzuerobern. Kaschgar und Chotan wurden besetzt. Abābekir wurde in die Flucht geschlagen und auf dem Wege nach Tibet festgenommen und getötet (S. 6, v. 11–S. 8, v. 2). Dies sind also die Ereignisse, die Ḥaydar-Mirza in seinem *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* (transl. by Denison Ross, S. 241 f., 247 f., 310–325) so ausführlich schildert.

Dann erzählt der Verfasser über eine Abordnung aus Badaḡšān, die gekommen sei, um sich über das traurige Schicksal ihres Landes zu beklagen, dass nämlich Badaḡšān sich in einem Zustand der Anarchie befinde und, falls es nicht von Seiten des Chans von Kaschgar besetzt würde, in die Hände der Özbeken übergehe. Der Chan entschliesst sich, dieser Bitte nachzukommen. Er ziehe mit seinem Heere nach Badaḡšān, wobei er den Verfasser mit einer Vorhut vorausschickt. Der Verfasser kommt nach Badaḡšān und dort erinnert er sich, dass er hier bereits 19 Jahre vorher gewesen war. Er führt weiter aus, dass von seinen damaligen Freunden in Badaḡšān niemand mehr da war, und dass er in den schlaflosen Nächten diese Erzählung in Versen niedergeschrieben habe (S. 9, v. 10–S. 11, v. 5). Dies ist die zweite Expedition des Sa'id-Chans im Jahre 1528 von Yarkend aus nach Badaḡšān, wo Ḥaydar-Mirza tatsächlich mit einer Vorhut (Manghalay) vorausgeschickt worden war (vgl. *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, S. 387 f.). Sa'id-Chan und Ḥaydar-Mirza haben bei dieser Unternehmung „Qal'ai-Zafar“, die Hauptstadt von Badaḡšān drei Monate lang ohne Erfolg belagert. Von diesem Feldzug, richtiger Streifzug, Sa'id-Chans erwähnt auch Babur als von einem undankbaren Vorgehen seines Neffen, demgegenüber er so viel Gutes in den schwierigen Zeiten seines Lebens getan habe (Edition Ilmenseki, 501–3). Auch die Bemerkung, dass er (der Verfasser) 19 Jahre vorher in Badaḡšān unter seinen Freunden gewesen war, die nicht mehr da sind, stimmt mit den Einzelheiten des Lebens Ḥaydar-Mirza's überein. Tatsächlich war er vom Ende des Jahres 1508 bis zum Ende des Jahres

1509 in Badahšān, er weilte damals in Qalai-Zafar bei seinem Onkel, dem Temuriden Ḥan-Mirza (s. *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, 215, 221), der im Jahre 1528 nicht mehr am Leben war.

Der Verfasser hat das Schlusskapitel später, wie schon erwähnt, im Januar-Februar des Jahres 1533 vollendet. Zu dieser Zeit war Ḥaydar-Mirza in Kaschmir. Sa'id-Chan hat ihn bei seiner Expedition nach Tibet von Tubra aus mit einem Heer von 2000 Mann nach Kaschmir beordert. Der Chan selbst zog nach Yarkend ab und starb unterwegs am 9. Juli 1533. Ḥaydar-Mirza ist nach Kaschmir im Winter und zwar im Ġumādi II (beginnt 26, xii, 1532) gekommen und bis zum Šawwal (Mai 1533) dort geblieben. Den Schlussteil des Ġihān-Nāme vollendete er also unmittelbar nach der Ankunft in Kaschmir.

Das Werk ist geschichtlich und sprachlich sehr interessant. Der Verfasser sagt am Schluss S. 124, v. 3, dass die Erzählung seinen eigenen Erlebnissen entsprach. Damit meint er offenbar das Hauptmoment in der Erzählung, wonach ein Herrscher, der nicht mehr den Staat führen konnte, gezwungen war auf seinen Thron zugunsten seines Sohnes zu verzichten und sich in die Wüste zu begeben. Daraus kann man ersehen, dass auch sein Herrscher Sa'id-Chan die Expedition nach Tibet (1532-3) nicht ganz freiwillig unternommen hatte. Sa'id-Chan hat während der letzten Jahre seiner Regierung die Staatsführung vernachlässigt (er trank viel) und dabei hat sein energischer Sohn Abdurrašid offenbar immer mehr Ansehen gewonnen. Geschichtlich gesehen ist auch die Bemerkung interessant, dass der Feldzug Sa'id-Chans im Jahre 1528 ein Zuvorkommen vor der Eroberung Badahšāns durch den Özbeken bedeutete.

Das Werk zeigt ausserdem, dass Ḥaydar-Mirza im Türkischen ein ausgezeichneter Dichter gewesen ist. Seine Sprache ist, wie die seiner Zeitgenossen Babur und Šaybaq-Chan, einfach; die Schilderungen sind klar und lebendig. Er hat eine Erzählung, ursprünglich vielleicht eine indische,¹ durch die von ihm eingeschobenen Bilder aus dem Leben der Herrscher Türkestans zu einem türkischen gemacht. Untertanen des Königs Fīrūzšāh sind „Türken und Tāġiken“, die Zeremonien sind in „Tüzük“ (Traditionsgesetz) vorgeschrieben. Besonders interessant und lebendig ist die Schilderung der Jagd (S. 26-27). Dort dirigieren die uns in der Geschichte der Djagataier und Temurs wohl bekannte „tawāčī's“, die Söhne der „Bek's“ bilden bei der Jagd einen besonderen „quram“ (Gruppe, Abteilung).

¹ Vgl. z.B. P. Kretschmer, in *WZKM.* B. 37 (1930) S. 15 f.

Interessant sind die Termini und Ausdrücke „tufqal“, „tüzüik ğirgeledi“, „ğirgadin qalmaq“, „yibardi ütü her sari beş gonaq“. Merkwürdigerweise sehen wir in der djagataischen Sprache Haydar-Mirza's, so wie in der des Šaybaq-Chan Spuren des Westtürkischen, z.B. *olub*, *durur*, statt *bolub* und *turur*, dazu die Auslassung der Vokale. Šaybaq-Chan hat bei seinem Feldzuge gegen die Chane der Qazaq (Kirgizen) den Alexanderroman des westtürkischen Dichters Ahmedi bei sich.¹ Es ist möglich, dass Sa'id-Chan und seine Umgebung sich auch für die westtürkische Literatur interessiert haben; genau so wie wir dagegen den Vers des westtürkischen Dichters Fuḡlī:

قنغی گلشن گلبنی سرو خرما نڭچه وار

قنغی گلبن اوزره غنچه لعل خند آنڭچه وار

z.B. mit dem des Sa'id-Chan:

قسی گلشن نینک یوزونک ینکلیغ گل رعناسی بار

قایسی گل نینک هم مینینک دیک بلبل شیداسی بار

vergleichen können. Babur in Indien, Šaybaq-Chan in Westtürkestan, Sa'id-Chan und Haydar-Mirza in Osttürkestan waren, trotz der politischen Gegensätze, Angehörige ein und derselben Schule in der djagataischen Literatur und standen offenbar auch mit den literarischen Strömungen der Türken Westasiens in Fühlung.

¹ Darüber in „Mihmannāme-i-Buḡārā“ von Faḡlullāh ibn Ruzbehān al-Isfahānī, Hs. der Nuri-Osmaniye in Istanbul, N. 3431, f. 131b.

² Diwān-i-Fuḡlī, Istanbul, 1328, s. 143.

³ Bei Denison Ross, Tarikh-i-Rashidi, S. 138 ist dieser Vers, wie auch die andere, ausgelassen.

The Arabic Theatre in Egypt

By NEVILL BARBOUR

PART III

THE PLAYS

TRANSLATIONS and Adaptations.—As has been stated in the preceding article, most of the plays produced in Egypt from 1875 to 1914 were translations or adaptations of European originals. Shakespeare was amongst the first to be utilized, and a version of *Othello*, with the title *اوتللو او القائد المغربي* was played by al Qurdāhī. It is difficult to form a clear idea of what these early performances were like; but it is obvious that the very amateurish production, the frequent oriental songs and the changes to suit local taste must have resulted in something very different from the productions of Shakespeare that are current in England to-day. Shaiḫ Salāma used to take the part of Romeo in a translation of *Romeo and Juliet* (*شهداء الغرام او روميو و جوليت*) made by Najīb al Ḥaddād. *Hamlet* (*هملت*) was played by both al Qurdāhī and Shaiḫ Salāma in a version made by Tānyūs 'Abdū. After Jūrj Abyaḍ's return from Europe, he appeared in several plays of Shakespeare in translations by Khalīl Muṭrān.¹ These are highly praised, notably *Macbeth* (*ماكبث*), *Hamlet* (*هملت*), and *Othello* (*عطيل*).² Another version of *Hamlet*, with the title *هاملت* was published by Sāmī al Jardīnī in 1922. A version of the *Tempest* (*العاصفه*), by Dr. Abū Shādī, was published in 1929, and the same play has been produced by Fāṭima Ruḥdī's company in a version

¹ Specimens in the MS. of Taufiq Ḥabīb, pp. 116-18.

² Khalīl Muṭrān rejects *عطاء* as the original of the name "Othello" on the grounds that this name is never used by Moroccans. He suggests *عطيل* as an affectionate diminutive from *عاطل* ("Unadorned"), suitable to a dark-skinned Moroccan whose mother, at any rate, was probably a negro slave. "al Akhbār," 26th April, 1916.

by Aḥmad Rāmī. Other Shakespearean plays produced in recent times are the *Taming of the Shrew* and *Julius Cæsar* in a version by Maḥmūd Ḥamdī. A translation exists of *King Lear*, though the play has not been produced. Molière was also amongst the first to attract attention, though he does not seem to have been as popular as Shakespeare. Al Qurdāhī played *L'Avare* (al Baḥīl) in a translation made by Najīb al Ḥaddād, and a version of *Le Médecin malgré lui*, with the title "at Ṭabīb", was made by Iskandar Ḥabqālī (?). There exists also a volume, printed about 1900, containing four plays of Molière in colloquial verse, by 'Uthmān Bey Jalāl. Other authors who were put under contribution include Corneille, Racine, Victor Hugo, Dumas, and in more recent times Rostand, Bourget, and many other modern French playwrights.¹

The second stage was the adaptation of modern pieces to an Egyptian setting. This is done in its simplest form by moving the scene from London to Cairo, by the metamorphosis of John into Muḥammad, Mary into Fāṭima and the making of any other slight alterations which seem imperative. As it is at present impossible for a foreign dramatist to enforce any claim for royalties in Egypt, such plays can be procured cheaply; were they more expensive the Egyptian theatre could not afford to present them. Sometimes the name of the original author is mentioned, sometimes it is not. A piece entitled Bayyūmī Efendī, which is simply a translation of the well-known French play *Le Père Lebonnard*, was produced by the Ramses Company in 1932-3; in this case not only was no mention made of the original author, but the piece was described in the programme as "from the pen of Ḥasan al Bārūdī, a play Egyptian in action, Egyptian in language, Egyptian in its circumstances, Egyptian in everything".² The adaptations are in general well done; a tolerably Egyptian atmosphere is often successfully substituted for that of the original. Special mention should be made of the adaptation of Mr. Knoblauch's *Kismet*, played by Fāṭima Rushdī's company under the title "A Night from the Thousand Nights" ("Laila min al Alfī Laila"), one of the most enjoyable

¹ The following translations have appeared in a series published under the auspices of the Ministry of Education (1932-3). Shakespeare "Al Malik Līr," translated by Ibrāhīm Ramzī; "Tarwīd an Namira" (*Taming of the Shrew*), translated by Ibrāhīm Ramzī; Molière, "Tartūf"; Ibsen, *Ghosts* and *An Enemy of the People*; Corneille, *Cinna*, translated by Khalīl Muṭṭran; Victor Hugo, *Hernani*; Banville, *Griegoire*.

² Programme of Ramses Theatre, undated. I have been told that the phrase "from the pen of" should be regarded as an indication that the piece is not original; but it seems unlikely that the ordinary playgoer would so understand it.

pieces given in Cairo.¹ The work of the adapter, Maḥmūd Bairam at Tūnisī, partly consisted in pruning the excess of "Eastern" verbiage and imagery with which the English author sought local colour. The success of the performance was then due to the admirable acting of 'Aziz 'Id and Fātima Ruṣḥdī in the parts of the Beggar and his daughter Najaf, combined with the excellent use the adapter has made of the Egyptian vernacular. As an example of the latter, we may take the opening of the third scene of the first act, where the Beggar's daughter seeks an excuse to get rid of her duenna for a few minutes. The English version reads:—

Marsinah: The sun grows hot.

Narjis: How's thy border? Will it be done by noon prayer? I promised it to the merchant.

M.: I hear, Narjis, I hear. Hast thou any yellow wool?

N.: Yellow? Yellow? Did I not give it to thee erstwhile?

M. (hiding the yellow wool): 'Twas red thou gavest me.

N.: By the life of thy youth, O Marsinah, 'twas yellow.

M.: Look thyself. Thou seest I lack it to finish the pattern.

N.: Alas! What's to be done? What's to be done?

M.: Run to the wool market, O good Narjis.

N.: All the way to the wool market?

M.: 'Tis none so far for one as sprightly as thou, O sweet Narjis. Thou didst promise it to the merchant—remember!

N.: I could have laid an oath with the All-seeing there was yet another strand of yellow.

M.: Couldst thou in sooth?

N.: Well-a-day! There's nought for me but to go. We must finish the work or the money's lost . . . And O Marsinah! No looking out of windows or over walls.

M.: By Lady Fatima's life of light! What dost thou suppose?

N.: Think of thy father. Thou knowest how he fears for thy safety. Was not his first wife stolen? His son slaughtered? Art thou not the last of his race? Is not thine own mother in the tomb of eternity? I tell thee, should one folly on thy part reach thy father's ears, 'twere the undoing of us both.

M.: Fear nought, O dear Narjis.²

¹ An abbreviated and unsatisfactory version of *Kismet* in the classical language has also been played, e.g. by a touring company under 'Abdullah 'Ukāsha.

² *Kismet*, E. Knoblauch, Methuen, 1912, pp. 42-3.

In the adaptation this becomes :—

نجف (ترك المنسج) الشمس كوتنى يا وردانه لا ياختى خلاص
انا حرّانه

وردانه (لا تزال تشتغل) و الشغل الى الراجل قال لى اجيبه له
قوام قبل ما اصلّى . . . حرّانه ؟ دا ايه . . . ياختى
اتسلى ما انا اكثر منك طعقانه

نجف (بلوم) الشغل خلص ازرق و اخضر ما فاضلش الا الصوف
الاصفر (سكون قليل) وَنْ¹ كنت حاكل² بالاحمر . . .
الطرحه حتطلع حسرّانه

وردانه (ساخطة) و اعمل لك ايه بقى يا حبيبتى . . . مش كنت
من الاول قلت و بتاع الصوف يا نجف ياختى دكانه بعيد
و انا تعبانه

نجف تعبانه . . . و ايه انا حعمل لك قومى جيبى الصوف
اكل لك . . . السوق مليانه . . . اخطفنى رجلك حالا
و تعالى يا كسلانه

وردانه (بضجر) يا ندامتى على العيشه المرّة حاخرج و ادخل
خمسین مرّة ما كره عليه³ خروج برّه و فى عزالشمس
آه يانه

¹ وَان =

² ح for future tense.

³ ما اكره على =

نجف (ضاحكه) ياسلام دانت اسم الله عليك يتهدي الارض
برجليك ارحى و تعالى و عنيكى انا قاعدة لوحدى
و زهقانه

وردانه (وهى تلبس الملايه ولحمار) مانا رخرة¹ كمان خايفه عليك
مالى حصل لامك و اخوك (تقرب من الباب ثم تعود)
سكى الشبايبك و حياء ابوك (تذهب ثانية و تعود ثانية)
والباب سكيه حلوا مانه²

It cannot be doubted that the rather stilted English of the original has gained immensely in the translation into the lilting and expressive Egyptian colloquial.

Revue.—As has already been mentioned, the Egyptian populace has a special talent and liking for a type of entertainment called "Revue" or "Franco-Arab" or "Operette". In this type of entertainment the story is little more than an excuse for introducing popular comedians in their favourite situations. Imitations of foreigners talking Arabic are always popular, in particular the Turkish aristocrat, the Greek grocer or cabaret keeper, the Maltese pedlar, and the English tourist talking with his dragoman. The Azhar Shaiikh also comes in for his share of mockery; and I have seen represented eight Bishops of an Eastern rite in full robes who, after being summoned to interpret a royal dream, left the stage in a burlesque *danse de ventre*; this was, however, greeted with hisses by a part of the audience. The pieces played by 'Alī al Kassār are of this type; one of the more original is entitled "Egypt from the Hijra until to-day". The opening scene is laid beside the Great Pyramid at sunrise. 'Alī al Kassār is discovered in the guise of an Arab soldier who has been sleeping since the time of 'Amr ibn al 'Āsī. He is awakened by a lady with a papyrus staff, who personifies Egypt. She relates to him succinctly, in Classical Arabic, the history of Egypt from the time he fell asleep until the present day.

¹ ما انا الاخرى.

² From MS. kindly lent by Mme Fātima Rushdī.

As she reaches each period, the scene changes and a typical episode of that epoch is represented, passing rapidly from a half-serious opening to burlesque. The nine scenes represented the times of the *Khalifa* Mu'āwīya, the Abbasides, the Tūlūnids, the Ikshīdite dynasty, the Fātimiyyūn, Ṣalāḥ ad Dīn, the Mamelukes, Napoleon, and finally the reign of King Fū'ād, typified by a beach scene at the Casino San Stefano at Alexandria. This performance lasted one and a half hours, being followed by varieties.

An example of Egyptian operette in its highest form is available to the reader in the entertaining and poetical piece called "The Ten of Diamonds" ("al 'Ashra aṭ Ṭayyiba"), which the late Muḥammad Taimūr constructed on the theme of "Bluebeard".¹

Melodrama.—The responsibility for the introduction of this form of entertainment to the Egyptian stage seems to fall on Yūsuf Wahbī, who is its chief exponent and himself author of some of these pieces. A synopsis of the most popular of them, *Aulād al Fuqarā'*,² will suffice to give an idea of the sentiments and construction of the rest.

Act I.—A rich Pasha, living in Cairo, maintains in his house his impecunious brother and the latter's family. The Pasha's son seduces his girl cousin and then abandons her to make a match indicated to him by his father. To get rid of the girl cousin, who is expecting a child, the Pasha marries her off to another poor relation, an honest fellah from the provinces.

Act II (Some months later).—A girl child having been born, the honest fellah discovers that it is not his. He is counselled by his father to submit humbly ("We are poor people"—*aulād al fuqarā'*). The Pasha's son arrives at this moment and proposes to carry on his relationship with his cousin. Her brother comes in and learns the truth. The Pasha arrives and there are general recriminations. Finally the brother snatches a gun belonging to the Pasha's son and wounds him.

Act III (Fifteen years later).—The brother has come out of prison and has taken to cocaine. The honest fellah has spent his time searching for his wife, who has concealed herself with the child on account of the scandal. The wife and her daughter, called Bamba, are working in a low bar, in which this scene is laid. Bamba is very unhappy; the Greek proprietor of the bar threatens to dismiss her for refusing to make herself agreeable to a drunken client. Her uncle, the cocaine

¹ "Al Maṣraḥ al Miṣri" (vol. iii, Mu'allafāt Muḥammad Taimūr). Cairo, 1341, pp. 255-352.

² Colloquial.

fiend, arrives to buy cocaine from the Greek proprietor. The honest fellah also arrives, still searching for wife and child, and by chance sits at a table with Bamba, not knowing that she is his own daughter for whom he is searching. There also arrives a young effendi called Ra'ûf, son of the seducer of the first act, grandson of the Pasha; he is still at school and has fallen in love with Bamba, having no idea that she is his half-sister. She confides to him that she is unhappy because she was married to a brute who was the cause of her taking to this life, and because she is suffering from syphilis. A little later on in the evening Bamba, in order to get money to pay for treatment for her illness, steals her father's pocket-book, without, of course, realizing that he stands in any other relationship to her than that of a casual client. The theft is discovered and the police arrive; by a remarkable coincidence the officer in charge of the police is the father of Ra'ûf and Bamba, the seducer of the first act. The relations now recognize one another in a series of heart-rending scenes. Incidentally, this act introduces Yûsuf Wahbî's well known presentation of a drug fiend, a scene where a comic English tourist and his wife are brow-beaten by their dragoman, and another in which an Italian girl, having been sold for fifty guineas by a souteneur, whose mistress and source of livelihood she has been for some years, to another souteneur whom she hates, takes poison.

Act IV (A few weeks later).—A miserable hovel, in which Bamba's uncle, recovered from his cocainomania, is looking after her. Her illness has made rapid progress; she is frightfully disfigured, and is only able to crawl about the stage on all fours. Uncle and niece are to be turned out of the house, because the landlord wants it for his son's honeymoon and because the neighbours complain of the infectious disease housed there. The sound of church bells is heard; Bamba complains that nobody ever taught her to pray. In any case, being a Muslim, she hates church bells, and would like to hear a muezzin. Various members of the family from earlier acts appear, including the Pasha, now repentant, his son the seducer of Act I, and his grandson, Bamba's half-brother. The latter goes out to fetch flowers for Bamba. Left alone with her uncle, Bamba asks him to put her out of her misery. He consents; she asks him first to read her a few verses from the Qur'ân. Having done so he smothers her on the bed with a pillow, after which he himself goes raving mad.

Similar to this piece are "al Jaḥīm", "Kūkāyīn," "Ibn as Sifāh," "Aulād adh Dhuwāt," "Banāt al Yaum," "aṣ Ṣalīb wal

Hilāl" (a Copto-Muslim love story, forbidden by the censor). The best that can be said for these melodramas is that they fill the theatre and give it some much needed financial support; moreover, those who can stand the succession of horrors will be rewarded by seeing some excellently acted scenes and some bizarre aspects of Egyptian life, such as the "Zar" in the first act of "Aulād al Fuqarā'" and the wedding in "al Jahīm".

Romantic and Historical Plays.—Two romantic and four historical pieces were played during the season of 1932-3. The two romantic pieces were old favourites; of the historical pieces, one was first produced in 1931, and three were new. The two old favourites were Ṣalāḥ ad Dīn, a stock piece of the company of Munīra al Maḥdiyya, and "al Badawiyya". The latter piece, written by Ibrāhīm Ramzī,¹ was first produced in 1918 by the company of 'Abdurrahīmān Rushdī, by whom it is still occasionally played. The theme is the carrying off of a Beduin girl by the Khalifa al Āmir bi'aḥkāmi-llah, and her resistance; this gives scope for the uttering of many exalted sentiments, somewhat in the style of the Spanish playwright Lope de Vega, without the poetry which lifts the latter into the realms of great literature. In fact, "al Badawiyya" is in the tradition of "al Marū'a wal wafā'" of Bairūt of the eighteen-eighties.² Of the historical pieces the first in date and in some ways the best is "al 'Abbāsa Ukht Hārūn ar Rashīd" by Maḥmūd Badawī.³ This play deals with the fall of the Banū Barmak. The author accepts the story of the marriage of Ja'far to the sister of the Khalifa, but gives it only a secondary part in the Khalifa's decision to rid himself of his too powerful Wazīr. The play is straightforward and distinguished by a fair sense of the theatre. The first act shows Ja'far conspiring against the Khalifa and releasing the 'Aliyyid prisoner, having rejected the counsel of his father Yahyā. Incidentally we are introduced to an entertaining Majlis of the Wazīr with the poets whom he patronizes. The second act takes place in the private rooms of the Princess al 'Abbāsa. Ja'far with difficulty persuades her to accept his point of view. Noteworthy in this act is the pretty scene where Ja'far and the Princess play a game of chess.

¹ Maṭba'at as Saqūr, 1922 (classical). Ibrāhīm Ramzī is author of "al Hākīm bi'amri-llah", "Abtāl Maṣṣūra," and various other adaptations; and also of an amusing sketch in the colloquial, "Dukḥul al Hammām mush zai Khurju," produced in 1917 and printed in 1924, al Maṭba'at as Salafiyya.

² There also exist in print several romantic plays, apparently adaptations, by Jamil al Babri, e.g. "Ṣajīn al Qasr", "Qātil Akḥiḥi," Maṭba'at az Zahra, Haifa, 1927.

³ Printed in Cairo, 1931 (classical).

The third act takes place in Hārūn ar Rashīd's palace and shows Hārūn's suspicion of his minister increasing until he decides upon his overthrow. The fourth act, again in the Princess's apartments, reveals the failure of Ja'far's plan, the arrival of the Khalifa, the execution of Ja'far, and the pardoning of al 'Abbāsa herself and her little son. A second historical piece, "Shajarat ad Durr,"¹ by the same author, was produced by the Ramses company in the season of 1932-3. The author has followed the historical authorities closely and tells in an unpretentious way the events of Shajarat ad Durr's life from the death of her husband al Mālik as Ṣāliḥ to her assassination of Aibak in the Cairo citadel. Unfortunately a certain prosiness, which was apparent already in "al 'Abbāsa", is here more accentuated, so that the play fails to grip at any point. Nevertheless, its theme makes the play interesting to those who care for the history of medieval Egypt. The remaining two pieces were amongst the four which shared the second prize in the dramatic authorship competition of 1932. The first, "al Hādī,"² by 'Abdullah 'Afīfī, concerns the reign of the Khalifa of that name. The author, as was perhaps natural in a former pupil of al Azhar, exalts the character of al Hādī and represents him as struggling against the efforts of his mother to distract him with dancing girls and other worldly diversions in order that she may continue to direct the affairs of State herself. Frustrated in her efforts, she causes him to be strangled. The author has not yet a very developed sense of the theatre; the opening dialogue between two maidservants and the wailing at the end are too long. But he too can tell a story in a straightforward way, while his language is virile and poetic. The play therefore was interesting and fairly successful. The last piece³ was by the young poet 'Ādil al Ghaḍbān, recently passed out of a Jesuit college. Sympathizing probably with the nationalist aspirations of modern Egypt, his thoughts naturally turned to a Pharaonic subject, the expulsion of the Hyksos Kings. The author prefaces his play with a list of historical sources, but the difficulties of reconstructing the atmosphere of a little-known period were evidently too great for him. Moreover, he appeared to have been influenced unhappily by the classical French drama, so that his piece was little more than a series of isolated declamations, of which the style was in itself good, but quite insufficient to create a play.

¹ Printed in Cairo, 1933 (classical).

² Maṭba'at al Ma'ārif, Cairo, undated (classical).

³ Ahmūs al Awwal au Ṭard ar Ru'āt. al Maṭba'at al 'Asriyya, Cairo, 1933 (classical).

Plays of Modern Life.—Several of these plays deal with the story of a girl of good family who is married to a man for whom she does not care. In the first act the heroine is already miserable; in the second she is desperate; in the third she dies of consumption, by poison, or by setting herself on fire. Of this general type are "*Fāṭima*,"¹ produced in 1931, by Maḥmūd Kāmil; "*Gharīzat al Marā*,"² produced in 1931 by 'Abd al Qādir al Māzinī, and "*Samīra*" (1933), by Rashād Ḥāfiẓ. A certain number, however, show greater imaginative power, and are enlivened by interesting dialogue. Of these we may note "*Qulūb al Hawānim*" (1933), by Muḥammad Khūrshīd. This is the story of a married couple who have each a lover; as the plot develops the husband and wife come to understand each other's point of view. In the end, the husband divorces his wife, so that he can marry the girl he loves; while the wife's lover is very reluctantly persuaded to turn his mistress into his legal wife. The situations are possible and interesting, the dialogue entertaining and the conclusion satisfactory. There also exist in print two plays of Ibrāhīm al Miṣrī which well deserve attention. The first is "*al Anāniyya*" (produced in 1923).³ This is the story of a wealthy and completely selfish Pasha who, having divorced two previous wives, has now decided to marry a young girl in addition to his present wife. The latter, determined to prevent the marriage, succeeds in bringing together her stepson (the Pasha's son by a former wife) and the girl in question, and in causing them to fall in love with one another. In the end the Pasha is induced to give up his design, but not until every member of the family has suffered. The play gives a striking picture of uncontrolled egoism in a family where the impact of Western civilization has destroyed the sanctions of Islam without creating anything else to take their place. The second is "*Nahwa an Nūr*."⁴ This deals with the life of a young journalist, Muḥsin, who sacrifices all worldly interests in order to guard his independence and socialistic ideals. He is forced to live in poverty; when a rich newspaper proprietor at last offers him a good post, with the necessary guarantees of independence, he discovers that his supposed benefactor is really his wife's lover, and that his younger brother, whom he has brought up with endless difficulties, is another aspirant to her favour. Having refused the offer and ordered

¹ Maṭba'a Jarīdat aṣ Ṣabāḥ, Cairo, undated (colloquial).

² Maṭba'at aṣ Siyāsa and Maṭba'at aṣ Ṣabāḥ. Both Cairo, undated (classical).

³ Printed in "*al Adab al Ḥayy*", Cairo, 1930 (classical).

⁴ Printed in "*al Fikr wal 'Ālam*", Cairo, 1933 (classical).

wife and brother from his house, Muḥsin is left alone on the stage, half delirious. As at last he decides to struggle on at all costs "towards truth, towards freedom . . . towards the light", a shot is heard, and Muḥsin discovers that his brother has committed suicide. The piece is gloomy, but undoubtedly powerful; unfortunately the theatrical managers did not see their way to produce it, possibly because the play could only appeal to the small minority of the Egyptian public who would appreciate a play in the style of Ibsen or Strindberg. It was presumably on this account, and also perhaps because of the socialistic views of the hero, that the play was not awarded a prize in the dramatic authorship competition.

Another interesting play of family life is "adh Dhabāih"¹ (produced in 1925) by the late Antūn Yazbak. This piece, like "al Anāniyya", treats of the misfortunes which befall a son owing to the self-will of his father. The principal character is a retired general of the Egyptian Army, not unkindly but determined to have his own way. As a young officer, he loved an Egyptian girl, then forsook her to marry a European. The experiment has not been successful; the desire of his wife to "be free" causes never-ending friction. When the Pasha's son is already a young man, the old general can stand this life no more, abandons his European wife and returns to the love of his youth. This experiment is as unsuccessful as the first; the son finds the separation of his parents unbearable, and in the end commits suicide. The play, apart from one exaggerated coincidence, is well constructed; much of the dialogue is well written. There is an interesting passage in which the Pasha explains his grievances against his European wife. "Your second person plural," he says, "has driven me mad"; meaning his wife's habit of treating him as the embodiment of Eastern husbands in general, and saying on all occasions: "You, you, you . . . you're all the same." The piece is said to owe a good deal to one or more European plays. The same writer is also author of an earlier play called "Āṣifa fil Bait".

There remain to be considered the plays of modern life of the late Muḥammad Taimūr. These are three, "al 'Aṣfūr fil Qafaṣ" (1918),² "Abd as Sattār Efendi" (1918),¹ and "al Hāwiya" (1921)³; and are all written in the colloquial language. "Al 'Aṣfūr fil Qafaṣ," in

¹ *Shirka Matbū'āt al Qirtās*, Cairo, undated (colloquial).

² "Al Masrah al Miṣri" (vol. iii, *Mu'allafāt Muḥammad Taimūr*), Cairo, 1341, pp. 1-254.

³ "Ḥayatuna at Tamḥiliyya" (vol. ii, *Mu'allafāt Muḥammad Taimūr*), Cairo, 1340, pp. 327-452.

four acts, treats of the difficulties which are created for the nineteen-year-old Hasan Bey by his father's miserliness. In his unhappiness the boy falls in love with the Syrian maidservant; the affair is discovered and the girl dismissed. Hearing that she is about to bear him a child, Hasan decides to marry her, with the result that he too is dismissed from his father's house. In the last act, father and son are reconciled through the intervention of an influential Pasha who, after giving Hasan's father a lesson concerning his conduct to his son, promises to obtain for him a Government post on which his heart has for years been set. This is a well-written and agreeable play; the characters of the adolescent Hasan and of his father the miser are well delineated. The close of the second act is striking, when the Pasha's first thought after turning his son out of the house is to summon his steward and order him to reduce the daily supplies of meat and vegetables by the corresponding amount. The only serious defect in this play is the improbable coincidence by which the intervention of the influential Pasha is brought about.

"'Abd as Sattâr Efendi," in four acts, deals with the marriage of the daughter of a member of the small bourgeoisie. 'Abd as Sattâr Efendi is an amiable but weak character with an ignorant and tyrannous wife. He is employed in the Ministry of Waqfs on a small salary. His son, 'Afîfî aged twenty-three, is an idler who lives at his father's expense and tyrannizes over the whole family. He has a friend whom he believes to be an influential and well-to-do Bey, but who is really a swindler and parasite. The plot deals with the efforts of 'Afîfî, aided by his mother, to marry his sister Jamîla to this friend, in the belief that his friend will in return arrange a marriage for him with a rich Bey's daughter; and the counter efforts of 'Abd as Sattâr to prevent this marriage and to give her to another suitor.¹ The sudden inheritance of a fortune by the second suitor is improbable and unnecessary; in all other respects, however, the play is masterly. From the opening to the final page the language is crisp and the dialogue sparkles with humour and satire. The arrangement of the play is excellent and the delineation of almost all the characters is admirable. 'Abd as Sattâr himself, perpetually overborne by wife and son, and occasionally ineffectively amorous towards the maidservant, is unforgettable. So is the servant herself, calculating, unscrupulous, and malicious. The worthless son, who describes his occupation as

¹ The theme is thus the same as that of *Le Père Lebonnard*, but the treatment is entirely different so that there is no question of imitation.

"amateur of the theatre, and member of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals", is another excellent study. The following passage, in which the family have to pretend to take an interest in the health of 'Afifi's pet dog, is a good example of the author's humour.

عبد الستار. نفوسة (زوجته). جميلة

عفيفي (يدخل كئيبا ثائرا) ازاي الكلب فوكس يعني وازتم كلكم طيبين. انا عارف السبب عارفه. (لوالدته) حضرتك ما تحبش كلابي و موش عاوزة حديعش في الدنيا الا الارانب بتوعك. (لأبيه) و حضرتك عامل صاحب اشغال رايح فين؟ على الديوان. وجاي منين؟ من الديوان. ولا تسألشي ابدأ عن الكلاب (لأخته) و حضرتك ماتيش سألته الا عن جوازك. لأ آخذ ده. لأ ما اخدش ده. أمّا انكم ناس ما فيش في قلبكم رحمه. الكلب ياناس عنده إمساك

نفوسة. عملتوش حقنه يا ابني؟

عفيفي. حقنه ايه يا ولية؟ دانا اديته شربه

عبد الستار. ملح انجليزي والازيت خروج

عفيفي. هوده يستحمل ملح انجليزي و الالازيت؟

نفوسة. قلت لك يا بني اعمل له حقنه

عَفِيفِي . لَا يَا سَتِي اَدِيْتِهْ شَرِبِهْ مَا نِيْزِيَا ، اَمَّا نَشُوْفِ النَتِيْجَهْ . رَبَّنَا يَا خُدْ

بِيْدِ فُوْكَسْ وَ يَشْفِيْهْ

نَفُوْسَهْ . يَا رَبِّ تَسْمَعْ مِنْهْ يَا رَبِّ

عَفِيفِي . دَنَا دَخَلَتْ عَلَيَّ مَهْلِيْ عَشَانْ كُنْتُ خَايِفْ اَقْلُقْ رَاحْتَهْ . وَ

لَقِيْتَهْ مَسْكِيْنْ مَرْمِيْ عَلَيَّ الْاَرْضْ مَا فِيشْ فِيْهْ نَفْسْ . وَاللّٰهْ

الْعَظِيْمْ حَالْتَهْ كَانَتْ تَقْطَعُ الْقَلْبْ وَ اَنَا كُنْتُ حَاغِيْطْ

نَفُوْسَهْ . يَا حَسْرَةَ قَلْبِيْ عَلَيْكَ يَا فُوْكَسْ !

عَفِيفِي . مَسْكِيْنْ وَلَمَّا بَقْتُ تَجِيْلَهْ نُوْبَهْ الْمَغْصْ بَقِيْ يَرْفُصْ يَرْفُصْ

وَيَصُوصُو وَيَعُوْىْ تَقْوُلْشْ كَانْ بِيْسْتَنْجِدْ بِيْ ؟ وَبَقِيْتُ

حَاطْتُ رَاسَهْ الْحَلُوْهْ عَلَيَّ دِرَاعِيْ وَ قَعْدْتُ اَبْصَ لَهُ وَ قَعْدْ

يَبْصَ لِيْ وَ هُوَ يَرْفُصْ . دَا شَيْءْ مُؤَثِّرْ يَا نَاسْ . وَاللّٰهْ

شَيْءْ مُؤَثِّرْ

نَفُوْسَهْ . يَا رِيْتُ الْمَغْصْ دَهْ كَانْ فِيْ بَطْنِيْ يَا فُوْكَسْ

عَبْدُ السَّتَارْ . (لِنَفْسِهْ) يَا رِيْتُ

عَفِيفِي . اَسْكُتِيْ يَا مَا اَسْكُتِيْ . دَا الْكَلْبْ بَقْتُ حَالْتَهْ عِبْرَهْ . اَنَا خَايِفْ

لِيَمُوْتُ (يِيْكِيْ)

نَفُوْسَهْ . يَا حَبَايَهْ عِيْنِيْ مِنْ جَوَهْ يَا فُوْكَسْ . مَا تَزْعَلْشْ يَا عَفُوْفَهْ

مَا تَزْعَلْشْ يَا خُوِيَهْ . بَكْرَهْ رَبَّنَا يَا خُدْ بِيْدَهْ

عفيفي . لا يا ستي دا الكلب حايموت . يارب خد بيد مريضنا المحبوب

الذى تحفّق من اجله القلوب

جميله . (بصوت منخفض لوالدها) ايه الجنان ده!

عبد الستار . ماهوا حنا يا بنتى محكوم علينا اننا نعيش في المرستان

(تدخل هانم الخادمة)

هانم (تزغرط)

عفيفي ايه الى جرى؟ (هانم تزغرط)

نفوسه . بتزغرطى ليه؟ (هانم تستمر في الزغرطه)

عبد الستار . ما تقولى يا هانم جرى ايه

هانم . بشرى . بشرى . الشربه عملت مفعولها و فوكس قام يجري

عاوزه البشاره . عاوزه البشاره . (تزغرط)

نفوسه . (تزغرط)

عفيفي . الحمد لله الذى اخذ بيد مريضنا المحبوب

عبد الستار . الذى تحفّق من اجله القلوب

نفوسه . والنبي يا هانم لاديكى البشاره بس استنى لآخر الشهر .

عبد الستار . (هادئا) وأنا كان رايح اعمل ليله بالتعاليق

عفيفي . قولو الحمد لله . (يقولوا الحمد لله)¹

This play takes a high place amongst broad comedies ; if the spoken language of Egypt ever becomes recognized as a language of literature, there can be little doubt that " 'Abd as Sattār Efendi " will rank as its first classic.

" Al Hāwiya," in three acts, is a vivid sketch of the downfall and premature end of a wealthy young man who takes to cocaine. The play displays to the full the admirable sense of the theatre conspicuous in all Muḥammad Taimūr's work, while the delineation of the progressive degeneration of the young man is masterly. But the unremitting gloom of a painful subject will probably cause the critic to place it below " 'Abd as Sattār Efendi " as an entertainment, though its composition is perhaps more perfect.

Dramas of the late Aḥmad Shauqī.—The published dramatic compositions of the late " Prince of the Poets " form a group by themselves.¹ They consist of one prose piece " Amīrat al Andalus " ² and five verse dramas, " Maṣra' Kliyūbātra," ³ " Majnūn Laila," ⁴ " Qambīz " ⁵ (Cambyzes), " 'Alī Bey al Kabīr," ⁶ and " 'Antara." ⁷ These pieces have all been produced on the stage. The best known of them, " Majnūn Laila," is a version of the story of the hopeless love of Qais for Laila. The piece when produced has the effectiveness of a pageant of Arab life, rather than a play. It is true that in the first three acts Laila is a maiden wooed by suitors, in the fourth act a married woman, while in the fifth act she is dead. Nevertheless, there has been no change in Qais's attitude or in her own ; there has been no development of character. The merit of the play consists in the beauty of the verse, with its new presentation of old themes of Arab poetry, as in the lover's complaint on p. 17 of the Arabic text :—

سجا الليل حتى هاج لي الشعر والهوى
وما اليدُ الا الليلُ والشعرُ والحبُّ

¹ " Jamīl Buthaina " by 'Abdurrahmān Aḥmad as Sā'ātī (Cairo, undated), seems a mere imitation. There is also a verse drama entitled *Fath al Andalus* by Fū'ād al Khatīb, Cairo, 1931.

² Cairo, 1932.

³ Cairo, 1929.

⁴ Cairo, undated. An English translation of this play made by Mr. A. J. Arberry was published in Cairo in 1933.

⁵ Cairo, 1931.

⁶ Cairo, 1932.

⁷ Cairo, 1932.

ملأت سماء البيد عشقا و أرضها
 وحملت وحدي ذلك العشق يارب
 ألم على آيات ليلى بي الهوى
 وما غير أشواق دليل ولا ركب
 وباتت خيامي خطوة من خيامها
 فلم يشفى منها جوار ولا قرب
 إذا طاف قلبي حولها جن شوقه
 كذلك يطغى الغلة المنهل العذب
 يحن إذا شطت ويصبو إذا دنت
 فيا ويح قلبي كم يحن وكم يصبو
 وأرسلني أهلي وقالوا امض فالتمس
 لنا قبسا من أهل ليلى وما شبوا
 عفا الله عن ليلى لقد نوت بالذى
 تحمل من ليلى و من نارها القلب

If we are to seek a comparison in English literature, the nearest parallel would perhaps be a poetic drama of Dryden, such as "All for Love", with its melodious verse, its literary reminiscences, and its artificiality. An example of the latter in "Majnūn Laila" is the scene at the opening of the second act, where the maidservant cannot find the heart of the roasted sheep to give to the lovelorn Qais. This whole episode seems to serve no other purpose than to lead up to the line—

Qais. و شاق بلا قلب يداوونني بها

وكيف يُداوى القلب من لا له قلب

The piece is frequently played both by Fāṭima Ruṣḥīdi's company and in the Ramses Theatre. The production at the Ramses in the winter of 1931 contained some interesting features. The repeated entry of the white figure of Qais by steps from the auditorium was very effective; while the representation of the Jinn by white-robed figures with big animal masks made impressive a scene which bad producing can easily make ridiculous. Much less happy was the representation of Laila's spirit in the last act by a magic-lantern picture of the actress who had taken that part, cast upon a screen at the back of the stage.

The other published dramatic compositions of Shauqī Bey have the same general characteristics as "Majnūn Laila"; their subjects are sufficiently indicated by their titles. "Maṣra' Kliyūbātra" is the most successful, though some of the speeches in it are of excessive length. "Qambīz," which deals with the Persian invasion of Egypt by that king, was subjected to detailed criticism by the well-known Egyptian writer, al 'Aqqād, in a specially published pamphlet.¹ If the criticism was to some extent justifiable, the harsh tone in which it was expressed was surely to be regretted in the case of an old and honoured poet whose mastery of the classical tongue was certainly an asset to the Arabic-speaking world.

The weekly paper *ar Risāla*, in its issue of 1st October, 1933, printed an excerpt from one of two verse comedies ("al Bakhīla" and "as Sitt Huda"), stated to have been found amongst the papers left by the poet after his death. These lines included the following dialogue between mistress and maid concerning the vegetable known as "Bamya", which will serve to illustrate the poet's skill in an unwonted field.

السيدة : وما الذى اشتريت يا حسنى لئلا نأمن الخضر؟
 حسنى : الباميا! كأبها الزمر ذو الخام الحجر
 السيدة : الباميا منذ متى هذا الخضار قد ظهر
 حسنى : جديدة قلت عسى سيدتى بها تسر

¹ *Riwayāt Qambīz fil Mizān*. 'Abbās Maḥmūd al 'Aqqād, Cairo, 1931 (?).

نادى المنادون عليه ها منذ أسبوع غبر
 ترفل من شوكتها وفي شبابها النضر
 السيدة: أجل لقد أكلتها في منزل الشيخ عمر
 كالذهب الأبريز والثوم عليها كالدرر

The publication of these two plays has been announced for an early date.

Imaginative.—In the spring of the year of 1933 the literary world of Egypt was surprised and delighted by the publication of a play entitled "Ahl al Kahf", written by Tawfiq al Hakīm, Wakīl of the Damanhur Parquet. This writer, who had spent some years in Paris, was hitherto known in literary circles only as the author of an operette, "Alī Bābā," produced some ten years ago, and a comedy entitled "The Emancipation of Woman". It now appeared that he had been spending his leisure for several years in literary work, of which the publication of "Ahl al Kahf" was the firstfruits, to be followed shortly by that of no less than six novels. "Ahl al Kahf" treats of the Quranic story generally identified with that of the Sleepers of Ephesus. In Tawfiq al Hakīm's play the Sleepers are three, the Court Ministers *Mashilīnya* and *Marnūsh*, and the shepherd *Yamlīkha*; with the latter's dog, *Qitmīr*, as a fourth. Having taken refuge in the cave from the persecution of Decianus, they fall asleep, and are miraculously preserved for 330 years. When *Yamlīkha* goes out to buy food, the sleepers are discovered and taken before the king, whose advisers recognize them as the saints whose reappearance had been foretold from ancient times. They are accordingly treated with the deference due to saintly persons. In reality, having been very human people in their former life, they are still dominated in their new life by the interests which occupied them when they fell asleep. The shepherd sets out to find his sheep, *Marnūsh* to seek his wife and son, *Mashilīnya* to carry on his courting of the king's daughter—for by a strange coincidence the reigning king has a daughter who is the double of the long since dead and sainted princess of the time of Decianus, and who has for that reason been called by her name, *Priscā*. Within a day the first two are disillusioned. The shepherd cannot bear the inquisitive

crowds that follow him wherever he goes; even his dog suffers from the curiosity of the dogs of Ṭarsūs, where the scene is laid. Marnūsh becomes desperate when he at last finds in a forgotten cemetery the tombstone of his son, who died more than two centuries ago. First the shepherd, then Marnūsh, return to the cave. Only Mashilīnya, dazzled by his princess, still struggles against his increasing bewilderment. Finally he, too, undeceived by his beloved, rejoins his friends. Once back in the cave they fall asleep again, to awake two months later and discuss what they suppose to be their strange dream. But death overtakes the shepherd, and the touch of his new clothes as the other two cover his face, convinces them that this was no dream, but a reality. Shortly afterwards they too die. Following the Quranic story, the king then comes to build a church upon the site of the cave; as the cave is sealed the princess Priscā, drawn by some affinity to her ghostly lover, slips in to die with the three saints. Though written as a play this piece has probably hardly sufficient action to succeed in the theatre. It breaks, however, entirely new ground in modern Arabic literature. The story is delicately conceived, imaginative, and the language impregnated with a gentle satire which makes it very attractive to read.

APPENDICES

I

CONDITIONS FROM 1933 TO 1935

In the autumn of the year 1933 the companies of Yūsuf Wahbi and Fāṭima Rushdi were dissolved, owing to financial difficulties. The Ministry of Education then endeavoured to persuade the two companies to unite, promising them the entire sum available in its budget for theatrical purposes (£1,500), if they would carry on for what remained of the theatrical season. Yūsuf Wahbi and Fāṭima Rushdi refused to participate, the former regarding the financial assistance as quite inadequate.

Finally a company was formed with the title "The Actors' Union" (*Ittiḥād al Mumaththilīn*), which undertook to give performances for the remainder of the season, in consideration of an immediate payment of £400, considered as rent of the Alhambra Cinema, which was adapted as a theatre, and the promise of further aid which amounted in the end to another £600. Zaki Effendi Ṭulaimat was entrusted by the Ministry with the artistic direction of this enterprise.

Under these circumstances, seven new plays were produced, of which the majority were in Classical Arabic, according to the wish of the Ministry.

Unfortunately the attendance of the public was disappointing; this was no doubt in part due to the absence of the "star" actor and actress, and in part also to the inadequacy of the adapted cinema for any elaborate production. The "Union" dissolved at the end of its short season, leaving Cairo without any Arabic theatre.

Subsequently a committee presided over by Ḥāfiẓ 'Afifī Pasha, formerly Egyptian Minister in London, was appointed to advise on the circumstances of the Arabic Theatre. Its report has been published in full in the *Ahram* newspaper of the 26th and 27th March, 1935, and its recommendations may be summarized as follows:—

(1) Creation of a National Theatrical Company.

(2) Annual grant of £15,000.

(3) Renovation of the Opera House and its utilization for the performances of the suggested company, from the beginning of October to the beginning of January, and again from the end of March to the beginning of May in each year; the intervening months to be spent on tour.

(4) Creation of a Theatrical Academy.

(5) Despatch of theatrical missions to study in Europe.

(6) Translation of European plays into Arabic.

(7) Temporary engagement of a foreign theatrical expert.

II

SOME COMMON THEATRICAL TERMS

Act	. . .	<i>al Faṣl</i>
Actor	. . .	<i>al Mumaththil</i>
Audience	. . .	<i>al Jumhur, al Mutafarrajjūn</i>
Auditorium	. . .	<i>as Ṣāla (la Sala)</i>
Box, Lower	. . .	<i>al Banwār, pl. al Banāwīr (Baignoire), al Maqsūra</i>
Box, Upper	. . .	<i>al Lūj, pl. al Alwāj (Loge)</i>
Box Office	. . .	<i>Shibāk at Tadḥākīr</i>
Characters of the Play	. . .	<i>Ashkhās ar Riwāya</i>
Comedy	. . .	<i>al Maslāḥ</i>
Costumes	. . .	<i>Malābis ar Riwāya</i>

Curtain	<i>as Sitāra, as Sitār</i>
Footlights	<i>Anwār al Hāfa</i>
Limelight	<i>Amshāt an Nūr</i>
Make-up	<i>al Mākhyāj (Maquillage)</i>
Melodrama	<i>Drāma 'anīfa, Drāma fājī'a</i>
Play	<i>ar Rincāya</i>
Powder	<i>al Būdra (poudre)</i>
Producer	<i>al Mukhrij</i>
Prompter	<i>al Mulaqqin</i>
Rehearsal	<i>at Tajarraba, al Brūfa (la prova)</i>
Role	<i>ad Dūr</i>
Scene (in play)	<i>al Mashhad</i>
Scene (on stage)	<i>al Manẓar</i>
Stage	<i>al Mamthal</i>
Stage Manager	<i>Mudīr al Masrah</i>
Stall	<i>Kursi mumtaz</i>
Theatre	<i>al Masrah (popularly, and in older books, al Marsah)</i>
Tragedy	<i>al Ma'sāh</i>
Wig	<i>al Barūka (Perruca)</i>

Note.—The writer's thanks are due to the many Egyptians who have kindly supplied him with information concerning the Arabic Theatre, in particular to Mme Fāṭima Rushdi, Maḥmūd Bey Taimūr, Yūsuf Wahbi, Zaki Ṭulaimāt, Muḥammad Amīn Ḥasūna, Ḥasan Luṭfī al Manfalūṭi, and Taufiq Ḥabīb.

“Ju-shih Lun” — a logical treatise ascribed to Vasubandhu

By BORIS VASSILIEV

I

HISTORY OF THE TEXT AND PROBLEMS CONNECTED WITH IT

CHINESE scholars have lately devoted considerable attention to the history of Logic in their country, more especially to the history of its Buddhist branch.

Hsüen-tsang's school, which was translating and commenting on the Buddhist Canon, drew its attention to the logical literature, issuing a whole series of valuable translations and commentaries. It is to that school, so far as we know, that belongs the first attempt of the Chinese to understand the history of Indian logic. Chinese tradition considers Dignāga's system, partly completed by his disciple Śāṅkaraswāmi, to be the final stage in the development of Indian logic. Chinese authors knew nothing of its further development. Logic before Dignāga, according to the Chinese conception of it, was divided into two periods: the first—non-Buddhist period—connected with the name of Akṣapāda,¹ and the second—Buddhist one—connected with that of Vasubandhu.²

The name of Vasubandhu marks a new period of Buddhist literature. The same must be said of his logical works, which are ascribed to him in China and preserved in Chinese translations. Concerning them we also gather information from such Chinese sources as occasional references, quotations, etc. In general Vasubandhu's philosophic legacy in China consisted of thirty-six translations of his works,³ treating the questions of ontology, cosmology, and dialectics, while in the realm of pure logic it is, unfortunately, insignificant.

We learn that he had written three logical works: (1) Lunshih,

¹ Zumu in Chinese translation.

² P'o-su-pan-tou in Chinese transcription. Tien-chin or Shih-chin in Chinese translation; cf. Vasubandhu's biography: *BEFEO.*, vol. iv, 1904, p. 40.

³ Cf. *B.N.*, App. i, pp. 371–2.

(2) Lun-kwei, and (3) Lun-hsin.¹ The works themselves have disappeared; we possess but fragments, scattered in scanty quotations.

Notwithstanding their complete disappearance, the Chinese tradition has preserved another work which is ascribed to Vasubandhu, and which to a certain extent characterizes his logical conceptions. That is the so-called Tarka-śāstra or Ju-shih lun. It was mentioned for the first time in European sinology by St. Julien.² It figures under the same title in the Catalogue of the Chinese translation of the Buddhist Tripiṭaka, compiled by Bunyiu Nanjio,³ who derives his information from the catalogue of Buddhist books, Chih-yuan fa-pao k'an-shu tsung-lu,⁴ composed in 1285-7. We read there: "In Sanskrit it sounds Tā-la-ka sha-hsi-t'ê-la (Tarka-śāstra). Ju-shih lun in three chapters. Chên-ti (Paramārtha) of Leang translated. It agrees with Tibetan."

The now existing text of Ju-shih lun⁵ appears in the index of the Chinese Tripiṭaka⁶ under two titles: Ju-shih lun and Ju-shih lun fan-chih nan-p'in. The second title is given as its complete name.

The text of the treatise is given in vol. xix, fasc. 1, and consists of 12 pages with 10,536 characters.

Vasubandhu's authorship is *not mentioned*, but in the footnote we read that some other editions mention it.

Contemporary Japanese reference-books on Buddhism contain bibliographical information that is always based on the same old Chinese catalogues. Thus in Bukkyō ta'i jiten—a Buddhist cyclopedia—we find the following note: "Nyo-jitsu ron (Ju-shih

¹ According to Tucci: Lun-shih = *Vāda-vidhi*, Lun-kwei = *Vāda-vidhāna*, Lun-hsin = *Vāda-hṛdaya*. But Prof. A. Vostrikov has proved that the first is the *Vādavi-dhāna* and the second the *Vāda-vidhi*. In European literature we have a detailed analysis of the identification of these Chinese titles in Professor Tucci's article "Buddhist Logic before Dinnāga" (see *JRAS.*, July, 1929, p. 482). He had already touched on the subject in his article "The Vāda-vidhi" (*IHQ.*, 1928, v. iv, p. 635). See also the work of A. Vostrikov, *Logical Works of Vasubandhu*, ch. i. Vidyabhusana in his *History of Indian Logic*, p. 267, translates the third title, Lun-hsin, as *Vāda-kauśālyā*. We have a mention of these titles in Chinese literature in Dignāga's text: *Nyāya-dvāra* (or *mukha*). "Cheng-li men lun" and in the commentaries to *Nyāya-praveśa*—"yin-ming ju cheng-li men lun", written by Hsüen-tsang's disciples. See below.

² St. Julien. *Journ. As.*, iv série, vol. xiv, p. 359, No. 245. *Jou-chi-lun*. 1 livre (Tarka-śāstra) traduit sous les Liang par Paramārtha.

³ Bunyiu Nanjio. A catalogue of the Chinese translation of the Buddhist Tripiṭaka, 1883, London, No. 1252. *Zu-shih-lun*. "Tarka-śāstra." Composed by the Bodhisattva Vasubandhu. Translated by Paramārtha, A.D. 550, of the Khan dynasty, A.D. 557-589; 1 fasciculus, 3 chapters. It agrees with Tibetan.

⁴ Cf. Appendix, No. 11.

⁵ *Dai Nihon Kōtei dai zō Kyō*, vol. xix, bk. 5, pp. 67-73.

⁶ p. 212.

lun)—a book in one fasc., composed by Boddhisattva Vasubandhu. Paramārtha of the Ch'en dynasty translated it. It explains the existence of tao-li (*yukti*), the absence of it and the twenty-two "Nigraha-sthāna's". This note further points out the existence of a commentary on that treatise, written by Paramārtha, but the fact of that commentary having been lost is not mentioned.¹

These are the only fragmentary data concerning the bibliography of this text. No summarized description of the data to be found in different Chinese catalogues has been made. A comparison of all the facts which can be picked up from various catalogues of the Chinese Tripiṭaka and their arrangement in a chronological order will enable us to form an idea of the history of the text of Ju-shih lun, since its first appearance on Chinese soil, and will allow us to come to several conclusions that will be of great use for the analysis of the content of the text in its present state.²

According to the unanimous statements of all the Chinese catalogues, Paramārtha³ translated the treatise Ju-shih lun, and therefore it appeared in China during his lifetime in that country, i.e. during his activities as a translator, that is to say between A.D. 548-569. Bunyiu Nanjio dates the translation at A.D. 550.⁴

The same work was read by a traveller, Dharmagupta, on his way from India to China in 590, according to the statement of Professor H. Ui in his *Vaiśeṣika Philosophy*.⁵

¹ We find similar statements in the Buddhist cyclopædia, *Fo-hsio ta zū tian*, p. 1098, edited in Shanghai.

² We find some data, unfortunately incomplete, concerning Ju-shih lun, and the works connected with it in Prabodh Chandra Bagchi's *Le Canon Bouddhique en Chine* Paris, 1927, v. i. See Appendix 3 (f.n.).

³ Paramārtha's stay in China coincided with two periods of Chinese political history connected with the reign of two dynasties, Leang and Ch'en. Thus the period from 548 to 557 falls upon the Leang and that from 557 to 569 upon Ch'en, therefore he is called sometimes Paramārtha of Ch'en, sometimes Paramārtha of Leang. The Chih-yuan fa-pao k'au-tung tsung-lu Catalogue asserts that the translation of Ju-shih lun belongs to the Leang period, when about ten works had been translated by Paramārtha. Bunyiu Nanjio bases his statements concerning chronology on the same Chinese catalogue. See Appendix. See *B.N.*, App. ii, pp. 423-5. About Paramārtha's biography see *BEFEO.*, v. iv, 1904, pp. 3 and 60, and Bagchi, p. 418.

⁴ Cf. *B.N.*, App. i, p. 372.

⁵ Cf. O.T.F., No. 24. Ui, *Vaiśeṣika Philosophy*, p. 84, f.n. 4. "Dharmagupta, a Buddhist of Southern India, came to China in A.D. 590 and died in 619 (*B.N.*, App. ii, p. 131). According to his life (*B.N.*, No. 1,493, p. 92b, No. 1,485, p. 6b) he read the work in Sha-lō (a province of Chinese Turkestan), when on the way to China. What he read consisted of 2,000 slokas. But the extant work consists of about 330 slokas. Some of the oldest catalogues, Nos. 1,604, 1,609, mention that the book is in two vols., but the extant one is in one vol. And the beginning of the work clearly shows that it is

We learn from the K'ai-yuan shih-chia-lu catalogue and from the Biographical Annals Hsü kao-seng chwan,¹ that having arrived in the kingdom of Sha-lō (the present province of Hsin-chiang) Dharmagupta stayed, during two years, in one of the local temples studying among other books the treatise Ju-shih lun, consisting of 2,000 slokas.

Later on we have information of a merely bibliographical character in fourteen different catalogues.²

The earliest references belong to the Sui period.

The catalogues Nos. 1, 2, 3, dated at the end of the sixth century and the beginning of the seventh A.D. refer to our treatise Ju-shih lun as well as to three other treatises, namely Fan-chih lun (*Pariprechā-śāstra*), To-fu lun (*Nigraha-sthāna-śāstra*), and Chêng-shwo tao-li lun (*Nyāya-śāstra*)³ translated by the same Paramārtha and closely connected with the questions of Indian logic to judge after their titles. The length of each of the three is 1 fasc.⁴ All these treatises are lost.

It is necessary to mention in the first place the treatises To-fu lun and Chêng-shwo tao-li lun, which coexisted with our treatise Ju-shih lun up to the second half of the eighth century and then disappeared.

It is very probable that they were lost much earlier, because Hsuen-tsang's disciples already knew nothing of them. One of these disciples—Wen-kwei—speaking about Vasubandhu's logic, quotes the second chapter of Ju-shih lun once, but he says nothing whatever of the three other treatises. He mentions the titles of Vasubandhu's works, Lun-shih, Lun-kwei, and Lun-hsin, which had never existed in a Chinese translation.

Professor Ui, in his *Introduction to Hetuvidyā-nyāya praveśa śāstra*,⁵ as well as in his *Vaiśeṣika Philosophy*,⁶ supposes that Chêng-shwo

only a concluding part of the original. It has only three sections in a chapter, apparently the last, called Pariprechā (1) wrong refutation, (2) true refutation (of jāti), and (3) nigraha-sthāna. The work is sometimes ascribed to Vasubandhu, but this is doubtful. Paramārtha commented on it, but the commentary (3 vols.) has been lost. He also translated the Nigraha-sthāna śāstra (1 vol.), the Pariprechā-śāstra (1 vol.), and the Chêng-shwo (or lun) tao-li-lun (1 vol.), and he wrote a commentary (5 vols.), the last."

¹ *Kai-yan shih-chiao lu*, p. 66b, see Appendix. *Hsü kao-seng chwan*, p. 92b. B.N., No. 1,493. The texts of both the works are identical.

² Cf. Appendix.

³ Ui, *Vaiśeṣika Philosophy*, p. 84.

⁴ *Fasciculus = chuan*, "a roll" may not mean a completed work.

⁵ *Kokuyaku dai zōkyō*, Ron bu. Dai jū go kan. Inmyō nyūshō ri ron, Kaitai, pp. 52-6.

⁶ *O.F.S.*, 24, p. 84, fn. 4. See also the above-mentioned Ui's article "Introduction to Hetuvidyā", p. 56.

tao-li lun could have been a translation of Nyāya-sūtra on account of the fact that Paramārtha wrote his commentary on it in five chapters, which correspond to five chapters of a commentary on Nyāya-sūtra. Besides, he believes that Chêng-shwo tao-li is, in its turn, a translation of the word "Nyāya", as well as "Chêng-li". Both these arguments in favour of Professor Ui's hypothesis concerning the identity of the lost Chêng-shwo tao-li lun with Nyāya-sūtra are not very convincing.

As to the treatise Fan-shih lun, which had disappeared in the eighth century, together with the two preceding ones, it was merged in our text of Ju-shih lun, in Chinese catalogues, where it figures under a new complex title, that of Ju-shih lun fan-chih nan-p'in. What was the connection between Fan-chih lun and To-fu lun, on the one hand, and Ju-shih lun on the other, that is to say—have the two first been irrecoverably lost or were they incorporated in some way into the text of Ju-shih lun and what might have been the original form of the Tarka-śāstra treatise is difficult to decide, since we have nothing but bibliographical data.

Nevertheless, these data suggest the possibility of an incorporation of the first two treatises in the latter, since Ju-shih lun in its present state also includes the elements of Fan-chih (*Pariṣechā*) in its second chapter, and of To-fu (*Nigraha-sthāna*) in its third chapter.

Passing to the text of Ju-shih lun itself, we see that at the end of the sixth century and at the beginning of the seventh this treatise figures first in two fasc., then in one, with a special commentary on it, consisting of three fasc., composed by Paramārtha.

At the end of the seventh century, according to the catalogues Nos. 4, 5, and 6, Ju-shi lun is registered as a work in one fasc. and in 22 or 23 sheets. It is noteworthy that the above-mentioned commentary of Paramārtha in three fasc. still existed at that time. But towards the second half of the eighth century or the beginning of the ninth, the general situation undergoes a radical change. According to the catalogues Nos. 7, 8 and 9 Ju-shih lun in one fasc. remains the sole preserved treatise and is known under the complex title of Ju-shih lun fan-chih nan-p'in.

The other three, as well as Paramārtha's commentary, disappear, while they temporarily remain in the list of lost texts with a note explaining that Fan-chih lun must have probably been the very Ju-shih lun which now exists in the Tripiṭaka. In the eleventh and twelfth centuries, according to the catalogue No. 10, these other treatises cease to be mentioned even among the lost works, and we have but

Ju-shih lun in one fasc. This is evident from the following table:

	Nos. of catalogues	
The end of the sixth and the beginning of the seventh centuries.	1	Fan-chih lun in 1 fasc. Translated by Paramārtha of Ch'en. To-fu lun in 1 fasc. Translated by Paramārtha of Ch'en. Chêng-shwo tao-li lun in 1 fasc. Translated by Paramārtha of Ch'en.
	2	To-fu lun in 1 fasc. Fan-chih lun in 1 fasc.
	3	Chêng-shwo (or lun) tao-li lun in 1 fasc. ... Deest ...
The end of the seventh century.	4	Fan-chih lun. To-fu lun. Chêng-shwo tao-li lun.
	5	Fan-chih lun in 1 fasc. To-fu lun in 1 fasc. Chêng-shwo tao-li lun in 1 fasc.
	6	Fan-chih lun in 1 fasc. Translated by Paramārtha of Ch'en. To-fu lun in 1 fasc. Translated by Paramārtha of Ch'en. Chêng-shwo tao li lun in 1 fasc. Translated by Paramārtha of Ch'en.
The middle of the eighth century.	7	*Fan-chih lun in 1 fasc. They now suppose that the present treatise is nothing but the very Ju-shih lun which is to be found in the Tripitaka. That is why its title runs: "Ju-shih lun fan-chih nan-p'in. Paramārtha of Ch'en translated. Separate volume." *To-fu lun in 1 fasc. *Chêng-shwo tao-li lun in 1 fasc.
	8	... Deest ...
The end of the eighth and the beginning of the ninth centuries.	9	*Fan-chih lun in 1 fasc. (The same note as in the catalogue No. 7.) *To-fu lun in 1 fasc. *Chêng-shwo tao-li lun in 1 fasc.
Eleventh-twelfth centuries.	10	... Deest ...
Thirteenth century.	11	... Deest ...
The end of the fourteenth and the beginning of the fifteenth century.	12	... Deest ...

* They are marked in the list of the lost works.

In the catalogue No. 11 of the thirteenth century we find Ju-shih lun together with a mention of its Sanskrit equivalent, viz. Tarka-śāstra.

The catalogues Nos. 12, 13, and 14, in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries laconically inform us of a certain Ju-shih lun in one fasc., without any special comments or references to its translator.

Summarizing all the bibliographical data, concerning this treatise, in their chronological order we shall have the following table of its historical existence on Chinese soil :—

	Nos. of cata- logues	
The middle of the sixth century.	00	Ju-shih lun translated by Paramārtha.
The end of the sixth century.	0	Ju-shih lun in 2,000 slokas existed and was read by Dharmagupta.
The end of the sixth and the beginning of the seventh centuries.	1	Ju-shih lun in 2 fasc. Translated by Paramārtha of Ch'en. Commentary on Ju-shih lun in 3 fasc.
	2	Ju-shih lun in 1 fasc. Ju-shih lun in 2 fasc.
	3	Ju-shih lun in 1 fasc. (23 sheets). Translated by Paramārtha of Ch'en. Ju-shih lun in 1 fasc. Translated by Paramārtha of Ch'en.
The end of the seventh century.	4	Commentary on Ju-shih lun in 3 fasc. Ju-shih lun in 23 sheets. Ju-shih lun. Ju-shih lun in 23 sheets.
	5	Ju-shih lun in 1 fasc. (22 sheets). Translated by Paramārtha of Ch'en. Ju-shih lun in 1 fasc. (22 sheets). Translated by Paramārtha of Ch'en.
	6	Ju-shih lun in 1 fasc.
The middle of eighth century.	7	Ju-shih lun in 1 fasc. The title for it is : Ju-shih lun fan-chih nan-p'in. Fan-chih lun, a co-existing text, appears in the enumeration of lost texts, figuring among them with the following note : “ They now suppose that the present treatise is nothing but the very Ju-shih lun which is to be found in the Tripitaka. That is why its title runs : ‘ Ju-shih lun fan chih nan-p'in. Paramārtha of Ch'en translated it. Separate volume.” Ju-shih lun in 1 fasc. The title is : Ju-shih lun fan-chih nan p'in in 23 sheets.
	8	Ju-shih lun in 1 fasc. Paramārtha of Leang translated it.

	Nos. of cata- logues	
The end of the eighth and the beginning of the ninth century.	9	Ju-shih lun in 1 fasc. The title is : Ju-shih lun fan-chih nan-p'in. Ju-shih lun in 1 fasc. The title is : Ju-shih lun fan-chih na-p'in. Paramārtha of Leang translated it. Separate volume. Ju-shih lun in 1 fasc. The title is : Ju-shih fan-chih nan-p'in (33 sheets).
Eleventh-twelfth century.	10	Ju-shih lun. The above-mentioned word "ju" means absence of incorrectness and "shih" means faultlessness.
Thirteenth century.	11	Tarka-sāstra Ju-shih lun in 1 fasc. and in 3 chap. Paramārtha of Leang translated it. It agrees with the Tibetan.
The end of the fourteenth and the beginning of the fifteenth century.	12	Ju-shih lun in 1 fasc.
	13-14	Ju-shih lun in 1 fasc. Translated by Paramārtha of Ch'en. Ju-shih lun in 1 fasc.

Taking in consideration all the above-mentioned facts, we come to the following problems with regard to the treatise Ju-shih lun, known under the general title of Tarka-sāstra: first—what does the text of this work represent, that is to say, is it really Ju-shih lun, a separate treatise; second—is it some other work, or several other works, united under this title, and third—supposing Tarka-sāstra had existed as a separate treatise could not other texts have been inserted into its original version? Assuming that its present form is incomplete, what have we to consider as the original basis and what are the parts that were added to it later.

We could settle all these questions only after a thorough analysis of the treatise, in connection with parallel Tibetan texts. But even the above-mentioned formal bibliographical data enable us to set forth the following hypothetic statements. It goes without saying that if we admit the fact of the existence of Ju-shih lun in 2,000 slokas, according to Dharmagupta's testimony, at the end of the sixth century, and the fact of the first appearance of its Chinese translation in the middle of the same century, we observe that a century later towards the seventh century this treatise exists in a very incomplete form.

The fact that ancient catalogues mention Ju-shih lun in two fasc., can be considered as a confirmation of this hypothesis. Later on the treatise figures in one fasc. in 22 or 23 sheets. But it is doubtful that even the two original fasc. that figure in the catalogue should have represented a complete copy of our treatise, since, side by side with them, we see three fasc. of the now absent Paramārtha's commentary, and usually to every fasc. of the main text there corresponds one fasc. of the commentary. Therefore the text must have originally consisted of three fasc. with three respective fasc. of commentary. In its present form the text of the treatise is mixed, as is clearly shown by Prof. A. Vostrikov, op. cit. It is perhaps blended together with the text of Fan-chih lun, which had existed in the same time with our treatise, but which had later on disappeared.

It is difficult to state exactly whether To-fu lun (*Nigraha-sthāna śāstra*) was a separate work or formed the material which was inserted as a third chapter in the existing text of Ju-shih lun. But we have every reason to think so, if we take into consideration that the other treatise, Fan-chih lun (*Paripṛcchā-śāstra*),¹ was declared already in the eighth century, soon after its disappearance, to be no other than the Ju-shih lun in the form in which it was inserted into the Tripiṭaka.² There ensues that Ju-shih lun was already included in the canon as a text very different from its original version of two centuries since.

This statement concerning the identity of Fan-chih lun with Ju-shih lun does not yet convey that we have the former instead of the latter, but it hints at the possibility of a blending of two, or even three, texts if we add the treatise of To-fu lun.

The task before us is the localization and definition in the now existing text of Ju-shih lun of these inserted elements. But this is

¹ Professor Ui defines its Sanskrit equivalent in his book, *Vaiśeṣika Philosophy*, p. 84.

² Here we note a reference of the catalogue No. 5 (see Appendix, p. 29, f.n. 1 and 2) in the seventh century concerning the dating of Paramārtha's translations of Ju-shih lun, on one side, and Fan-shih lun and To-fu lun on the other, as this is connected with the question of the dating of the translation of Tarka-śāstra into Chinese given by Bunyiu Nanjio. The materials offered in this catalogue are derived from Paramārtha's biography, which does not even mention our treatise. But the catalogue points out that Ju-shih lun and some other treatises were translated between A.D. 548-554 in Cheng-kwang-ssō temple in the reign of the Emperor Wu-ti of Leang. On his way back to India, after the completion of his work, Paramārtha stopped in the above-mentioned temple in 556 and lived then till 569. It is during this period that he translated Fan-chih lun and To-fu lun.

possible only through a study of Tibetan materials on early Indian logic. I refer the reader to Prof. A. Vostrikov's work "Logical works of Vasubandhu", which gives the solution of this problem.¹

Thus if we accept the testimony of the existence of Ju-shih lun in the time of Dharmagupta, i.e. at the end of the sixth century, we shall have to admit a considerable change in this text and a possible addition of new elements to it, especially if we take into consideration the fact that according to Chinese sources in Dharmagupta's time it consisted of 2,000 slokas, whereas in its present state it has but 350 slokas.²

But if we keep in mind that two of the three fasc. have been lost and that much has been added to the preserved one, as it becomes evident from this analysis—we see that the portion of the original text in our treatise is but very small. We may conclude from the above-mentioned facts that even a superficial knowledge of the purely formal data, concerning the text, leads us to a series of hypotheses connected with its present state. According to our data on Ju-shih lun and the two other treatises—To-fu lun and Fan-chih lun—the first in its original version was a separate work as well as Fan-chih lun and To-fu lun, which were translated later.

It is quite possible that the two latter became nothing but separate chapters of some other work.

In its present version Ju-shih lun is first of all a mixed text, perhaps with the two above-mentioned texts; secondly it is incomplete, and our main task is to analyse its contents. Meanwhile, it becomes necessary to dwell on the general notions, concerning Vasubandhu's logic, handed down to us by the tradition of Hsüen-tsang's school of philosophers and commentators in order to elucidate the different materials referring to the history of our text.

¹ Professor Tucci, in his article, "Buddhist Logic before Dīnāga" (*JRAS.* July, 1929), concludes that Tarka-śāstra denotes it as a generic idea, as some logical work in general, but at the same time he considers that particular Tarka-śāstra (i.e. Ju-shih lun) to be a single text which he had fully transposed into Sanskrit. Moreover he does consider it to be one whole, but does not ascribe its authorship to Vasubandhu. He thinks it was written by some Buddhist author before Dignāga. It seems to me that an analysis of the history of the text, as well as analysis of its contents, does not confirm Professor Tucci's categorical statement, who did not pay attention to the philological materials of the catalogues, expounded in the present work.

² According to Professor U's calculations (*Vaiśeṣika Philosophy*, p. 84, fn. 4), who departed from the total amount of Chinese characters, taking 32 characters for one sloka.

II

HSÜEN-TSANG'S SCHOOL ON VASUBANDHU'S LOGIC

Buddhist Chinese logic devotes its attention almost exclusively to a single period of its development in India or rather to a single moment of that development, namely to Dignāga's early work, *Nyāya-mukha*,¹ and Śankarasvāmi's *Nyāya-praveśa*.² Starting from this unique basis Chinese Buddhist studies advanced in two main directions: in the direction of translations of Indian works and that of original Chinese commentaries.

The seventh century represents the highest point in the development of Chinese Buddhist literature. That was the period of the literary activity of Hsüen-tsang and his school of translators. Only four out of the whole number of his adherents wrote works which are directly connected with logic. Three of them are his direct pupils—K'wei-chi, Wen-kwei, Shên-t'ai. One—Hwei-chao, is the pupil of K'wei-chi.³ The materials that are found in their commentaries on Śankarasvāmi's *Nyāya-praveśa* are, as a matter of fact, the only basis for all our knowledge concerning logic in China. They contain the tradition always referred to by contemporary Buddhologists. The Chinese Buddhist commentators, who wrote after Hsüen-tsang and his followers, when referring to logical problems, also quote from these sources. All the materials of Hsüen-tsang's school, on which all my statements concerning Vasubandhu's logic are based, are but quotations from the following Chinese works: (1) Shên-t'ai's commentary on the *Nyāya-mukha*, (2) Wen-kwei's commentary on the *Nyāya-praveśa*, (3) K'wei-chi's commentary on the *Nyāya-praveśa*, and (4) Hwei-chao's two commentaries on the same work.⁴ Analysing the data derived from the above-mentioned works with regard to Vasubandhu's logic, we must admit that these data are but occasional informations given in connection with an analysis of separate passages

¹ Cheng-li men lun-Nyāya mukha, according to Tucci. Cf. G. Tucci, *The Nyāya-mukha of Dignāga*, 1930, Heidelberg. Otherwise Nyāyadvāra, B.N. 1223, 1224.

² Jin-ming ju cheng-li lun, B.N. 1216.

³ K'wei-chi (Jap. Ki-ki) (632-682). Cf. *Bukkyō jiten*, p. 199; U's *Vaiśeṣika Philosophy*, p. 1, f.n. 4, and U's *On the Author of Mahāyāna sūtrāṃkāra*, p. 220. Shên-t'ai (seventh century); cf. *Bukkyō jiten*, p. 624. Wen-kwei (seventh century). Hwei-chao (? 714); cf. U's *On the Author of Mahāyāna sūtrāṃkāra*, p. 221.

⁴ Shen-t'ai, "Jin-ming ju cheng-li-men lun shu chi"; Wen-kwei, "Jin-ming ju cheng-li lun su"; K'wei-chi, *ibid.*: Supplement to *Tripitaka*, i, vol. lxxxvi, fasc. 4. Hwei-chao, "Jin-ming ju cheng-li lun i tuan"; Hwei-chao, "Jin-ming ju cheng-li lun suan-yao"; *ibid.*, vol. lxxxvi, fasc. 5.

in the works of Dignāga and Śākarasvāmi (that is—*Nyāya-mukha* and *Nyāya-praveśa*). Two passages in Dignāga's *Nyāya-mukha* in which he mentions Lun-shih = Vāda-vidhāna, without naming the author, serve as one of the points of departure for our conclusions with regard to Vasubandhu's logic.

In the first sloka of *Nyāya-mukha* Dignāga says: "Thesis and the other component parts of the syllogism form a logical demonstration. The former, i.e. the thesis, is the object to be proved (by a disputant) and not rejected by contradicting facts."¹ He then comments on the first words, declaring that this subject had been treated in the work Lun-shih (Vāda-vidhāna) and others.² In the auto-commentary on the last sloka of the treatise, speaking of the *Nigrahasthāna*, Dignāga mentions again Vāda-vidhāna, saying that the question was fully laid down by his associate in philosophy in the Lun-shih and the other works.³ It is these data that serve as a point of departure to the Chinese tradition. Shên-t'ai, citing Dignāga's words from the first sloka comments upon them in the following manner: "According to Vasubandhu's works the probans (logical argument) and example are parts of the syllogism and are named proof or demonstration. In order to prove the preceding words he mentions Lun-shih and other works, that is to say—Lun-kwei (Vāda-vidhi) and Lun-hsin (Vāda-hṛdaya). These three treatises were written by Vasubandhu."⁴

There is no doubt that Hsüen-tsang's school knew about Vasubandhu's logic and about his works that are now lost. But the

¹ B.N. 1224, translated by Hsüen-tsang and B.N. 1223, translated by I-tsing. G. Tucci translates this passage: "The proposition and the other terms are called the proof (*sādhana*). Here is called "proposition" only that particular argument that we want to prove in accordance with our own opinion. It must be such as no argument contradictory (to it) can exclude (it)."

² Cf. G. Tucci: "'The proposition, etc.' This means that through the formulation of a proposition, a reason, and an example, an argument, which has not yet been understood by author (man), is made evident to him. That many terms represent the *sādhana*, syllogism, was already asserted by Vasubandhu in his Vāda-vidhi, etc."

³ Tucci translates this passage: "Moreover this erroneous formulation of the *jāti*s has been already settled in the main by myself in my commentary upon the Vāda-vidhi, etc.", and adds that for him "the translation is doubtful". I think Professor Tucci is right in his confession and the translation of this passage is wrong. First of all the text has no indication to "my commentary". Japanese edition of *Nyāyamukha* gives us instead of the character "shu" the character "tang", which is quite possible. Thus the word "p'eng tang" as well as "p'eng shu" can be translated as "associate in philosophy" pointing out Vasubandhu and not Dignāga and the word "wo" is possessive pronoun—"my". The same interpretation I have found in the Japanese article of Professor Ui on the *Nyāya-mukha* in vol. v, p. 472, and p. 692 of his *Indo tetsugaku kenkyū*.

⁴ Suppl. to *Tripitaka*, i, vol. lxxxvi, fasc. 4, p. 314b.

question is whether they were acquainted with his works from first hand or they knew about them from hearsay. Hsüen-tsang's disciples mention Vasubandhu's following works: (1) Lun-shih, (2) Lun-kwei, (3) Lun-hsin, and besides them (4) Ju-shih lun. Nevertheless, we find direct quotations only from Ju-shih lun and only from the second chapter of the now existing text, whereas of the three other treatises only the titles are mentioned as evidence. They are mentioned in connection with the above passages from Dignāga. Does it not ensue that they had in their possession nothing but Ju-shih lun (and it is a question what was its form), and knew about the existence of the rest of Vasubandhu's logical works indirectly from hearsay¹ or from quotations to be found in some other works.

Summarizing all the data about Vasubandhu's logic which we derive from Hsüen-tsang's disciples, I want to point out that their interest in Vasubandhu had never been independent, but was like that they had for example in Akṣapāda, who is mentioned in the same way as Vasubandhu, that is to say, only from the point of view of historical moments preceding the development of Dignāga's logic.

These data refer to the following points—

(1) they bear witness of the existence of the treatises Lun-shih, Lun-kwei, Lun-hsin, and Ju-shih lun, and of the fact of their belonging to Vasubandhu's pen;

(2) they prove the existence of the three-membered and five-membered syllogism that Vasubandhu operated with, and

(3) at last, they offer some materials of a general character.

Wen-kwei, commenting on the statement of *Nyāya-praveśa* about the existence of two kinds of example: the homogeneous one and the heterogeneous one, refers to the polemics between Dignāga and Vasubandhu, and quotes *Pramāṇasamuccaya*, saying: "Dignāga said in *Pramāṇasamuccaya*: 'In Lun-kwei (*Vāda-vidhi*) the jar, admitted as substratum of the logical reason, is an example of similarity. This treatise was not written by Vasubandhu or, at least, it had been written by him before he had become versed in logic. But when he had become so he composed Lun-shih (*Vāda-vidhāna*). In this work the example of similarity is given in the words: "What-

¹ Sugiura in his *Hindu Logic as preserved in China and Japan*, p. 32, says: "... when Hiuen-tsang was in India he saw three books on logic ascribed to Seish (Vasubandhu), namely Ronki, Ronshiki, and Ronshin" (fn. 1, Murakami's *Immyōjensho*, 129; Dinna also speaks of this). If so, it must have been possible for Hsüen-tsang to pass a certain information regarding these treatises to his pupils. Besides they must have known *Pramāṇasamuccaya*, and could derive some facts from this latter.

ever is created by an effort is non-eternal (non-permanent)." To this there is no contradiction in my opinion.'"¹

So far we know this passage is not to be found in the *Pramāṇasa-muccaya* as preserved in Tibet. A doubt arises whether Wen-kwei was not repeating an incorrect quotation. Anyhow, in another passage of his commentary Wen-kwei expresses again this point of view that Lun-kwei had been composed when Vasubandhu was not yet a scholar.²

K'wei-chi speaks of early Buddhist tradition in the following terms:

"Maitreya, Aśaṅga, Vasubandhu had they not explained logic, when dealing with demonstration?"³

He also characterizes Vasubandhu's work in the following terms: "At first Akṣapāda defined truth and error, then Vasubandhu completed this in his works Lun-kwei and Lun-shih. In them he fully expressed the general principles, but did not analyse them in detail."⁴

This lack of system is further mentioned by K'wei-chi, who says: "Although Vasubandhu in his treatises Lun-kwei, Lun-shih, etc. gives all the rules fully, his style is complicated and the meaning is confused."⁵

Besides that K'wei-chi offers a direct testimony to the fact that Vasubandhu already operated with the three-membered syllogism. If in ancient times demonstration was supposed to consist of four parts: thesis, reason, and two examples—of similarity and of contrast, later on Boddhisattva Vasubandhu states in Lun-kwei and his other works that demonstration consists of three parts: thesis, reason, and example. These parts are indispensable for that demonstration, and form a sufficient basis for the object to be proved. Therefore he mentions only three parts."⁶

At last K'wei-chi in his commentary takes up the above-mentioned *Nyāya-mukha*, explaining Dignāga's words concerning Lun-shih and

¹ Suppl. to *Tripitaka*, i, vol. lxxxvi, fasc. 4, p. 337b. on the true relation between Vāda-vidhi and Vāda-vidhāna, cf. Prof. Vostrikov's work quoted above. With regard to these two treatises an interesting passage from Fen-i ming-i chi (B.N. 1640), composed in the twelfth century, should be mentioned. It runs that Vasubandhu, convinced of Manoratha's wrong deductions, wrote Lun-kwei and Lun-shih which are said to have been called Paramārthasaptati and were directed against the Sāṅkhya system. But, as we know, Paramārthasaptati is Vasubandhu's special work, written during his old age and devoted to a refutation of Sāṅkhya theories. The confusion of facts in this Chinese version is evident.

² Suppl. to *Tripitaka*, i, vol. lxxxvi, fasc. 4, p. 335a.

³ Ibid., p. 350a.

⁴ Ibid., p. 347a. See also fasc. 5, p. 426.

⁵ Suppl. to *Tripitaka*, i, fasc. 4, p. 352a.

⁶ Ibid., p. 349b. Cf. also p. 370a. Cf. also p. 350a.

observes that Lun-shih, as well as Lun-kwei, were composed by Vasubandhu, and that logical demonstration was treated in them.¹ Thus K'wei-chi is the only one who pointed out the fact of Vasubandhu's operating with the three-membered syllogism, while other commentators, such as Hwei-chao, his disciple, speaks of the five-membered syllogism only.² Besides, Hwei-chao states that in the preserved works of Vasubandhu we have the five-membered construction. Hwei-chao in most of his commentaries, referring to Vasubandhu's logic, repeats the words that had been spoken before him by Hsüen-tsang's disciples—Kwei-chi, Shên-t'ai, and Wen-kwei, simply quoting them.³ Yet, with regard to the five-membered formula of syllogism, he offers a series of separate statements⁴ referring to the treatise of Ju-shih lun, which operates with the five-membered syllogism, too.⁵ We find references to Ju-shih lun by Wen-kwei only, for neither Shên-t'ai nor K'wei-chi ever mention it. He defines Ju-shih lun as a Buddhist metaphysical work, declaring that “the sūtras and śāstras that had been translated before and are being translated now contain mainly adhyātma-vidyā, i.e. Buddhist religious literature, whereas logic is a general science. Among those works is Ju-shih lun, etc. . . .”⁶ and points to Vasubandhu's authorship. “In the treatise Ju-shih lun, composed by Vasubandhu, the logical reason is said to possess three characteristics: *Pakṣa-dharmatā*, *Sapakṣa-vyāpti*, and *Vipakṣa-vyatireka*. This treatise was translated by Paramārtha in the time of Leang. Analysing it we find that the contents of the treatise is somewhat similar to what had been said by Dignāga with regard to the three characteristics of the logical reason. The similar treatment is given in Lun-shih (*Vada-vidhāna*).”⁷

Thus we find here a literal quotation from the second chapter of Ju-shih lun in its present form.

Besides, it is noteworthy that Wen-kwei compares Ju-shih lun to Lun-shih, and we see that Ju-shih lun is being quoted, whereas Lun-shih is only mentioned. Does not there ensue that in the seventh century, when the text of Ju-shih lun existed, Lun-shih was unknown? Hwei-chao quotes Ju-shih lun as well when dwelling on the question of

¹ Ibid., p. 352b. See also p. 353a.

² Suppl. to *Tripitaka*, i, v, lxxxvi, fasc. 5, p. 404a, *ibid.*, p. 409a.

³ Cf. Suppl. to *Tripitaka*, i, vol. lxxxvi, fasc. 5, p. 404a.

⁴ Ibid., p. 409a; *ibid.*, p. 418a.

⁵ Suppl. to *Tripitaka*, i, vol. lxxxvi, fasc. 5, p. 405a.

⁶ Ibid., fasc. 4, p. 331a.

⁷ Suppl. to *Tripitaka*, i, vol. lxxxvi, fasc. 4, p. 335a.

the wrong thesis, and declares that the fourteen kinds of the latter (*pakṣābhāsa*) may be compared to the theory of sixteen *jāti*'s given in the second chapter of Ju-shih lun.¹

Besides the above-mentioned materials, Hsüen-tsang's school, in the persons of Wen-kwei and Hwei-chao, also tried to define the example of the Indian syllogism. According to Wen-kwei, Vasubandhu took for the example an object (jar), defined by its logical marks, i.e. considered the object as a substratum of its logical mark. Dignāga denied this point of view,² saying that in such a case we could easily come to absurdity, because in this case it would appear that the object (jar) is a substratum of qualities, such as capacity to boil and to be visible. Then, if we could from the presence of one property of the substratum conclude to the presence of its other qualities, and from the similarity in one respect to a similarity in other respects, we would be able to conclude from the impermanent character of sound to, say, its quality of being able to cook and to be visible, since the impermanent jar can cook and can be visible.

Here we have in Wen-kwei's commentary two direct references to the question we are interested in: one concerning the works Lun-kwei and Lun-shih, treated above,³ the other concerning Ju-shih lun, namely treating the question of the explanation of the three characteristics of logical reason.⁴ If we add to that some occasional references made to Ju-shih lun by Hwei-chao, that are to be found in his commentaries,⁵ we shall have all the materials of Hsüen-tsang's school with regard to Vasubandhu's logic. Thus we see that the Chinese tradition about Vasubandhu's logic is reduced to the above-mentioned materials. Summarizing them we must admit that they are scanty and that their incontestability and value are questionable. A thorough study of the materials of the Chinese tradition of the

¹ Ibid., p. 418b.

² G. Tucci in his article, "Buddhist Logic before Dignāga," p. 479, only summarized the data given by K'wei-chi and Shen-t'ai when saying: "... We gather both from K'wei chi (ch. iii) and Shen T'ai (ch. ii) that the theory of the *vipakṣa* was known to the ancient masters, who held two different opinions about it, which were not accepted by Dignāga. Some thought that the *vipakṣa* is that which excludes the *sapakṣa*, as well as the *pakṣa*, so in the syllogism 'sound is non-eternal, because it is a product, like a pot,' the *vipakṣa* 'ether' excludes the contrary of the non-eternal as well as of the pot. On the other hand other logicians said that the *vipakṣa* is everything except the non-eternal while for Dignāga, as is known, *vipakṣa* is *yatra pakṣo na vidyate*."

³ Cf. p. 15, f.n. 1.

⁴ Suppl. to *Tripitaka*, vol. lxxxvi, fasc. 5, p. 337b.

⁵ Suppl. to *Tripitaka*, vol. lxxxvi, fasc. 5, pp. 423a, 406a.

seventh century convinces us that the Chinese did not so much operate with textual data, as with the oral tradition or mere quotations.

But as all the theories of modern Buddhologists with regard to Vasubandhu's logic, in general, and his treatise Ju-shih lun, in particular, are partly based on that tradition, for the fullness of the picture we must analyse these theories and settle the question of how far they have availed themselves of this tradition and what are the conclusions they have made out of it.

III

THE QUESTION OF VASUBANDHU'S LOGIC IN SINOLOGICAL LITERATURE

At the beginning of the present article I have already spoken of the purely bibliographical data concerning Ju-shih lun, given first by St. Julien and then by Bunyiu Nanjio.

In 1900 Sugiura in his book, *Hindu Logic as Preserved in China and Japan*,¹ touched for the first time the question of a systematic study of Vasubandhu's logic, but based his analysis upon insufficient materials.² He declared that: "When Hsüan-tsang was in India he saw three books on logic attributed to Seish (Vasubandhu), namely Ronki, Ronshiki, and Ronshin." He made this statement in a footnote,³ basing it upon Murakami's Immyo-jensho, and added: "Dinna also speaks of this."

Not having Murakami's book near at hand I cannot verify it and decide from what sources this extremely important information was derived. But Sugiura's statement has been accepted in the Buddhological literature as an incontestable fact of Hsüen-tsang's testimony to the existence of three treatises by Vasubandhu in India.⁴ He further states, according to K'wei-chi's commentary, that Vasubandhu "maintained that a thesis can be proved by two propositions only, and that therefore the necessary parts in a syllogistic inference are only three."

¹ p. 32.

² G. Tucci in his article "Buddhist Logic before Dinnāga," p. 451, points out that the only source of Sualī, Vidyabhusana, Keith, etc. was Sugiura, and characterizes him as follows: "But being himself absolutely without knowledge of orthodox *nyāya* and of Sanscrit, he is in his statements and in his translations very often misleading . . ."

³ p. 129.

⁴ We find the same statement in Hsie Meng's book, *Outline of Buddhism (Fo-hsiao ta kang*, p. 33).

At last he gives some materials concerning Ju-shih lun, saying: "The only work that remains to us, from which we can learn anything of Seish's logic, is his polemic against heresies (Nyo-jitsu-ron)," and quotes the five-membered formula of the syllogism, adding: "Such must have been the form of reasoning used in debate in those days, and since in this book Seish was not concerned with theoretical logic, and since Hindu logic is primarily practical in its purpose, we cannot disprove the statement of Kwei-ki by citing this formula."

Thus we see that Sugiura touches but slightly on Vasubandhu's treatise Ju-shih lun (Nyo-jitsu-ron), which, according to his own words, he considered to be a single text, directed against heretics, without expounding its content with the exception of a mention of the five-membered syllogism formula.

Meanwhile these superficial data are fully contained in Sualī's, Keith's, and Vidyābhūṣana's works, where Sugiura's words that Hsüen-tsang, travelling in India, saw three treatises by Vasubandhu, and that the latter knew two forms of syllogism—the two-membered and five-membered forms are repeated—with the addition of the bibliographical data, derived from Bunyiu Nanjio.

G. Tucci, who dealt with the immediate Chinese text, revised to a certain extent the data presented by Sugiura. In his article, "A fragment from Dīnnāga,"¹ he gives for the first time a Chinese equivalent in characters for Ron-ki, Ron-shiki, and Ron-shin in their Chinese transcription, i.e. Lun-shih, Lun-kwei, and Lun-hsin, and translates these into Sanskrit. But such an identification as already pointed out by Prof. A. Vostrikov is wrong (namely Ronki is not Lun-shih but Lun-kwei, and Ron-shiki is not Lun-kwei but Lun-shih).² We may derive from this article that Tucci is familiar with the materials on Vasubandhu given by Shên-t'ai and K'wei-chi. In his other article, "Vāda-vidhi,"³ he tries to analyse Tarka-śāstra (Ju-shih lun), and declares that it has nothing to do with Vasubandhu's Vāda-vidhi. At the same time he informs us that he has translated Ju-shih lun into Sanskrit. Thus we gather that he probably considers this text to be one single text, although we know that even Ui questions this. I have already spoken about the doubtful unity of the text. Tucci's utterances are still more categorical in his article, "Buddhist Logic

¹ JRAS., 1928, p. 383.

² Cf. also the Japanese article of Professor H. Ui, *Indo tetsugaku kenkyū*, vol. v, p. 547.

³ IHQ., vol. iv, p. 636.

before *Diñnāga*.¹ He is quite positive in his statement that the treatise does not belong to Vasubandhu's pen, seemingly giving little faith to the testimonies of Hsüen-tsang's school, but at the same time he takes partly into consideration the fact pointed out by Hsüen-tsang's school that Vasubandhu operated with the three-membered formula. He bases his argument upon the fact of Vasubandhu's adoption of the three-membered syllogism, while we have the five-membered formula in *Ju-shih lun*. This points out its earlier origin. We read on page 483: "We do not know its author, but it is evident that the present redaction of the text, as it has been handed down to us, was written by some Buddhist"—and further on, page 485: "We do not know anything about the author of this book or its age, but we may presume that it was anterior to *Diñnāga*. It may be also that this *Tarka-śāstra*, or a redaction of it, was existent already in the time of *Vātsyāyana*." Tucci, to support his argument, compares a certain passage from chapter 2 of *Ju-shih lun* to *Vātsyāyana*'s work, stating their absolute identity, and concludes: "So we should be inclined to think that *Vātsyāyana* and even the final redactor of the *Nyāya-śāstra* knew, if not this same text, another of those *Tarka-śāstras* which seem to have existed long before *Diñnāga* and in which the criticism of *arthāpatti* was already formulated. That we can speak of *Tarka-śāstras* and not of a single *Tarka-śāstra* is proved by two references to them which can be found in the *Pramāṇasamuccaya-vṛtti*. In both cases *Diñnāga* uses the plural." Agreeing with Tucci's point of view that *Tarka-śāstra* is a generic name applied to any logical treatise—(that becomes evident from a mere acquaintance with the Chinese catalogue *Chih-yuan fa-pao k'an-shu tsung-lu*, where the same word *Tarka-śāstra* figures in the titles of other logical works, such as *Nyāya-mukha*, *Nyāya-praveśa*, etc., therefore we have no Sanskrit equivalent for *Ju-shih lun* and the title of it remains untranslated)—I, nevertheless, insist that the question of its authorship remains unsettled, for while there exist data, namely those put forth by Tucci, that speak in favour of his statement, there are others that have been partly mentioned by me, and that are partly quoted by A. Vostrikov. In any case Professor Tucci was the first among European Buddhologists to give a most valuable material and to express hypotheses that must be counted with.

We have some more materials in European languages in the works of Takakusu and Ui.

¹ *JRAS.*, 1929, p. 451.

But the most significant of all is Professor H. Ui's Japanese article treating Vasubandhu's logic in his Introduction to Nyāya-praveśa, in the Japanese translation of the Buddhist Canon.¹

There he expresses his doubt in Vasubandhu's authorship of Ju-shih lun. In order to prove this he gives a comparative study of Ju-shih lun, on one hand, and of the logical formulæ of Vasubandhu contained in the lost treatises, i.e. Lun-shih, Lun-kwei, and Lun-hsin. The information concerning the latter he takes from the works of Hsüen-tsang's school. Taking the data offered by this school for his point of departure, Ui says: "Vasubandhu wrote three works on logic—Lun-kwei, Lun-shih, and Lun-hsin, as it is stated by Hsüen-tsang's adherents—Wen-kwei, Shên-t'ai, and K'wei-chi. Besides these three we find references to Lun-shih by Dignāga, and this treatise must have had something to do with Dignāga's new logic."

Ui does not mention the fact that Hsüen-tsang saw these treatises in India. Then he dwells on the contradictory statements of K'wei-chi, on one hand, who asserts that Vasubandhu probably already operated with the three-membered syllogism, and of Wen-kwei, on the other hand, who declares that it was Dignāga who was the first to establish the three-membered formula, and that Vasubandhu's logic, consequently, operated with the five-membered syllogism. Ui cites Wen-kwei's testimony that the jar stands in Lun-kwei for sapakṣa of the assertion that sound is non-eternal and points out at the same time that, according to K'wei-chi, Asaṅga, and Vasubandhu treated sādhana and dūṣaṇa as different things²: "But this is too illogical

¹ *Kokuyaku dai zōkyō*. Ron bu. Dai jū go kan. Inmyō nyū shō ri ron : pp. 52-6.

² Ui analyses in detail the difference, which existed, according to Hsüen-tsang's school, between the old and the new logic. K'wei-chi says that "Bodhisattva Asaṅga took all the five parts of the syllogism, i.e. Pratijñā, Hetu, Udāharāṇa, Upanaya, and Nigamāṇa, for Sādhanā. Vasubandhu in his work Lun-kwei also took for Sādhanā the three parts of the syllogism. But, according to Dignāga's new logic, only Hetu and Udāharāṇa can be considered to be Sādhanā, and Pratijñā is Sādhya. Thus it is wrong to take all the three or the five parts of the syllogism for Sādhanā." Wen-kwei and Shên-t'ai treat it in the same way. It is in this that Hsüen-tsang's school saw the difference between the old and the new logic and noted that the old logic was not sufficiently worked out. However, continues Ui, Kwei-chi is wrong in his treatment of this point. "Sādhanā" has two different meanings in logic: first, Sādhanā as opposed to Dūṣaṇa, in this case it wholly refers to the three and the five parts of the logical formula. But, if we speak of Sādhanā as the opposite of Sādhya, it is Sādhya that figures as Pratijñā and Sādhanā as Hetu and Udāharāṇa. Therefore Asaṅga and Vasubandhu regarded Sādhanā as an antithesis of Dūṣaṇa and accepted all the three or five parts of the logical formula. Dignāga opposes Sādhanā to Sādhya, therefore he took as Sādhanā Hetu and Udāharāṇa only, and referred Pratijñā to Sādhya. K'wei-chi made a confusion of the two ideas and therefore gave them a wrong interpretation."

to have been uttered by Vasubandhu himself," he adds. Dwelling on Wen-kwei's quotations from *Pramāṇasamuccaya* Ui expresses his doubts on Vasubandhu's authorship of *Lun-kwei*, and emphasizes the following fact: "After having studied logic, he (Vasubandhu) composed *Lun-shih*, where he asserts that a jar could not have served as homogeneous example (*sapakṣa*), that, on the contrary, the sentence "whatever is created by effort is non-eternal" must have served as such. *Dignāga*, in his work *Pramāṇasamuccaya*, says that Vasubandhu's argument is correct and agrees with his own opinion. Thus we see that Vasubandhu paid attention to the logical sense of *udāharaṇa*—major premise—and considered a thorough analysis of it very important. This fact marked the first phase in the change of the five-membered syllogism." Ui declares that it is not clear at present what Vasubandhu's logical system was, but if we compare *Asaṅga's* point of view with regard to the three characteristics of the logical reason¹ to Vasubandhu's point of view on the same subject, it will become evident that Vasubandhu ascribed a great importance to the analysis of these three characteristics, owing to which he inclined towards the three-membered syllogism. Thus we see how the idea of three characteristics of the logical reason (*trirūpa-līṅga*) developed.

Ui further takes up *Ju-shih lun*, of which he says: "This treatise is generally thought to have been written by Vasubandhu, and we have evidence that even Wen-kwei admitted that. Nevertheless this has never been proved. The now existing treatise is but a part of the main work and contains only *Fan-chih nan-p'in*.² The first chapter, whose beginning has been probably lost, treats the questions of the existence or non-existence of *Yukti*.³ The second chapter classifies the fifteenth *padārtha*⁴ of *Nyāya-sūtra*, and points out the mistakes in the objections of the opponent. The third discusses *Nigraha-sthāna*, and in its enumerations, definitions, etc., is identical to the sixteenth *padārtha*⁵ of *Nyāyasūtra*, giving different interpretations from the commentaries on *Nyāya-sūtra*. But even here we have many things that coincide."

He further passes to points which in his opinion gave rise to the doubts in Vasubandhu's authorship of *Ju-shih lun*. "Though *Tarka-śāstra*—he says—considers *pratyakṣa* and *anumāna* to be important,

¹ Yin san hsiang.

² Fan-chih nan p'in.

³ Tao li.

⁴ Ti wei nan.

⁵ Ti fu ch'u.

nevertheless Vasubandhu in his work *Fo-hsing lun*,¹ altogether denies the importance of all the four, i.e. *Pratyakṣa*, *Anumāna*, *Upamāna*, and *Aitihya*.²

Then Ju-shih lun, speaking of the three characteristics of the logical reason,³ declares that it is right to take them into account in debate and wrong to overlook them. It is very doubtful, however, that Vasubandhu possessed so very exact a notion of these three elements. I think he contradicts himself, saying that we must use the five-membered syllogism if we mean to understand fully the logical value of these three elements. It is most unlikely that a man such as Vasubandhu, who considers that the basis of *sapākṣa* is wholly contained in the example, should admit such a contradiction. Anyhow, the treatise recognizes three characteristics in the logical reason, but, on the other hand, uses the formula of the five-membered syllogism. Besides in the catalogue of canonical books³ this treatise does not figure as Vasubandhu's work. Moreover, the Corean edition of the *Tripitaka* does not refer to it as Vasubandhu's work. Considering all these facts, we have every reason to doubt that the given treatise was written by Vasubandhu before we find new proofs of his authorship.⁴ Thus we see that denying Vasubandhu's authorship Ui at the same time thinks the preserved text of the treatise to be one whole in its content, only incomplete in its form. Touching on *Paramārtha's* commentary, Ui points out the existence of such commentaries in three fasc. to this work, which are now lost, and mentions three other works—*Fan-chih lun*, *To-fu lun*, and *Chêng shwo tao-li lun*—he had translated, as well as a commentary on it in five fasc. He says: "The question remains open as all these works have been lost, but we have some ground to suppose that *Chêng-shwo tao-li lun* is a translation of *Nyāya-sūtra*. We may presume that *Chêng-shwo tao-li* is a Chinese equivalent, as well as 'Chên-li' to the Sanskrit word 'nyāya' and the 5 fasc. of the commentaries correspond to the respective five chapters of the commentary to *Nyāya-sūtra*."

Although it is a mere hypothesis, but with regard to Ju-shih lun, the opening parts of it that have been lost, probably contained the same data as the *Nyāya-sūtra*. This hypothesis ensues even from the presence of the theory of the five-membered syllogism and the four kinds of *yukti*.⁵ An appreciation of Professor Ui's considerations is

¹ *Fo hsing lun*. B.N. 1220.

² (a) *Shih kên bèn fa*; (b) *t'ung-lei so shé*; (c) *i-lei, hsiang li*.

³ *Chu ching lu*.

given by Prof. A. Vostrikov,¹ and I offer here a mere summary of the material contained in Professor Ui's article so far as it refers to the question we are interested in.

These are, roughly speaking, all the subjects that Ui touches on in connection with Vasubandhu's logic.²

Thus we see that the Chinese tradition and all the considerations of modern Buddhologists that are based upon it, as a matter of fact, give very few objective materials for a detailed treatment of the problem of Vasubandhu's logic in general and that of Ju-shih lun in particular, irrespectively from a rejection of Vasubandhu's authorship or an admission of it.

Therefore without rejecting all the Chinese data and the conclusions of contemporary Buddhologists, it is absolutely necessary to solve this problem through a cross-examination of Tibetan materials and through an analysis of the text of Ju-shih lun itself.

APPENDIX

*List of the Catalogues of the Chinese Tripiṭaka where Ju-shih lun, etc., are mentioned.*³

- I. Chung ching mu la.
Trip. v, 38, fasc. 1, B.N. No. 1609. Comp. in A.D. 594. In 7 fasc.
See Bagchi, p. xlvi (2).
Fasc. 5, p. 111a.
- II. Lì tai san pao chi.
Trip. v, 35, fasc. 6, B.N. 1504. Comp. in A.D. 597. In 15 fasc.
See Bagchi, p. xlvi (3).

¹ Cf. *Logical Works of Vasubandhu*.

² I have not mentioned two articles of great importance, included by H. Ui, in the vol. v of his *Studies of Hindu Philosophy*, in Japanese. One of these articles is dedicated to "Pre-Dignāga's logic" and the other one to the analysis of "Nyāya-mukha". Besides we have a new work in Chinese dedicated to the same question and written by Professor Hsü Ti-shan (cf. Yen-ching, *Journal of Chinese Studies*, No. 9, 1931), *The Buddhist Logical Treatises Madhyamika and Yogacāra Schools before Dinnāga*, pp. 1828-1868 of this work are specially dedicated to Vasubandhu and his logical works including Ju-shih lun, with re-edited Chinese text of our treatise.

³ Prabodh Chandra Bagchi in *Le Canon Bouddhique en Chine* (Paris, 1927), gives a list of our treatises and the catalogues that contain them. Nevertheless, these data, notwithstanding the general value of the work as such, are incomplete and do not give us materials whence we could draw conclusions as to the history of our texts. Thus with regard to Ju-shih lun we read (p. 423): "Jou-chou louen un chapitre LK (73b, 6); NL (71b, 15); TK (85b, 15); KL (53b, 9) dit le colophon de l'ouvrage

Fasc. 10, p. 65*b*.

Fasc. 11, p. 76*b*.

Fasc. 13, p. 92*a*.

III. Chung ching mu lu.

Trip. v, 38, fasc. 2, B.N. 1608. Comp. in A.D. 603. In 5 fasc.

See Bagchi, xlv-i-xlvii (4).

Fasc. 1, p. 5*a*

Fasc. 1, p. 10*a*.

IV. Ta t'ang nei tien lu.

Trip. v, 38, fasc. 2, B.N. 1483. Printed in A.D. 664.

See Bagchi, xlvii (5).

Fasc. 5, p. 77*a*.

Fasc. 6, p. 93*a*.

Fasc. 8, p. 101*a*.

Fasc. 9, p. 108*a*.

V. Ku chin i ching t'u chi.

Trip. v, 38, fasc. 3, B.N. 1487. Comp. in 664-5. In 4 fasc.

See Bagchi, xlviii (5).

Fasc. 4, p. 85*b*.

VI. Ta chow k'an ting chung ching mu lu.

Trip. v, 38, fasc. 3, B.N. 1610. Comp. in A.D. 695. In 15 fasc.

See Bagchi, xlix (5).

Fasc. 6, p. 24*a*.

Fasc. 6, p. 25*a*.

Fasc. 13, p. 61*a*.

VII. K'ai yuen shih chiao lu.

Trip. v, 38, fasc. 4-5, B.N. 1458. Comp. in A.D. 730. In 20 fasc.

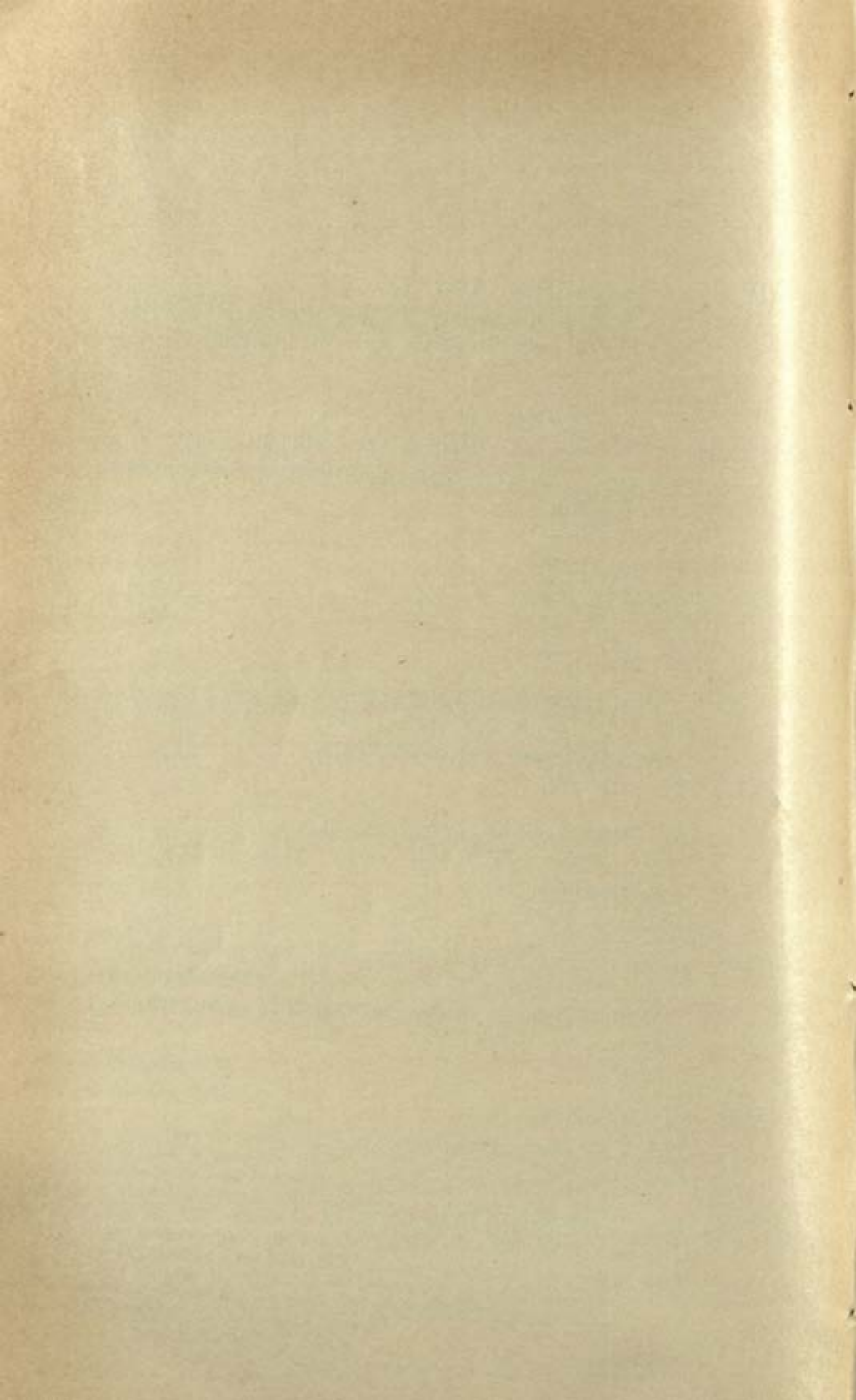
See Bagchi, xlix (10).

Fasc. 7, p. 60*a*, 61*a*.

porte le titre : Jou-chou louen fan tehe nan p'in. L'ouvrage existe. Nanjio 1252. Tarka-çāstra." We see that Prabodh Ch. Bagchi in his enumeration mentions our respective catalogues Nos. 2, 4, 5, and 7—the rest are not mentioned. The same may be said with regard to the three other works (p. 429) : " Fan tehen louen, en un chapitre. LK (65*b*, 8) ; NL (77*b*) ; TK (85*b*) ; KL (61*a*, 1) fait remarquer qu'il n'est pas certain si l'ouvrage forme une partie du Jou chen louen." " To fou louen, en un chapitre. LK (65*b*, 8) ; NL (77*b*) ; TK (85*b*) ; KL (61*a*, 1)." " Teheng chouo tao li louen, en un chapitre. LK (65*b*, 9) ; NL (77*b*) ; TK (86*a*) ; KL (61*a*, 1). The above-mentioned catalogues are nothing but our respective catalogues Nos. 2, 4, 5, and 7 ; the others are not mentioned by Prabodh Ch. Bagchi.

- Fasc. 14, p. 9a.
Fasc. 19, p. 48b.
Fasc. 19, p. 67b.

- VIII. K'ai yuen shih chiao lu lio ch'u.
Trip. v, 38, fasc. 5, B.N. 1486. In 4 fasc. See Bagchi, p. 1 (11).
It forms the last part of the preceding catalogue.
Fasc. 2, p. 84a.
- IX. Chen yuen hsin ting shih chiao mu lu.
Trip. v, 38, fasc. 5-7. Comp. in A.D. 794-5. In 30 fasc.
See Bagchi, l (12). It contains the translations made during
A.D. 730-794.
Fasc. 9, p. 49a.
Fasc. 10, p. 55b.
Fasc. 22, p. 39a.
Fasc. 24, p. 56b.
Fasc. 30, p. 95b.
- X. Ta tsang chêng chiao fa pao piao mu.
Trip. v, 38, fasc. 8, B.N. 1611. Comp. in 1105 and edited in
1306. In 10 fasc. See Bagchi, li (15).
Fasc. 6, p. 25a.
- XI. Chih yuen fa pao kên t'ung tsung lu.
Trip. v, 38, fasc. 8, B.N. 1612. Comp. in 1285-7. In 10 fasc.
See Bagchi, li (16).
Fasc. 9, p. 75a.
- XII. Ta ming ch'ung k'an san tsang chêng chiao mu lu.
Trip. v, 38, fasc. 8, B.N. 1662. Printed in 1403-1424. It is
but the catalogue of Tripitaka, edited in 1368-1398. In
4 fasc.
Page 116b.
- XIII. Ta tsang mu lu.
Trip. v, 38, fasc. 8. In 3 fasc.
Fasc. 2, p. 87a.
- XIV. Ta p'u ning ssên ta tsang ching mu lu.
Trip. v, 38, fasc. 8. In 4 fasc.
Page 101a.



A New Classification of the Constituents of Spoken Japanese

By S. YOSHITAKE

IT is now a matter of common experience that it is often found impossible to describe and classify linguistic material within the framework of the classical categories of morphology. The most reasonable alternative and one which has the merit of being objective and practical is the strictly formal and positional technique which has for many years been advocated by J. R. Firth, Senior Lecturer in Phonetics and Linguistics, University College, London. He states that in grammatical studies "mental structures must be abandoned and research directed towards finding purely formal and positional characteristics of the facts themselves which, being differentiae, will serve as a means of description, and as criteria for a congruent classification". "And secondly," he continues, "beyond this technique of formal description, function or meaning can then be studied in context on sociological lines, unobscured by categories serving any other purpose."¹

The classification proposed in the following pages is based on the technique mentioned above, and is intended to apply to that particular Japanese dialect which is now spoken by those citizens of Tōkyō whose speech would appear to the majority of educated Japanese as entirely free from unusual features.² In order to evaluate the proposed classification with its new set of discriminative terms it is necessary to compare it with the conventional classifications adopted by native and foreign grammarians. Although no two foreign or native writers on Japanese grammar seem to agree in terminology, it would be quite unnecessary to consider here all the varied nomenclatures used by them. I have therefore chosen as specimens the classifications found in McGovern's *Colloquial Japanese* and in Yamada's *Nihon Kōgohō Kōgi*, the former because of its comparative simplicity and the latter by reason of its popularity in Japan.

¹ J. R. Firth's review of H. Straumann's *Newspaper Headlines*, in *English Studies*, xvii, June, 1935, p. 112.

² This is a modification of the negative definition given to Standard English by Firth in his most stimulating and instructive little book, *Speech*, p. 63.

With a view to facilitating comparison I shall divide the proposed classification into two parts, broad and narrow. Inasmuch as some of the categories contain three or more groups or forms distinguishable one from another, it is convenient in the present discussion to separate the minor divisions from the main sections. In so doing reduplication of some of the proposed nomenclatures is unavoidable, but in such cases the conventional English and Japanese terms will be given only in the broad classification.

A. BROAD CLASSIFICATION

<i>Proposed Terminology.</i>	<i>Conventional Nomenclatures.</i>
I. Invariables	—
(1) Connectibles	Nouns, Pronouns, Numerals, Adjectives, Adverbs. <i>Taigen</i> (Substance words), <i>Fukushi</i> (Adjunctive words).
(2) Supplements	Case Particles, Postpositions, Responsives, Interjections, Numeral Classifiers, Suffixes. <i>Joshi</i> (Auxiliary words), <i>Setsuji</i> (Affixes), <i>Settōji</i> (Prefixes), <i>Setsubiji</i> (Suffixes).
II. Variables	—
(1) Part Variables	<i>Yōgen</i> (Inflective words).
(a) a-Variables	Consonant Verbs. <i>Yodan Katsuyō Dōshi</i> (Quadrigrade inflective variable words), <i>Sonzai-shi</i> (Words of existence).
(b) zero-Variables	Vowel Verbs, The Passive Form, The Potential Form, The Causative Form. <i>Kami Ichidan Katsuyō Dōshi</i> (Upper unigrade inflective variable words). <i>Shimo Ichidan Katsuyō Dōshi</i> (Lower unigrade inflective variable words). <i>Fukugobi</i> (Formative endings).

*Proposed Terminology.**Conventional Nomenclatures.*

- (c) **ku**-Variables . . . Real Adjectives: Simple Adjectives, Compound Adjectives.
Keiyōshi (Modificatory words),
Fukugobi.
- (d) Shortened Variables . Auxiliary Verbs, The Auxiliary Suffix.
Yodan Katsuyō Dōshi, *Setsumei Sonzaishi* (Explanatory words of existence), *Keigo* (Honorific).
- (2) Total Variables . . . Irregular Verbs.
Kagyō Sandan Katsuyō Dōshi (The *ka*-line trigrade inflective variable word), *Sagyō Sandan Katsuyō Dōshi* (The *sa*-line trigrade inflective variable word), *Fukugobi*.

B. NARROW CLASSIFICATION

(With examples)

*Proposed Terminology.**Conventional Nomenclatures.*

I. Connectibles.

- (1) **na-no**-Connectibles . Simple Nouns, Compound Nouns, Personal Pronouns, Demonstrative Pronouns, Interrogative Pronouns, Japanese Numerals, Chinese Numerals, Adverbs.
inu (dog), **hombako** (book-case), **ore** (I), **kore** (this), **dore** (which), **hitotsu** (one), **nigiu** (twenty), **asu** (to-morrow), **hooboo** (all directions), **byooki** (illness).
Meishi (Nominal words) *Daimishi* (Substitutes for Nominal words),
Sūshi (Numeral words), *Fukushi*.
- (2) **na-na**-Connectibles . Simple Nouns.
baka (foolishness, fool), **bikko** (lameness, cripple), **otemba** (romping, minx).
Meishi, *Jōtai no Fukushi* (Adjunctive words of state).
- (3) **no**-Connectibles . Simple Adverbs.
tjotto (a little), **sukosi** (a little), **jibaraku** (awhile).
Teido no Fukushi (Adjunctive words of degree).
- (4) **na**-Connectibles . Simple Nouns, Simple Adverbs.
dzoobu (soundness), **taihen** (seriousness, very).
Jōtai no Fukushi, *Teido no Fukushi*.

Proposed Terminology.

- (5) Direct Connectibles .
kono (this), **sono** (that), **ano**
 (that . . . over there),
dono (which), **moo** (al-
 ready), **motto** (more),
tfoodo (just), **nanaka**
 (certainly), **pikapika**
 (glittering).

Conventional Nomenclatures.

Demonstrative Adjectives, Interro-
 gative Adjectives; Real Adverbs;
 Simple Adverbs, *to*-Adverbs, Ono-
 matopoeic Adverbs.

Daimeshi no Rentaikaku (The forms
 of *Daimeshi* to be followed by a
 Substance word), *Yōgen no Rentai-*
kaku (The forms of *Yōgen* to be
 followed by a Substance word),
Jōtai no Fukushi, *Teido no*
Fukushi, *Chinjutsu no Fukushi*
 (Adjunctive words of declaration).

II. Supplements.

- (1) Initials Responsives, Interjections.
hai, **ie**, **aa**, **o-**, **go-**, **dai-**.
Senkō no Fukushi (Introductory ad-
 junctive words), *Settōji*.
- (2) Finals Interjections, Numeral Classifiers,
yo, **ro**, **tomo**, **-san**, **-tatfi**,
-nin, **-hiki**, **-hon**.
 Suffixes.
Shūjoshi (Final auxiliary words),
Kantōjoshi (Interjectional aux-
 iliary words), *Setsuji*, *Setsubiji*.
- (3) Movables Case Particles, Postpositions, Inter-
wa, **mo**, **na**, **no**, **o**, **ni**, **e**, **de**,
yor, **kara**, **made**, **ka**, **nee**,
keredo.
 juctions.
Kakujoshi (Auxiliary words of quali-
 fication), *Fukujoshi* (Adjunctive
 auxiliary words), *Kakarijoshi*
 (Nexus auxiliary words), *Setsu-*
zokujoshi (Conjunctive auxiliary
 words), *Setsuzoku no Fukushi*
 (Adjunctive words of link).

III. a-Variables.

- (1) The i-form The Second Base, Verbal Nouns.
kafi (lend), **kaki** (write),
fini (die), **yomi** (read),
yobi (call), **kaji** (smell),
utfi (strike), **uri** (sell), **iki**
 (go), **ii** (say).
Ren'yōkei (The form to be followed by
 an Inflective word), *Juntaigen*
 (Quasi-substance-words).

<i>Proposed Terminology.</i>	<i>Conventional Nomenclatures.</i>
(2) The e-form	—
kase, kake, fine, yome, yobe, kaŋe, ute, ure, ike, ie.	<i>Meireikei</i> (The Imperative form).
(3) Coincides with (2)	The Fourth Base. <i>Jōkenkei</i> (The Conditional form).
(4) The a-form	The First Base. <i>Mizenkei</i> (The "not-yet-so"-form).
kasa, kaka, fina, yoma, yoba, kaŋa, uta, ura, ika, iwa.	
(5) The oo-form	The Fifth Base. —
kasoo, kakoo, jinoo yomoo, yoboo, kaŋoo, utoo, uroo, ikoo, iwoo.	
(6) The u-form	The Third Base. <i>Shūshikei</i> (The Final form), <i>Ren-</i> <i>taikei</i> (The form to be followed by a Substance word), <i>Juntaigen</i> .
kasu, kaku, jinu, yomu, yobu, kaŋu, utsu, uru, iku, iu.	
(7) The te(de)-form	Gerund.
kafite, kaite, finde, yonde, yonde, kaide, utte, utte, itte, itte.	
(8) The ta(da)-form	The Past Tense Form.
kafita, kaita, finda, yonda, yonda, kaida, utta, utta, itta, itta.	
(9) The tari(dari)-form	The Alternative (Frequentative) Form.
kafitari, kaitari, findari, yondari, yondari, kaidari, uttari, uttari, ittari, ittari.	
(10) The tara(dara)-form	—
kafitara, kaitara, findara, yondara, yondara, kaidara, uttara, uttara, ittara, ittara.	
(11) The taroo(daroo)-form	—
kafitaroo, kaitaroo, findaroo, yondaroo, yondaroo, kaidaroo, uttaroo, uttaroo, ittaroo, ittaroo.	

IV. zero-Variables.

- (1) The zero-form The Second Base, Verbal Nouns.
mi (see), de (emerge), -re, *Renyōkei*, *Juntaigen*.
-se.

<i>Proposed Terminology.</i>	<i>Conventional Nomenclatures.</i>
(2) Coincides with (1)	— <i>Meireikei.</i>
(3) The re-form mire, dere, -rere, -sere.	The Fourth Base. <i>Jōkenkei.</i>
(4) Coincides with (1)	The First Base, The Fifth Base. <i>Mizenkei.</i>
(5) The yoo-form miyoo, deyoo, -reyoo, -seyoo.	— —
(6) The ru-form miru, deru, -reru, -seru.	The Third Base. <i>Shūshikei, Rentaikei, Juntaigen.</i>
(7) The te-form mite, dete, -rete, -sete.	Gerund. —
(8) The ta-form mita, deta, -reta, -seta.	The Past Tense Form. —
(9) The tari-form mitari, detari, -retari, -setari.	The Alternative (Frequentative) Form. —
(10) The tara-form mitara, detara, -retara, -setara.	—
(11) The taroo-form mitaroo, detaroo, -retaroo, -setaroo.	—

V. ku-Variables.

(1) The zero-form ooki (large), haya (early), omo (heavy), samu (cold), -na, -ta.	The Stem. <i>Gokan (Stem), Jōtai no Fukushima.</i>
(2) The i-form ookii, hayai, omoi, samui, -nai, -tai.	The i-form. <i>Shūshikei, Rentaikei, Juntaigen.</i>
(3) The kere-form ookikere, hayakere, omo- kere, samukere, -nakere, -takere.	— <i>Jōkenkei.</i>
(4) The karoo-form ookikaroo, hayakaroo, omokaroo, samukaroo, -nakaroo, -takaroo.	—

<i>Proposed Terminology.</i>	<i>Conventional Nomenclatures.</i>
(5) The <i>ku</i> -form ookiku, hayaku, omoku, samuku, -naku, -taku.	The <i>ku</i> -form. <i>Renyōkei</i> , <i>Mizenkei</i> .
(6) The <i>o(u)</i> -form ookiu, hayoo, omoo, samuu, —, -too.	— <i>Renyōkei</i> .
(7) The <i>kute</i> -form ookikute, hayakute, omokute, samukute, -nakute, -takute.	Gerund.
(8) The <i>katta</i> -form ookikatta, hayakatta, omokatta, samukatta, -nakatta, -takatta.	—
(9) The <i>kattari</i> -form ookikattari, hayakattari, omokattari, samukattari, -nakattari, -takattari.	—
(10) The <i>kattara</i> -form ookikattara, hayakattara, omokattara, samukattara, -nakattara, -takattara.	—
(11) The <i>kattaroo</i> -form ookikattaroo, hayakattaroo, omokattaroo, samukattaroo, na- kattaroo, -takattaroo.	—

VI. Shortened Variables.

(1) The <i>i</i> -form —, <i>nari</i> , —.	The Second Base. <i>Renyōkei</i> .
(2) The <i>i-e</i> -counterpart form <i>nasai</i> , —, - <i>mafi</i> .	The Second Base. <i>Renyōkei</i> , <i>Meireikei</i> .
(3) The <i>re</i> -counterpart form <i>nasare</i> , <i>nare</i> , - <i>masure</i> .	The Fourth Base. <i>Jōkenkei</i> .
(4) The <i>a</i> -form <i>nasara</i> , <i>nara</i> , —.	The First Base. <i>Mizenkei</i> .
(5) The <i>a-e</i> -counterpart form —, —, - <i>mase</i> .	The First Base. <i>Mizenkei</i> , <i>Meireikei</i> .
(6) The <i>oo</i> -counterpart form <i>nasaroo</i> , —, - <i>mafoo</i> .	The Fifth Base. —
(7) The <i>u</i> -counterpart form <i>nasaru</i> , <i>na</i> , - <i>masu</i> .	The Third Base. <i>Shūshikei</i> , <i>Rentaikei</i> .
(8) The <i>te</i> -form <i>nasutte</i> , —, - <i>mafite</i> .	Gerund. —

<i>Proposed Terminology.</i>	<i>Conventional Nomenclatures.</i>
(9) The ta -form nasutta, —, -mafita.	The Past Tense Form. —
(10) The tari -form nasuttari, —, -mafitari.	The Alternative (Frequentative) Form. —
(11) The tara -form nasuttara, —, -mafitarā.	— —
(12) The taroo -form nasuttaroo, —, -mafitaroo.	— —

VII. Total Variables.

(1) The i -counterpart form ki, —, —.	The Second Base. <i>Renyōkei.</i>
(2) The zero -counterpart form. —, ji, —.	The 1st Base, 2nd Base, 5th Base. <i>Mizenkei, Renyōkei, Meireikei.</i>
(3) The re -counterpart form kure, sure, -ne.	The Fourth Base. <i>Jōkenkei.</i>
(4) The a-i -counterpart form —, —, -zu.	The First Base, The Second Base. <i>Mizenkei, Renyōkei.</i>
(5) The a-e -counterpart form ko, se, —.	The First Base. <i>Mizenkei, Meireikei.</i>
(6) The yoo -counterpart form koyoo, jiyoo, —.	— —
(7) The ru -counterpart form kuru, suru, -n.	The Third Base. <i>Shūshikei, Rentaikei.</i>
(8) The te -form kite, fite, —.	Gerund. —
(9) The ta -form kita, fita, —.	The Past Tense Form. —
(10) The tari -form	The Alternative (Frequentative) Form. —
kitari, fitari, —.	—
(11) The tara -form kitara, fitara, —.	— —
(12) The taroo -form kitaroo, fitaroo, —.	— —

As can be seen, the proposed classification divides the constituents¹ of spoken Japanese into two large groups: Invariables and Variables. By Variables I mean those constituents which may assume distinct forms in different verbal contexts,² and by Invariables those which do not.

The first large group of Invariables is Connectibles, i.e. the constituents that can be connected to each other or to Variables with or without the aid of what are here called "Supplements". This subgroup comprises Nouns, Pronouns, Numerals, and Adverbs of the conventional classification. The term "Numeral" is sufficiently clear on the whole, but the remaining three—"Noun", "Pronoun", and "Adverb"—leave ample room for dispute. No one would object to the term "Noun" applied to such constituents as *inu* (dog), *tori* (bird), *hombako* (bookcase), *te* (hand), and *kin* (gold). But when a certain form of Verbs, like *iki* (go), *amari* (excess), and *firase* (inform), is called a Verbal Noun or *Juntai* (Quasi-substance-word), we are made to understand that a constituent can be at once a Noun and a Verb, which is, of course, absurd. Similarly *baka* (foolishness, fool), *bikko* (lameness, cripple), etc., satisfy the definitions of both *Meishi* (Nominal words) and *Jōtai no Fukushi* (Adjunctive words of state). This is exactly where qualificative terms lose their precision. In morphology we are not in the least concerned with the semantic aspect of the constituents.³ Whether or not a given member is the name of a thing, an action, or a quality is quite immaterial. All that we need is to perceive what a given constituent sounds or looks like, and what position it always occupies in connected speech or writing. And in conformity with its external appearance or the position it always occupies in relation to other members a discriminatory name may be given to it for convenience.

The name "Connectible", though somewhat awkward and unattractive, is the best I have been able to invent for this category with an extremely large number of constituents including the whole of

¹ The name "Constituent" is here given to a constantly recurring phone sequence whose components are so firmly joined together that any attempt to divide it into smaller parts would either cause unnecessary inconvenience or serve no useful purpose in a study of the language under consideration. A constituent may of course consist in a single phone like *a*, *e*, *n*, etc.

² Some Invariables may occur in more than one form, e.g. *mina* and *minna*. But these are always found in precisely the same verbal contexts, and so outside the category of Variables.

³ Cf. "The Technique of Semantics" by J. R. Firth, in the *Philological Society's Transactions*, 1935, pp. 48-9.

the unadulterated Sino-Japanese elements. If desired, however, the Connectibles can be divided into five groups according as they can or cannot be directly followed by *ŋa*, *no*, and *na* (plus a constituent other than *no* and *n*). These differentiae may best be illustrated as follows:—

	<i>ŋa</i>	<i>no</i>	<i>na</i>
(1) <i>ŋa-no</i> -Connectibles . . .	Yes	Yes	No
(2) <i>ŋa-na</i> -Connectibles . . .	Yes	Yes	Yes
(3) <i>no</i> -Connectibles . . .	No	Yes	No
(4) <i>na</i> -Connectibles . . .	No	No	Yes
(5) Direct Connectibles . . .	No	No	No

In this way it is possible to separate Connectibles like *baka* and *bikko* from *inu*, *hombako*, etc., on the one hand, and from *dgoobu*, *taihen*, etc., on the other. Likewise, the two kinds of the so-called Adverbs can be kept apart as shown by (3) and (5). Moreover, the proposed classification enables us to distinguish the Adjectives *kono*, *sono*, *ano*, and *dono*, from the corresponding Pronouns *kore*, *sore*, *are*, and *dore*. If, following the conventional morphology we name the former set "the Attributive form of Pronoun", then what form of Pronoun are we to call the latter? "The Pronominal form of Pronoun" would certainly be most disconcerting.

The Supplements are divided into Initials, Finals, and Movables¹ according to the positions they occupy in a phonetic sequence. The Initials stand at the beginning of a phonetic sequence, and comprise *hai*, *ha*, *hee*, *he*, *e*, *ŋ*, *ie*, *iee*, *iya*, *aa*, *a*, *saa*, *sa*, *yaa*, *ya*, *oi*, *kora*, *sora*, *oya*, *ara*, *maa*, *naani*, *mofi*, *fikaŋi*, *yareyare*, *o-*, *go-*, *dai-*, *oo-*, *ko-*, *o-*, *me-*, etc. The Finals are found at the end of a phonetic sequence, embracing *yo*, *i*, *e*, *ro*, *tomo*, *ze*, *zo*, *zoo*, *sa*, *na*, *-san*, *-sa*, *-mi*, *-ŋi*, etc., and the so-called Numeral Classifiers *-nin*, *-hiki*, *-hai*, *-hon*, *-soo*, etc. The Movables may occupy different positions according to circumstances, and comprise *wa*, *ba*, *mo*, *ŋa*, *no*, *o*, *ni*, *e*, *de*, *yori*, *kara*, *made*, *sae*, *koso*, *dake*, *fika*, *bakari*, *hodo*, *ŋurai*, *to*, *demo*, *nado*, *nandzo*, *yara*, *ya*, *ŋi*, *naŋara*, *dga*, *dga*, *ga*, *ga*, *keredo*, *kedo*, *nee*, *ne*, *-tte*, etc. Both Initials and Finals often provide a useful means of picking out that part of a phonetic sequence which is commonly known as direct quotation. However, since the Supplements comprise only a limited number of constituents,² it seems hardly necessary to divide them into smaller groups. For practical purposes it would be sufficient to make

¹ This name has been suggested by Firth.

² Their number is well under half that of Irregular Verbs in English.

a list of them and state that to these Invariables we give the name "Supplements".

Now for the Variables. These are divided into Part Variables and Total Variables under the proposed classification. By Part Variables I mean the Variables which contain an invariable element, as contrasted with Total Variables which do not. When the invariable part of a Variable can be treated as a constituent it is here called "the zero-form" of that Variable. The form ending in *ku* and built upon a zero-form is here named "the *ku*-form". When a Variable ending in *a* cannot be treated as a zero-form it is here called "the *a*-form". With these three forms as criteria it is possible to distinguish the following three types of Part Variables.

(1) *a*-Variables: Variables that have an *a*-form but not a zero-form.

(2) zero-Variables: Variables that have a zero-form but not a *ku*-form.

(3) *ku*-Variables: Variables that have a *ku*-form.

To the remaining nine Part Variables *na*, *da*, *desu*, *-masu*, *nasaru*, *kudasaru*, *gozaru*, *iraffaru*, and *offaru* are given the name "Shortened Variables".

The *a*-Variables include not only the so-called Consonant Verbs but also *-garu*, *-buru*, etc. Similarly the zero-Variables contain *-reru* (*-rareru*) and *-seru* (*-saseru*) besides such constituents as *miru* (see) and *deru* (emerge). It is unprofitable to distinguish Variables of the type *miru* from those of the type *deru*, as is done in Japan, since they both change their forms in exactly the same manner. Likewise the term "Consonant Verbs" is not at all satisfactory, because the category in question includes such Variables as *iu* (say), *au* (meet), *ou* (drive away), which do not contain a single consonant.

As shown on pp. 1042-4, the *a*-Variables have ten distinct forms and the zero-Variables nine. Every one of the forms belonging to either of these two groups of Variables morphologically corresponds to one or more forms belonging to the other group. To take an example, *deru* may find a place in the paradigm scatter¹ *de*, *dere*, *deru*, *dete*, *deta*, etc., but only the zero-form *de* can be directly followed by *-masu*, thus *demasu*.² Similarly, *kasu* may find a place in the scatter *kafi*, *kase*, *kasa*, *kasu*, *kafite*, *kafita*, etc., but only the *i*-form *kafi* can be

¹ For this term see Firth's review, *op. cit.*, p. 112: "The Technique of Semantics," *op. cit.*, p. 62.

² Such a phonetic sequence as *detemasu* (is out) is here treated as a variant of *dete imasu* and not as a junction of *dete* and *-masu*.

immediately followed by *-masu*, thus *kajimasu*. The same applies to the zero-form of all other zero-Variables and to the *i*-form of all other *a*-Variables. We may therefore state that the *i*-form of *a*-Variables is a morphological counterpart of the zero-form of zero-Variables. But the zero-form of zero-Variables may also be directly followed by *zu*, which cannot immediately follow any form of *a*-Variables except the *a*-form, e.g. *dezu*, *kasazu*. Moreover, the zero-form of zero-Variables (with the exception of those which are derived from the *a*-Variables, e.g. *yomeru*) may be directly followed by *ro*, whose equivalent *yo* cannot directly follow any form of *a*-Variables except the *e*-form, e.g. *dero*, *kaseyo*. On the other hand, the *e*-form of *a*-Variables may be directly followed by *ba*, which may also directly follow the *re*-form, but not the zero-form, of zero-Variables, e.g. *kaseba*, *dereba*. This means that, while the *a*-form, the *i*-form, and the *re*-form are all univalent, the *e*-form is ambivalent and the zero-form trivalent. The *u*-form and the *ru*-form are characterized by the fact that they are the only forms of *a*-Variables and zero-Variables that can be directly followed by the prohibitive Final *na*. They are therefore univalent counterparts. So are the *oo*-form and the *yoo*-form, since neither of these can be replaced by any one of the forms mentioned above, while they both are found in the same verbal contexts. The following table will show the morphological equivalence under discussion :—

<i>a</i> -Variables		zero-Variables
The <i>a</i> -form	—	
The <i>i</i> -form	—	The zero-form
The <i>e</i> -form	—	
	—	The <i>re</i> -form
The <i>u</i> -form	—	The <i>ru</i> -form
The <i>oo</i> -form	—	The <i>yoo</i> -form

The term "Base" used by McGovern and others is suitable only for distinguishing something from its derivatives. When applied to different forms of the same Variable under the categories of First, Second, Third Base, etc., it loses its suggestive value. Such a method of classification should be avoided where possible. Indeed, even the negative criteria as adopted in dividing the Connectibles are less obscure

than the numerical classification. The Japanese practice of ascribing two or more names to one and the same form or category is likewise undesirable.

The three constituents **kuru** (come), **suru** (do), and **-n** (not) contain no invariable elements and are therefore called Total Variables.¹ It is quite wrong to designate **kuru** and **suru** "Irregular Verbs", for we find no irregularity in either of them. They change their forms just as regularly as other Variables, and so we cannot single them out as "Irregular Verbs" any more than we can describe an unsociable crank as an irregular fellow.

However, the Total Variables change in appearance to such an extent and so differently from **a**-Variables and zero-Variables that some of their forms do not share any common element. It is therefore not easy, by means of their terminations alone, to differentiate all the varied forms, either among themselves, or from the **a**-Variables and the zero-Variables. Nevertheless, there is a definite correspondence, for example, between **ki** of **kuru** and the **i**-form of **a**-Variables, for they are the only forms of these Variables that can be directly followed by **-masu**. And since the **i**-form is univalent, **ki** may be called the **i**-counterpart form of **kuru**. For similar reasons **kure** and **sure** may be named the **re**-counterpart form, **kuru** and **suru** the **ru**-counterpart form, and **koyoo** and **jiyoo** the **yoo**-counterpart form, while **fi** may rightly be designated the zero-counterpart form. Both **ko** and **se**, and no other forms of **kuru** and **suru**, can be immediately followed by **zu**, and therefore correspond to the univalent **a**-form. But, like the **e**-form, they can also be directly followed by **yo** or its variant **i**, thus **koi** and **seyo**. Although the **e**-form is ambivalent, being a counterpart of the **re**-form as well as of the zero-form, since the name the **re**-counterpart form has been given to **kure** and **sure**, we may without any ambiguity designate **ko** and **se** the **a-e**-counterpart form. Lastly the ambivalent **zu** must be called the **a-i**-counterpart form. Thus we arrive at the seven forms (1)-(7) as tabulated on p. 1046.

The Shortened Variables include the **i-e**-counterpart form and the **a-e**-counterpart form. These names are, by elimination, given to the two ambivalent forms as in the case of the **a-e**-counterpart form of Total Variables.

The **te**-forms are self-explanatory, for the same termination is utilized as a criterion for all Variables. The voiced variant **-de**, as found in the **a**-Variables, is a modification of its voiceless prototype, the

¹ This name has been suggested by Firth.

change being brought about by the preceding consonants that are either nasal or readily susceptible of nasalization.¹ The *te*-forms are not recognized as forms by native grammarians, because the ending *te* was at one time a Total Variable freely affixable to the *i*-forms and the zero-forms of *a*-, zero-, and Total Variables, as also to the *ku*-form of *ku*-Variables, and still remains so in the written language. But since in modern colloquial *-te* no longer survives as a separable element, it may be made use of as a discriminating factor for that particular form of Variable which is, strictly speaking, neither a Gerund nor a Participle. The same is true of the endings *-ta(da)*, *-tari(dari)*, etc., which serve as formal criteria for those forms to which no appropriate names have hitherto been given.

In addition to those tabulated on pp. 1042-6 there are forms ending in *-utte* (like *urutte*, in contrast to *utte*), *-rutte* (like *mirutte*, in contrast to *mite*), and *-tatte* or *-datte* (like *uttatte*, *mitatte*, *yondatte*). But these may best be treated as combinations of the *u*-form, the *ru*-form, and the *ta(da)*-form with the Movable *-tte*. Similarly the forms ending in *-tfa* or *-tfaa* (like *uttfa*, *mitfa*, *uttfaa*, *mitfaa*) and *-dga* or *-dgaa* (like *yondga*, *yondgaa*) should be regarded as the variants of the *te(de)*-form + *wa*. Likewise, *-teru* (*deru*) is a variant of the *te(de)*-form + *iru*, and *-tfatte* (*dgatte*) of the *te(de)*-form + *jimatte*. To be treated in similar manner are *-tfai* (*dgai*), *-tfae* (*dgae*), *-tfau* (*dgau*), *-tfatta* (*dgatta*), *-tfattari* (*dgattari*), *-tfattara* (*dgattara*), *-tfattaroo* (*dgattaroo*), etc.

Little need be said of the various forms of *ku*-Variables. It is quite unreasonable to overcharge the form (2) with three distinct names, whereas the forms (5) and (6), having different morphological functions, should deserve separate names. To the eleven forms given on pp. 1044-5 may be added a *kare*-form like *yokare* (be it good), *afikare* (be it bad), although not all the *ku*-Variables have this particular form.

To sum up, the proposed classification is not only clearer than the conventional schemes, but it also contains a considerably smaller number of nomenclatures, some of which are by no means new. The term "Variable" is suggested by the Japanese terminology *Yōgen* (Inflective words) and *Dōshi* (Variable words). The names "*i*-form" and "*ku*-form", applied to the *ku*-Variables, were employed by

¹ *-nde* is the phonetic implication of *-nte*, *-mte*, and *-bte*; *-ide* of *-nte*, and *-tte* of *-tte*, *-rte*, *-kte*, and *-fte*. If this latter system of notation, which is expressive of the morphological consonant junctions, be adopted, the *te(de)*-form may simply be called the *te*-form. Cf. "The Technique of Semantics", *op. cit.*, pp. 59-60.

McGovern more than fifteen years ago, while the appellation "Final" as used here covers a greater variety of constituents than in Yamada's classification.

In selecting my terminology I have for obvious reasons endeavoured to confine myself to everyday language, and nomenclatures similar to the ones adopted here will easily be found in colloquial Japanese. As a specimen I suggest the following. Alternatives are given within parentheses.

Invariables	<i>Henkei shinai mono.</i>
Connectibles	<i>Tsunagi-eru mono.</i>
η a-no-Connectibles	η a mata wa no wo tsuzukete tsunagi- eru mono.
η a-na-Connectibles	η a mata wa na wo tsuzukete tsunagi- eru mono.
no-Connectibles. . . .	no wo tsuzukete tsunagi-eru mono. (η a mata wa na wo tsuzukete wa tsunagi-enai mono).
na-Connectibles	na wo tsuzukete tsunagi-eru mono. (η a mata wa no wo tsuzukete wa tsunagi-enai mono).
Direct Connectibles	<i>Chokusetsu ni tsunagareru mono.</i> (η a, no, mata wa na wo tsuzukete wa tsunagi-enai mono).
Supplements	<i>Tsukekuwaeru mono.</i>
Initials	<i>Hajime ni tsukekuwaeru mono.</i>
Finals	<i>Owari ni tsukekuwaeru mono.</i>
Movables	<i>Iroiro no tokoro ni tsukekuwaeru mono.</i>
Variables	<i>Henkei suru mono.</i>
Part Variables	<i>Ichibubun dake henkei suru mono.</i>
a-Variables	a-Kei no aru mono.
zero-Variables	zero-Kei no aru mono.
ku-Variables	ku-Kei no aru mono.
Shortened Variables	<i>Mijikaku natte iru mono.</i>
Total Variables	<i>Sukkari henkei suru mono.</i>

Each of the regional dialects, the professional and class dialects, and the vernaculars of women and children, as well as the written languages of different times must be examined severally, and its constituents classified on similar lines as here proposed. Until this has been done it is almost impossible to venture anything like a complete historical morphology of the Japanese language.

The Structure of the Chinese Monosyllable in a Hunanese Dialect (Changsha)

By J. R. FIRTH and B. B. ROGERS

THE only kind of speech behaviour with which the present study is directly connected is the oral naming of Chinese characters. Chinese characters have been prominent cultural objects for thousands of years. Even the sketchiest description of what they have been called by countless millions over a vast area of Asia would be a colossal task. All that is here attempted is a systematic analysis of what a certain number of selected characters were called by Mr. K. H. Hu, of Changsha.

If a precedent must be given, let it be Adam in the Garden. Created things were brought before him to see what he would call them. They did not come into his world until he had called their names. And the names by which he called them were a new creation, henceforth part and parcel of his world. It might even be said that they did not exist until he had called their names. A great deal of grammatical phonetics is concerned with the description of the spoken names of written words and tells the uninitiated what to call them when they are faced with them or when they want them. Such information can, of course, be used indirectly in continuous speech. But we would emphasize once more that the analysis here presented is not directly concerned with what is properly called general speech behaviour.

Consequently no connected text is given. The notation, however, could be used as a simple Roman orthography, and lends itself to all modern printing devices. The ordinary typewriter keyboard could be used, and for telegrams, in this dialect at any rate, the ordinary telewriter could be used and the sending of such messages very much simplified as compared with the present numerical code method. A sample telegram is given at the end.

Lastly, the use of the word monosyllable in the title and in the text does not imply that Chinese is to be classed as a monosyllabic language. In actual speech reduplicative and dissyllabic elements are quite common.

The description of the pronunciation to be associated with the notation employed is also sufficient for practical purposes. The principle followed is that the main diacritica of the various types of syllable should be described and simply recorded. These diacritica may be regarded as occurring in two places, first place or initial position, and second place or final position. The tonal diacritica need not be "placed", although the notation employs letters in final position. These are not, therefore, counted as being in a "place".¹

TONES

The technique indicated above was also applied to tones. The analysis and orthographic representation of these is based on observations of the tones used by Mr. Hu when called upon to name the selected characters placed before him. The tonal behaviour of such syllables in connected speech was not investigated, except for the low falling variant of tone 4 often used in certain syllables in connected speech. The nature and function of the so-called "tones" of Chinese cannot be understood or economically represented in orthography, until a thorough study of types of sentences in general speech behaviour has been completed by enlisting a number of workers.

FIGURE 1
RELATIVE PITCH AND LENGTH OF TONES

	1		2		3		4		5	
	Low mid-level		Low falling-rising		Mid-falling		Mid high-rising		Low mid-rising	
Mark	y and w		h		v		unmarked		doubling and o	
lah										
soh										
fah										
me										
ray										
doh										
te										
lah										
soh										
	媽	maw	麻	mah	馬	mav	罵	ma	抹	maa
		mother		hemp		horse		scold		wipe

¹ See Fu Liu, *Les mouvements de la langue nationale en Chine*, 1925, paras. 125-7, p. 35, and also paras. 171-7, pp. 49-50.

RELATIVE FREQUENCY OF TONES

Three types of count for frequency were made, the first from a normal personal letter of 802 words (A); the second from a classified list of the 1,013 possible syllables in Changsha dialect (B); and the third from a national "thousand-character" list (C). The resulting figures are shown in the following table and graph:—

Tone	(A)	(B)	(C)
1st	143	227	229
2nd	128	168	219
3rd	199	248	200
4th	225	257	334
5th	107	113	189
	802	1,013	1,171

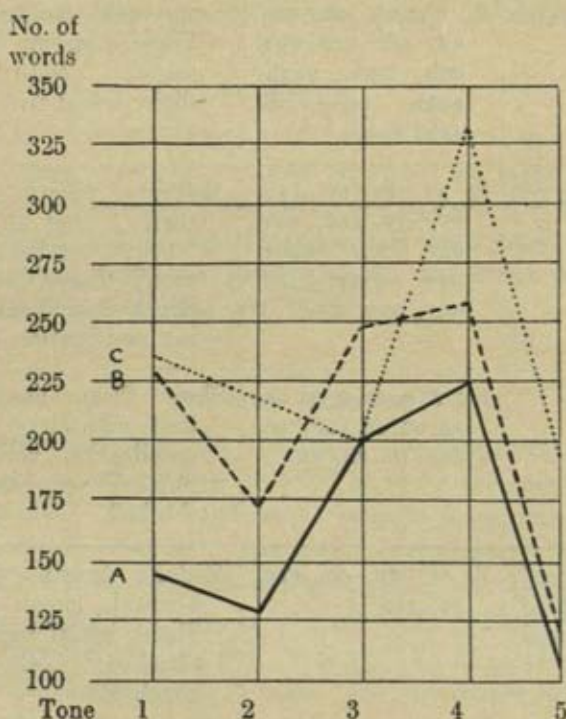


FIGURE 2

From the graph it will be seen that there are reasons for thinking that the fourth tone occurs most frequently. Therefore this tone is left unmarked, the final letters, *y, w, h, v, o*, and the doubling of the final vowel letter, being used to mark the other tones.

In the marking of the first tone *y* is used with *i, e, ei ae, en, eun*, and *w* with *a, o, eu, u, ao, ou, on, aon, an, un*. In the marking of the fifth tone the doubling of the final vowel letter is satisfactory for all

TABLE I

TONES—WITH VOWELS AND CORRELATIVE ATTRIBUTES

Tone 1, marked with <i>y</i> and <i>w</i> .	<i>iy, ey, aw, ow, euw, uw, eiy, aey, aow, ouw, eny, euny,¹ onw, aonw, iny, anw, unw.</i>	Long—longer than 3. Normal voice quality. Sometimes ends with slight creak.
Tone 2, marked with <i>h</i> .	<i>ih, eh, ah, oh, euh, uh, eih, aeh aoh, ouh, enh, eunh,¹ aonh, onh, inh, anh, unh.</i>	Long—often longer than 1. Voice quality breathy, hollow, “chesty” with slight initial friction.
Tone 3, marked with <i>v</i> .	<i>iv, ev, av, ov, euv, uv, eiv, aev, aov, ouv, env, eunv,¹ onv, aonv, inv, anv, unv,</i>	Medium length—shorter than 1 and 2. Clear “head” voice—vowels usually closer and clearer. Slight final creak. Closing nasalization slight.
Tone 4, unmarked.	<i>i, e, a, o, eu, u, ei, ae, ao, ou, en, eun,¹ on, aon, in, an, un.</i>	Short. Clear “head” voice. Ends with check. Closing nasalization very slight. Final <i>n</i> very short and checked.
Tone 5, marked with doubled <i>i, e, a, o</i> , and final <i>o</i> .	<i>ii, ee, aa, oo, euo, uo, ouo.</i>	Medium length—with the <i>a</i> -vowel, longer than 3. Slight initial breathiness. Checked. No closing nasalization.

¹ See notes on Table VI, p. 1065.

letters except *u*. To avoid ambiguity with *n* in writing, final *o* is used instead of doubling the *u*.

In conjunctive spelling which would link syllables together to form words it would sometimes be necessary to use a hyphen after syllables in tones one and two to distinguish the final *w*, *y*, and *h*, which are tone letters, from the initial *w*, *y*, *h*, which represent differences of pronunciation. The hyphen might also be necessary occasionally after tone five.

NOTATION

Vowels

The number of letters required for the symbolization of vowels is five, as follows: *i*, *e*, *a*, *o*, *u*. This is not to say that there are only five vowels, as will be clear from the tables.

Consonants

The number of letters required for the symbolizing of consonants is seventeen, as follows (in alphabetical order): *b*, *c*, *d*, *f*, *g*, *h*, *j*, *k*, *l*, *m*, *n*, *p*, *s*, *t*, *w*, *y*, *z*.

Tones

Only one letter in addition to the above is found to be necessary to mark "tones", namely *v* in final position. The other devices for representing the prosodic diacritica include the use of *y*, *w*, *h*, and *o* in final position, and the doubling of the final vowel letter. In contradistinction from the above positive marks, the fourth tone, which occurs most frequently, has zero mark.

PHONETIC ANALYSIS

As speech behaviour, the naming of the characters is just one complete act, a configuration of bodily postures and movements not easily dissected. But the differences between these oral names can be systematically described, classified, and represented in notation. To do this it will be found convenient to regard the Hunanese monosyllable as having one, two, or perhaps three places in which the phonetic diacritica may be said to occur. In these places various alternances have differential function. (See alternance tables.) The tonal diacritica and possibly also what we have called yotization and labio-velarization may be considered as syllabic features.

The following vowels constitute a single term alternance in one-place syllables—(tones apart):—

i, o, eu, u.

Two-place syllables are by far the most numerous, the initial alternance being consonantal and the final alternance vocalic, including closing nasalization. In syllables with final nasal, only three differentiations of vowel quality occur—fairly close front, mid-neutral, and open central. That is to say the differences between i, e, ei, which operate in other contexts are here neutralized. Similarly with o, eu, and u. When therefore we symbolize these three syllabic elements thus—in, an, un, we do not imply that the three vowels are variants of vowels No. 1, No. 3, and No. 6 respectively. We do not so regard them.¹

In addition to the classification of Hunanese monosyllables according to the number of "places", it is convenient to distinguish them also according to certain phonetic characteristics as follows:—

- Syllables
- (i) with final nasal
 - (ii) with closing nasalization
 - (iii) with yotization
 - (iv) with labio-velarization
 - (v) with yotization and nasalization
 - (vi) with labio-velarization and nasalization
and negatively
 - (vii) without the above diacritica.

Syllables with final nasal only show three differences of vowel quality, i-like, a-like, and ə-like, whereas closing nasalization is associated with four qualities, the nasalization in en and eun being of a front quality, and in on and aon of a back quality.

The distinction between yotized and velarized syllables is a striking contrast of resonance following the initial consonants, one front, rather like i with slight spreading of the lips, and the other back rather like an unrounded o or u with neutral lips or slight inner rounding. There must be no pouting. This contrast is a broad distinction of front and back resonance made use of in a similar way by many diverse languages. In the dialect we are considering, the yotization and labio-velarization differences may be regarded as syllabic diacritica and not as being "placed".²

¹ See Table VII and notes.

² See pp. 1059, 1073.

VOWEL ALTERNANCES

Simple

The simple vowel qualities may be suggested by the following symbols and diagram :—

TABLE II

Number of vowel	1	2	3	4	5	6
Phonetic notation	i	e	-a, a, a-	o,	ɤ ə	u u, z, ʒ, etc.
Orthographic notation	i	e	a	o	eu	u

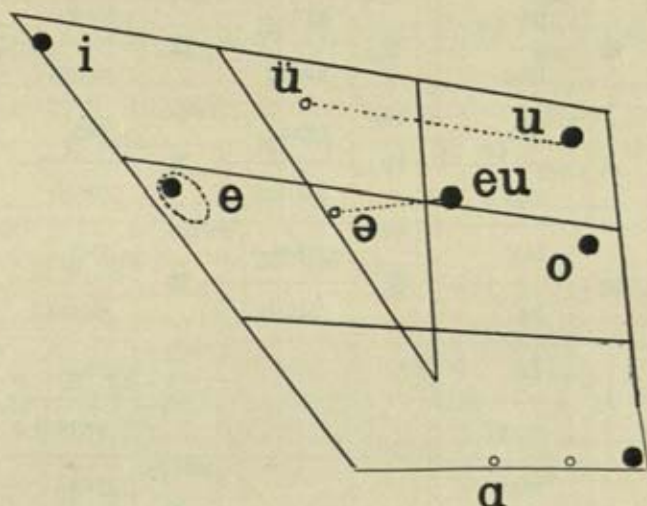


FIGURE 3

Notes

General: Vowel quality, diphthongization, voice quality, length, and final "check" or creak vary with the tones; that is to say, they are correlative attributes. See Table I.

Vowel No. 1—i—close and not diphthongized.

Vowel No. 2—e—varies in quality; sometimes starts with an i-like glide, and sometimes shows slight closing diphthongization, chiefly with the 3rd tone.

Vowel No. 3—a—three variants are shown in Table III.

Vowel No. 4—*o*—generally of constant quality, except with the second, third, and fifth tones when there is slight closing diphthongization. In yotized syllables in which this vowel occurs the *y* is more than usually *i*-like.

Vowel No. 5—*eu*—a more centralized variant is used in labialized syllables.

Vowel No. 6—*u*—varies considerably according to context. See Table IV.

TABLE III

a

Back ¹		Mid ²		Forward ³	
怕	pa	下	hya	鴉	yaw
	fear		under		raven
八	baa	恰	cyaa	牙	yah
	eight		fitting		tooth
他	taw	家	jyav	雅	yav
	he		family		elegant
大	da			亞	ya
	large				second
馬	mav			壓	yaa
	horse				repress
刷	shwaa				
	brush				

Notes

(1) The commonest quality of *a* is back, fairly near cardinal [a], after the consonants given in the column below, and also after the following consonants: *k*, *f*, *w*, *l*, *s*, *ts*, *dz*, *kw*, *gw*, and *jw*.

(2) After (the consonants) **hy**, **cy**, and **jy** the position of the vowel **a** is slightly advanced.

(3) After initial **y** the position of **a** is further advanced to one approximating English [a]. It will be noted that the five examples given in this column vary in tone only.

TABLE IV
THE SYLLABIC ELEMENT **u**

u and u ¹			ü ²		z ³		ʒ ³		ʒ ³	
With slight bilabial friction			Fronted unrounded		Alveolar syllabic velarized		Post alveolar syllabic velarized		Retroflex syllabic velarized	
鋪	ph <u>u</u>	puw spread	入	jü enter	四	s <u>z</u> four	尺	ʒ <u>ʒ</u> foot	是	ʒ <u>ʒ</u> be
不	b <u>u</u>	buo not	女	njü woman	此	ts <u>z</u> this	至	ʒ <u>ʒ</u> arrive	日	ʒ <u>ʒ</u> sun
枯	kh <u>u</u>	kuw dry	書	ʃjü book	詞	d <u>z</u> style				
古	g <u>u</u>	guv ancient	去	qü go						
富	f <u>u</u>	fu rich	除	ʒü exclude						
無	w <u>u</u>	wuh without								

Vowel No. 6 —u—: Notes

(1) This common syllabic element is usually produced with friction. After **p**, **b**, **k**, **g**, **f**, and **w** the "vocalic" component is back, half close, unrounded, accompanied by bilabial friction, especially at the sides of the mouth. After **p** and **b** there is sometimes a short bilabial trill.

(2) After **y**, and in yotized syllables a close centralized vowel with slight friction.

(3) After **s**, **ts**, **dz**, **c**, **j**, **sh**, and **z**, the syllabic element is the voiced homorganic continuant, *velarized*, with reduction of friction.

DIPHTHONGS

The diphthongs may be suggested by the following symbols and diagram :—

TABLE V

Number of vowel . . .	7	8	9	10
Phonetic notation . . .	æe	ae	ay	ay
Orthographic notation . .	ei	ae	ao	ou

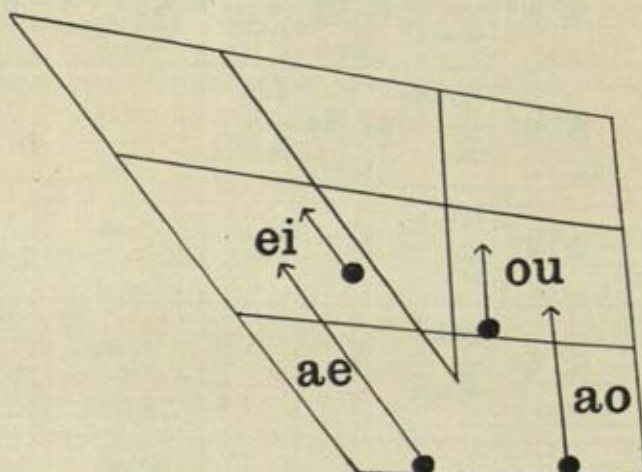


FIGURE 4

Notes

Vowel No. 7—**ei**—narrow centralized diphthong.

Vowel No. 8—**ae**—after **sh** and **c** often begins with an **r**-like glide.

Vowel No. 9—**ao**—. No lip-rounding; this vowel occurs in all types of syllable except those with initial **w**, (**hw**) **f**, and [**ç**] **hy**.

though not with the fifth tone. See note on maximum consonant alternance, p. 1073.

Vowel No. 10—ou—. No lip-rounding. Back unrounded glide from advanced half-open position to slightly less advanced half-close position. In yotized syllables the *y* element is i-like, and the variant of *ou* used is rather like *ɤ*.

TABLE VI
CLOSING NASALIZATION

	2 ¹		4 ¹		5 ¹		9 ²
些	e	娑	o	色	ɤ	騷	ay
sey	e	sow	o	seuo	eu	saow	ao

	11		12		13		14
先	eē	酸	oō	善	əl	送	oŷ
seny	en	sonw	on	sheun	eun	saon	aon

Notes

The simple vowels *e*, *o*, *eu*, and the diphthong *ao* have nasalized correlates. The nasalization difference in the case of *en*, *on*, *eun*, affects the end of the vowel, and gives the impression of a closing diphthong with a nasalized ending. This differentiation may therefore be termed *closing nasalization*, firstly because in *en* and *on* the lowering of the velum appears to be associated with a closer vowel quality and secondly the nasalization is only associated with the end-phase of the vowel. In the case of *eun* the vowel quality is not only fronted at the beginning, but moves in the direction of *i* in the closing nasalization. The end phase of the diphthong *ao* is not rounded, but is back, somewhat centralized. This diphthong has its nasalized correlate *aon*. The latter moves within a similar tamber range though it begins and ends somewhat closer than the unnasalized correlate *ao*. In yotized syllables the beginning of the diphthong in *aon* may be centralized.

It would be possible in orthography to dispense with *eun* as it represents a specific closing nasalization which occurs only after *sh*, *j*, and *c*. In these syllables the difference between *eun* and *en* is immaterial or neutralized, so the notation *en* would be unambiguous.

¹ See Table II.

² See Table V.

SYLLABLES WITH FINAL *n*

Only three vowel differences occur in syllables with final *n* :—

TABLE VII

Number of vowel	15	16	17
Phonetic notation	in	an æn	ən
Orthographic notation	in	an	un

Notes

Syllables with final clear alveolar *n*, with no vocalic off-glide. In syllables with a final *n* there are only three tamber differences: (1) an *i*-like vowel lowered and retracted; (2) an *a*-like vowel, more front than vowel No. 3 and in yotized syllables rather *æ*-like and centralized; and (3) a neutral vowel half-open. Our use of *i*, *a*, and *u* in the orthography *in*, *an*, *un*, is not to be taken as identifying these elements with Vowels Nos. 1, 3, and 6 in other contexts.

INITIAL CONSONANT ALTERNANCE

It is convenient to classify the initial alternances first of all according to the number of essential articulation differences for each of the three types of consonant: (*a*) plosives and nasals; (*b*) fricatives, and (*c*) affricates.

Secondly consonant terms are then multiplied by the following differences: (*a*) the aspiration-tensity difference, and (*b*) the voice difference.

Thirdly the syllable pattern is further differentiated by diacritica which are here termed yotization and labiovelarization. Hitherto most scholars have regarded these differentiations as part of the vowel system, but analogous phenomena in Burmese suggested it might make for clearer analysis to treat this differentiation of the mono-syllable by grouping the contrasted "*y*"-like and "*w*"-like elements with the consonantal terms of the initial alternance. It should be noted, however, that in some contexts the *y*-element is more vowel-like in quality, in others more consonantal.¹

¹ See pp. 1062, 1070.

PLOSIVES AND NASALS

For plosives and nasals there are three essential articulation differences (not including variations consequent or dependent on the yotization and labialization differences), bilabial, dental, and velar. As a practical convenience in the table a separate column shows the pre-velar articulation of **n** and **ny** and the palatal articulation of **gy** and **ky**, which in the plosives correlates with *another* difference, the yotization difference.

As basic terms for this alternance we take **b, d, g**. These three consonants are rather like whispered **b, d, g**—that is to say, they are *not* really voiced although there is obviously some associated laryngeal and infra-glottal behaviour contrasting with the different chest and larynx behaviour associated with the aspirated correlates.

These three basic articulations are differentiated by four further differences, which we now associate with the initial consonantal alternance, in continuation of the above classification of syllables.

- i. The aspiration difference.
- ii. The yotization difference.
- iii. The velarization difference.
- iv. The nasalization difference.

i. *The Aspiration Difference*

The three voiceless stops written **p, t, k**, are released with fairly strong aspiration, more than would be heard in Southern English in the case of initial **p, t, k**, followed by a vowel in a stressed syllable, but not so strong as in Indian languages. So far then, we have six stops.

ii. *The Yotization Difference*

To the above six stops, six more are added by the yotization difference, viz. **by, py, dy, ty, gy, ky**.

Notes on **ky, gy, c, j, cy, and jy**

(1) Before **ao, ou, and an** the difference between **ky**, and **c, gy** and **j**, is significant; also before **o** and **aon** in the case of **gy** and **j**.

(2) Before **i, in, e, en**, the pronunciation of **k** is palatal, and the difference between **k, ky**, and **c** is immaterial. In many syllables either the aspirated palatal plosive or the aspirated affricate may be used. The use of **gy** and **j** as alternative pronunciations in similar contexts is not quite so common, but it does occur.

(3) In syllables containing the syllabic element **u**, **ky** and **gy** do not occur, but the difference between **c** and **cy** is significant. From this fact and other variant pronunciations of **ky** it would seem that the difference between **ky** and **cy**, **gy** and **jy** is likely to be immaterial.

TABLE VIII

THE DIFFERENTIATION OF VELAR AND PALATAL PLOSIVES AND
THE PALATO-ALVEOLAR AFFRICATES

	k	c	ky	cy	g	j	gy	jy
i	kiy 欺	—	(kyiy)	—	giy 雞	—	(gyiy)	—
e	(kee)	—	kyee 竭	—	(gee)	—	gyee 結	—
a	kav 卡	—	kyaa 恰	—	—	—	gyaw 家	—
o	kow 科	—	kyoo 却	—	gow 歌	joo 卓	gyoo 脚	—
eu	keuo 客	ceuo 轍	—	—	geuo 隔	jeuo 摺	—	—
u	kuw 枯	cuw 癡	—	cyuw 驅	guw 姑	juw 之	—	jyuw 居
ae	kaey 開	—	—	—	gaey 街	—	—	—
ao	kaow 敲	caow 超	kyaov 巧	—	gaow 高	jaow 招	gyaov 絞	—
ou	kouv 口	couv 醜	kyouo 曲	—	gouv 狗	jouw 洲	gyouw 鳩	—
en	—	—	kyeny 謙	—	—	—	gyeny 堅	—
on	konw 寬	—	—	—	gonw 官	—	—	—
eun	—	ceunv ¹ 詔	—	—	—	jeunv ¹ 展	—	—
aon	kaonw 空	caonw 充	—	—	gaonw 工	jaonw 中	gyaonh 窮	—
in	—	(ciny)	kyiny 輕	—	—	(jiny)	gyiny 巾	—
an	kanw 刊	canw 昌	kyanw 彊	—	ganw 乾	janw 張	gyanw 姜	—
un	kunw 坑	cunw 稱	—	—	gunw 根	junw 眞	—	—

¹ See notes on Table VI, p. 1065.

The difference between **ky** and **cy**, **gy** and **jy** is immaterial and may be regarded as alternative pronunciations. As will be seen from Table IV, a feature of certain syllables is the use of a syllabic continuant often homorganic with the initial consonant, when that is fricative or affricative. This element is here symbolized by **u**. Before this element it is necessary to distinguish between **c** and **cy**, **j** and **jy**, but of course **ky** and **gy** would be unambiguous provided that an affricative pronunciation was understood.

iii. *The Labio-Velarization Difference*

To the above twelve stops two more are added by the labio-velarization difference, **kw** and **gw**, making fourteen stops in all, alternating in initial position.

In these group-plosives (**py**, **kw**, etc.) the combination of aspiration and yotization, and of aspiration and velarization, produce characteristic qualities in the release of the stops. These contextual variations are noted below:—

Notes on the Aspirated Plosives.

- (1) Palatalized and **ç**-like aspiration when followed by **i**.
- (2) **x**-like aspiration when followed by **a**.
- (3) Back resonance of aspiration when followed by **o**, and more so in the case of **kw**.
- (4) The aspiration of **py**, **ty**, **ky**, is **ç**-like followed by **i**-like yotization before **ao** and also sometimes before **e** and **en**.

iv. *The Nasal Difference*

It will be seen from the table that the nasal difference, with yotization, adds six more terms to the initial alternance on the basis of the three articulations noted at the outset.

TABLE IX
CONSONANTS. PLOSIVES AND NASALS
(Initial Alternance only)

	Bilabial		Dental		Palatal and Pre-velar		Velar	
	Orth.	Phon.	Orth.	Phon.	Orth.	Phon.	Orth.	Phon.
Voiceless lax	b	ɸ	d	ɖ	—	—	g	ɡ
Aspiration difference	p	ph	t	th	—	—	k	kh
Yotization difference	by py	ɸj phj	dy ty	ɖj thj	gy ky	ʝj cj	—	—
Labio-velarization difference	—	—	—	—	—	—	gw kw	ɡw khw
Nasal difference and yotized nasals	m my	m mj	l ly	naso-lateral	n ny	ɲ ɲj	[n]	[ɲ]

Notes

(1) l—The tongue tip articulation is dental, the sides of the tongue are not completely closed against the teeth and the soft palate not completely raised, so that the acoustic effect is slightly nasal. It may be described as a naso-lateral.

ly—Similar observations apply, the articulation being palatalized.

(2) n—In the initial alternance n is pronounced as a pre-velar nasal [ɲ]. In the group ny it is nearer the palatal position, but never sounds like [ɲ]. It must be noted that the letter n in final position is used to indicate closing nasalization in en, on, eun, aon, and a clear dental nasal in the syllabic elements in, an, un. No functional identification of these various nasals is suggested.

FRICATIVES AND AFFRICATES

The plosive and nasal alternance, as we have seen, is based on three articulations, that is, if we classify the pre-velars with the velars. For fricatives and affricates, however, there are six articulations, as set forth in Table X.

TABLE X
CONSONANTS : FRICATIVES AND AFFRICATES
(Initial Alternance only)

	Labio-dental	Alveolar	Retroflex and Post-alveolar	Palatal	Velar or Post-Velar
Voiced . . .	—	—	z [ʐ]	—	—
Breathed . . .	f	s	sh [ʃ] (hy)[ç or ʃ]	h [x]	
Yotized . . .	—	sy	shy	hy [ç or ʃ]	—
Labialized . . .	(hw)	—	shw	—	—
Voiced lax . . .	—	dz	j	—	—
Aspirated tense	—	ts	c	—	—
Yotized . . .	—	dzy tsy	jy cy	—	—
Labialized . . .	—	—	jw cw	—	—

Notes

(1) The alveolar sibilant is differentiated by yotization only, giving two terms : **s** and **sy**.

(2) The alveolar affricates are differentiated by the voice-aspiration difference and the yotization difference, giving in all four terms : **dz**, **ts**, **dzy**, and **tsy**.

(3) The retroflex articulation is the base for four terms : (1) voiced **z**, (2) breathed **sh**, (3) breathed velarized **shw**, and (4) breathed yotized **shy** occurring only before the syllabic element **u**.

Initial **z** is much more like a retroflex voiced sibilant than the corresponding sound in the dialect of Peiping which is sometimes described as a sort of post-alveolar **r**-sound.

(4) The palato-alveolar affricate articulation is the base for a complete series of six terms differentiated by :—

- | | | |
|--------------------------------|-----------|-----------|
| i. Voice-aspiration difference | j | c |
| ii. Yotization | jy | cy |
| iii. Labio-velarization | jw | cw |

TABLE XI
SEMI-VOWELS AND FRICATIVE CORRELATES

Vowels	w back semi- vowel without lip-rounding	f (hw) labio-dental or bilabial breathed fricative	y semi-vowel	hy [ç or ʃ] breathed palatal fricative	yw [jɣ] semi-vowel group
i	—	—	yi	hyi	—
e	—	—	ye	hyee	—
a	waw	fa	ya	hya	—
o	—	—	yoo	hyoo	—
eu	—	—	—	—	yweno
u	wu [ʊ]	fu [fʊ]	yu	—	—
ei	wei	fei	—	—	ywei
ae	wae	fae	—	—	—
ao	—	—	yao	hyao	—
ou	—	—	you	hyou	—
en	—	—	yen	hyen	ywen
aon	—	—	yaon	hyaonw	—
in	—	—	yin	hyin	—
an	wan	fan	yan	hyan	—
un	wun	fun	—	—	ywun

Notes

The digraph *hy* is used for the breathed fricative correlate of *y*. *hw* might also be used for the similar correlate of *w*, and indeed, it may be so pronounced. But usually it is pronounced by making a light contact of the inner part of the lower lip with the front of the upper teeth, and sounds rather like *f*. For this reason and for other

alphabetic reasons the letter **f** is used. A bilabial pronunciation is also possible. We may bear in mind that there is no surviving **pw** or **bw**.

N.B.—In the above table most of the examples given are pronounced with the fourth tone, which has zero mark. This does not mean that similar syllables do not occur in other tones.

CONCLUSION

Finally, the following single-place consonant and vowel alternances in otherwise identical contexts should be taken as some justification of the notation employed and of the suggestion that it might be used as the basis of a practical Roman orthography.

(1) The maximum consonantal alternance in initial position consists of thirty-two terms preceding the syllabic element **an**, as follows:—

b, p, d, t, g, gy, gw, k, ky, kw, m, l, ly, n, ny, s, sy, sh, shw, dz, dzy, ts, tsy, j, jw, c, cw, y, hy, w, f(hw), h.

(2) The proxime consonant alternance consists of thirty-one terms preceding **ao** as follows:—**b, by, p, py, d, dy, t, ty, g, k, ky, m, my, l, ly, n, ny, s, sy, z, sh, dz, dzy, ts, tsy, j, jy, c, y, hy, h.** This proxime alternance adds **by, py, dy, ty, my, z**, to the thirty-two terms given in (1), making a total of thirty-eight before **an** and **ao**.

(3) It will be noticed that in the two longest alternances given, **gy** and **cy** do not occur. It is probable that the difference between **ky** and **cy, gy** and **jy**, is immaterial. Nevertheless, **j, jy, c, cy**, all occur before **u**. (See Tables IV and VIII.) So to our list of thirty-eight, **jy, cy**, and **shy** must be added, making a total of forty-one consonantal terms.

(4) The minimum consonantal alternance consists of the three terms **sh, j**, and **c**, before **eun**. The next shortest alternance is of twelve terms before **on**.

This latter would become the minimum alternance if **eun** is for purposes of orthography amalgamated with **en**. (See note on Table VI.)

(5) The maximum vowel alternance is in second place after **p, s, dz, ts**, and consists of sixteen terms as follows: **i, e, a, o, eu, u, ei, ae, ao, ou, en, on, aon, in, an, un**, the seventeenth, **eun**, occurring after **sh, j**, and **c**. The proxime is fifteen after **d, m, l**. The minimum consists of the unique term **ao** after **by, py, my, ty**, there being a two-term alternance of **ao** and **ou** after **dy**.

The diacritica of the Changsha monosyllable may thus be regarded as occurring in two places, in the first place or in initial position, and in the second place or in final position. The prosodic diacritica, and to

a certain extent what we have termed yotization and labio-velarization, are characteristic of the syllable as a whole, though they are indicated by differentiations of the final letter, by additional final letters, by zero mark, and by the coupling of **y** and **w** with initial consonants.

MESSAGE TO BE TELEGRAPHED

已 得 學 士 學 位 下 週 往 法 滙 欸 寄 巴
 黎 兩 週 後 回 倫
 平 酉

TELEGRAM IN ROMAN ORTHOGRAPHY

IV DEUO HYOO SU HYOO WEI HYA JOUW WANV FAA FEI
 KONV GI BAW LIY NYANV JOUW HOU FEIH LUNH.
 PINH YOUV.

A Grammar of the Language of Florida, British Solomon Islands

By W. G. IVENS

ABBREVIATIONS

<i>BSOS.</i>	= <i>Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, London.</i>
<i>MIL.</i>	= <i>Melanesian Island Languages</i> , S. H. Ray, M.A., Cambridge Press, 1926.
<i>ML.</i>	= <i>Melanesian Languages</i> , R. H. Codrington, D.D., Clarendon Press, 1885.
<i>TSE.</i>	= <i>Report of Cambridge Ethnological Expedition to Torres Straits</i> , vol. iii, "Linguistics," S. H. Ray.
<i>excl.</i>	= exclusive, i.e. excluding the person addressed.
<i>incl.</i>	= inclusive, i.e. including the person addressed.
<i>pers.</i>	= person, persons.
<i>sing.</i>	= singular.
<i>pl.</i>	= plural.

LANGUAGES QUOTED

Bugotu	= Santa Isabel, British Solomon Islands.
Lau	= Mala Island, British Solomon Islands.
Mota	= Banks' Islands, Melanesia.
Sa'a	= Mala Island, British Solomon Islands.
Ulawu	= British Solomon Islands.
Vaturanga	= Guadalcanal, British Solomon Islands.

FLORIDA is a convenient name for the largest island in the Nggela group, British Solomon Islands. This group consists of three inhabited islands. The smaller western island bears the native name of Olevuga, and is separated from the other two islands in the group by a fairly wide strait known as the "Sandfly Passage". The centre and eastern islands are separated from one another by a narrow strait called the "Ututha" by the natives, but known to white people to-day as the "Boli Pass", though its older name was the "Scudamore Passage". These two islands bear the one native name of *Nggela*.

The grammar which is here presented is a grammar of the language spoken on the two larger islands called *Nggela*, though the language of Olevuga does not differ materially from the language of the other two parts of Florida.

Bishop Patteson of the Melanesian Mission was the first person to make any study of the Florida language¹, though the Spanish discoverers recorded an odd word or two. The Rev. C. H. Brooke, of the Melanesian Mission, was the first to make any translations into the Florida language (the Book of Common Prayer, with certain Psalms).

¹ A phrase-book of ten pages.

He worked with native assistants, and through the medium of translations in the Mota language.

Dr. Codrington published a grammar of the Florida language in his *Melanesian Languages*, pp. 522-539. His information was gathered from Florida-speaking natives in the school of the Melanesian Mission at Norfolk Island, and also from the translations into Florida of two Gospels and the Book of Common Prayer. He had also some native tales written in the language. He himself helped the Rev. A. Penny in the translation of the two Gospels mentioned above.

A fuller study of the language of Florida has now been made possible by the increase of translations into the language.

It will be seen from the text of this grammar that Codrington's presentation of the verbal particles in Florida has been considerably altered; that the demonstratives have been added to greatly, while the conjunctions have received more detailed treatment; as also have the articles, the nouns, the gerundives, the pronouns, the verbal particles, the verbal prefixes and suffixes, the verbs *baa* and *vaa*, the passive, and the adverbs.

The grammar here presented has been compiled from material found in the translation of the whole New Testament, and also of the Book of Common Prayer, with sixty-five Psalms, in the Florida language.

I. ALPHABET

1. (a) Vowels: *a, e, i, o, u.*

(b) Consonants: *b, d, g, h, k, ngg, l, m, n, ng, p, r, s, t, v.*

The vowels are sounded separately, except in cases where the use of a doubled vowel denotes a long sound, as, e.g., when the suffixed pronoun of the object, *a*, is added to verbs ending in *a*: *gilala* "to know", *gilalaa* "to know him"; or in reduplications such as *tiitili*, where the consonant *l* has been dropped. It is questionable whether diphthongs occur, though Codrington (*M.L.*, p. 523) says that *au, ao, ai, ae* may be called diphthongs in the Florida language.

The vowels have the sounds commonly associated with them in the languages of the neighbourhood. The *b* and *d* are always nasalized, i.e. they are always sounded as *mb* and *nd*. In the translations, and in Codrington's grammar, as well as in this grammar, there is no printing of *m* before *b*, or of *n* before *d*.

The sound of *g* in Florida approximates to the sound of *g* in Spanish before *e* and *i*, or of *g* before *a* and *o* in Modern Greek, or of *g* before *i*

in Dutch. In certain districts *h* is sounded as *dh*. The *ngg* has the sound of *ng* in the English word "finger"; it is a change from *k* and not from *g*: *nggari* "child" is in Sa'a *kale*; *nggilu* "grave" is Sa'a *kilu*; *Nggela*, the local native name of the two larger islands called "Florida", is *Kela* in Sa'a. In the translations and in Codrington's grammars of Florida, Bugotu, and Vaturanga this *ngg* sound is printed as *g* (italic).

Perhaps in deciding to represent the *ngg* sound by *g* (italic) in books for native use in the Melanesian Mission it was felt that prominence should be given to the double *g* sound in *ngg*, and that *k* (italic) would convey to the eye little idea of the true sound. The use of *g* (italic) = *ngg* is open, however, to a charge of arbitrary representation.

The *ng* is a nasalized form of *n*, and is printed *n* (italic) in the translations and in Codrington's grammar and also in this grammar; it has the sound of *ng* in the English word "singer".

There is a loss of *m* in the Florida pronouns *gai*, *ai* "we" (exclusive), *gau*, *au* "you"; (*gami* "we" and *gamu* "you" also occur). Several Melanesian languages of New Guinea show a similar loss of *m* in the exclusive form of the pronoun, 1st pers. plur.: Mukawa *kai*, Wedau *ai*, Taupota *tau-ai* (TSE., pp. 430-31). There is a loss of *m* in the Bugotu word *koi*, a noun of assemblage; for this word occurs also in the form *komi*.¹ The pronominal forms, *ai*, *au*, quoted above show a loss of *g*.

All syllables are open. The stress is on the penultimate syllable.

Euphony is responsible for several peculiarities in the language: (1) for the omission of the article *na* after *nina*, *gana*, § 3; (2) for the dropping of *i*, *u* from the compound forms *tai*, *tau*, when used with *kai*, *kau* (*ta kai*, *ta kau*); for the forms *ta ra*, *ka ra*, *ta ro*, *ko ro*, in place of *tara ra*, etc.; (3) and possibly for the omission of the pl. pronoun *ra* when the plural has already been denoted by the suffixed pronoun *ra* of the object, or by *didira* (*didia*) or *nggaira*, § 5. That the pronoun *na*, of the object, 3rd pers. sing., is not suffixed to the preposition *ta* may possibly be due to a desire to avoid the sound *tana na*, *tatana na* being used instead.

II. ARTICLES

2. (a) Demonstratives: Singular *na*. Plural *ra na*, *lei*, *ara*, *ra*.

(b) Personal: *a*.

3. The article *na* is used before all nouns (except in the cases mentioned below). It is written separately from the noun, and there is no change of its vowel.

¹ This *komi* is probably the Hawaiian *kuma* "a company", *ML.*, pp. 231-2.

Exceptions.—The article *na* is not used (1) when the genitives *ni*, *i*, precede; (2) with vocatives; (3) in certain phrases, when the connotation is general, e.g. *kisu mate* "to make war"; (4) after *nina*, *gana* "his", *ruana* "second", *na balu* "certain", "some"; *siki* "one", "a", "any."

Na means either "the" or "a"; the demonstrative *keri* may be added to the noun when "the" is indicated, or to show emphasis: *na tinoni* "a man", *na vale* "a, any, house".

The article *na* is used also with the gerundival forms (§ 12): *na niu huguanggu* "the denial of, to deny, me"; *na bosa vaniana* "to speak to him"; *na lavi kehaadira* "the taking away of them"; *na dika sanianggu na vaka* "my being shipwrecked"; *ke tangomana na vadavoraana na matana na rorodo* "can he open the eyes of a blind man?"

The article *na* is used with the pronoun *hava* "what?" "anything": *na hava*. It is used also with the possessive nouns *ni*, *ga*: *na nina* "his"; *na gana vanga* "his food".

The negative *mua* comes between the noun and its article *na*; see § 37.

There is an article *ki* "one", "any", "some"; *ki tinoni* "any man"; *ki sakai* "a certain person"; *ki totobo* "one, any, thing"; *ki balu* "certain people", "some"; *ki balu ganagana* "certain ideas". The numeral *siki* "one" is used as meaning "a": *siki totobo* "a thing", pidgin English "one thing"; *siki hava* "something"; *siki nggari mane* "a boy". See § 53 for *ki* and *siki*.

The article *na* is used with nouns which have the noun termination in *a*, see § 11, and also with words which have no definite noun form as such: *mate* "to die"; *na mateadira* "their death"; *bosa* "to speak"; *na bosa* "speech". It is used also with the ordinal numbers: *na ruani*, *na ruana* "second"; and with *hangalatu* "hundred", *toga* "thousand", *mola* "ten thousand".

4. There is a second article *na* which denotes "belonging to" a place, like the Bugotu *gna* and the Vaturanga *na*: *na Belaga* "a man of Belaga"; *na Galilea igoe* "you are a man of Galilee". Mr. S. H. Ray connects this *na* with the ligative article *na* in the Indonesian languages.

There is a use of this *na* in both Florida and Bugotu languages to denote places: *na Betidalo* "Betidalo", the home of the dead; *na Babylon* "Babylon"; *na Boli* "Boli", a village.

5. The ordinary article *na* preceded by *ra*, the personal pronoun, 3rd pers. plur., "they," is used to denote the plural of persons: *ra*

na bule "fools"; *ra na hogona* "his relatives"; *ra na tinoni* "men"; *ra na tamahogoni* "kinsmen"; see § 17.

There is an idiomatic use in the separation of the pronoun *ra* from the article *na*: *ngge ra mai ta a Jesus na vaovarongo* "then came the disciples to Jesus"; *e gua ngge ra bosa na tarai* "why do the Scribes say?" *ra* in these phrases is evidently used as a subject, and there is no further indication of a plural. The ordinary plural article *ra na* is used when *tara*, *kara* precede with the verb and the subject follows.

A plural is also denoted by the suffixing of *ra*, the pronoun of the object, 3rd pers. pl., to verbs or certain prepositions, or of *dira*, the pronoun of possession, 3rd pers. pl., to nouns or certain prepositions, the article *na* following with the noun in both cases without any further plural sign: *tu rigira na tinoni* "I see (saw) the men"; *tara nira belebele na Heburu* "they disputed with the Hebrews"; *na halautudira na sinogo* "the path of the strangers"; *tadira na tinoni* "among men"; *ma ra velenara hei* "and they sent certain people". This is the use also with *didia*, *didira* "their", and *nggaira* "they"; *didira na vugo* "their nets"; *nggaira na mane* "the men".

When plurality has been already expressed by the suffixing of the plural articles *gi*, *i* (used of things), to the verb as anticipatory objects, the noun of the object is used with the singular article *na*: *kau vavonugi na popo* "fill up the pots"; *te bosai vania na bosa eni* "he spake these words to him".

A noun of assemblage, *lei*, is used preceding the noun to denote the plural both of persons and of things: *na* may precede: *na lei tinoni* "men"; *na lei dalena* "his sons"; the possessive noun *ni*, with a suffixed pronoun, may intervene between *ra* and *na*: *ra nimua na lei nggari* "thy children"; *lei* may be used without *na* to denote the plural: *lei tinoni* "men"; *lei totobo* "things". This *lei* occurs in Sa'a as *alei* and in Ulawa as *alai*, *ala*, all used of persons only. Bugotu has *komi*, *koi*, used as nouns of assemblage, but of persons only. In Psalm lxxviii, 12, the phrase *na koi hanu* "persons" occurs in Florida, but its use is doubtful.

6. The personal pronouns *ara*, *ra*, are used by themselves with the cardinal numbers to denote a specific set of persons: *ara hangavulu* "the ten"; *ra rua* "the pair"; *ara rua na tinoni* "the two men"; *ra vitu* "the seven"; *nggaira ra lima* "the five"; *ra na tamahogoni ara vitu ngga* "there were seven brethren"; *ara ngiha na mane* "how many men are there altogether?"

7. The personal article *a* is used with all personal names, male and female: *a Manoga*, "Manoga"; *a* may be used to personify: *a tupi vatu* "the stonemason"; it is used with the relationship terms to

denote a specific person: *a Dale* "the Son"; *a tinana* "his mother"; also with *hanu* "person": *a hanu* "he who", "the person who", "so-and-so"; it is also used with the numerals *siki*, *sakai* "one"; *a sakai* "one"; *a siki sakai* "some person"; *a siki tinoni* "a certain person"; *a sakai na hangalatu* "one hundred"; *a sakai vamua* "only once". After the usual custom in Melanesia, the personal article is not used with vocatives.

III. NOUNS

8. Names of parts of the body, the relationship terms (except the vocative *mama* "father"), and words denoting position: near, opposite, above, below, take the suffixed pronouns of possession *nggu*, *mu*, *na*, etc. However, nearly all nouns take these suffixed pronouns; but the words for "clan" *kema*, "enemy" *kana*, *levu ni mate*, "neighbour" *komu kolu*, "companion" *udu*, "belt" *kabe*, "shield" *tako*, are used with the possessive noun *ga*, the pronouns of possession being suffixed to it: *na gana udu* "his companion"; *na gamiu na kana* "your enemies"; see § 29. Some nouns may be used with the possessive noun *ni* with the pronouns suffixed as well as taking the suffixed pronouns: *nina bosa*, *na bosana*, "his speech"; *nina vale*, *na valena* "his house". It does not seem that the use of *nina*, etc., denotes emphasis, for the uses are interchangeable.

9. Any word which in form is a verb may be used as a noun: *bosa* "to speak", *na bosa* "speech". A verb with its adverb is treated as a noun: *bosa tabo* "to blaspheme", *na bosa tabo* "blasphemy". A noun form may denote purpose: *na vano* "to go", *na nggito* "to steal"; this form, which is gerundival, is used after the verb *tangomana* "to be able"; see § 3.

10. There is an idiom in Florida which is not found in the kindred languages of Bugotu and Vaturanga, viz. a verb with its verbal particle *te* or *ke* is used as a noun, "answering," as Codrington says, "to a participle in Greek, or to a pronoun with a relative clause in English": *ngge bosa vania te rapobete* "then said he to the paralytic"; *te mua levu ni pala vanigita, te nigita udu* "he that is not against us is with us"; *na limana ke perou* "the hand of him that betrays me".

11. There are two noun suffixes employed in Florida—*a*, *ni*, but neither has a very wide use: *a* is added to both verbs and nouns: *mate* "to die", *matea* "death"; *kutu* "to fall", *kutua* "fall"; *dato* "to go up", *datoa* "ascension". These are only used with the suffixed pronouns of possession.

The phrases *nggariam* "in thy youth", *nggari maneanggu* "in my youth", occur in the texts, showing the suffixing of *a* to a noun. There is always the danger of confusing this noun-suffix *a*, used with verbs, with the gerundival particle *a*; but the latter is only used with transitive verbs.

For the noun-suffix *ni* see § 15.

12. The gerundive. There is a use in Florida of the article *na* with a gerundival form consisting of transitive verb, a gerundival particle *a*, and the suffixed pronoun of possession in all persons and in both numbers, and not merely in the 3rd pers. sing. and plur. as in Vaturanga. (The gerundival suffix *agna* in Bugotu is probably a compound of *a*, the gerundival particle used in Florida and Vaturanga, and *gna*, which is used as a gerundival suffix in Bugotu).

Codrington regards the Florida gerundival particle *a* as conveying a sense both passive and active; but this particle is only attached to transitive verbs in all of the three languages (as is also the Sa'a, Lau, and Ulawa gerundival particle *la*), and therefore must always be active: *na bekuanggu* "to bury me", "my burial"; *na bekuadira* "to bury them"; the verb may have a second verb (used as an adjective or an adverb) or a preposition following, in which case the gerundival particle *a*, and the pronouns of the object, are added to the second member of the compound: *na labu taboana* "to kill him without provocation"; *na bosa vanianggu* "to speak to me". The ordinary personal pronouns may follow a gerundival use, the second pronoun being used objectively in addition to the suffixed pronoun of the object: *na tabotaboamiu igau* "to tempt you". There is no idea of the second pronoun being added for the sake of emphasis. A more definite object may follow: *na rongoviana na bosana* "to listen to his words". This gerundival particle *a* is probably the same as the gerundival particle *la* of Sa'a, etc., through the loss of *l*.

It is perhaps because we are accustomed to say in English "my being killed", rather than "the killing of me" that the Florida gerundive was classed by Codrington as both passive and active. But the Melanesian method of expression is the second of these two phrases.

The verb *tangomana* "to be able" is used in Florida and Bugotu with the gerundival form: *tara tangomana na kisuana* "they were able to cure him". The verb *lavi bule* "to annoy", "vex", "trouble", is used with the gerundival particle *a* after the Bugotu fashion, i.e. with a pronominal subject: *e gua ngge au lavi buleana* "why do you trouble her?" There is a single instance in the texts of this use in the case of a second verb: *ma ra sari taoniana nggaia* "and they followed him".

13. Genitive. A genitive relation is shown (1) by the use of the

prepositions *ni*, *i*. According to the regular practice in the Solomon Island languages, no article is used before the noun which follows the genitive prepositions. *Ni* is in common use as a genitive, but *i* is only used in certain phrases: *na dale i bolo* "a young pig"; *a Dale i tinoni* "the Son of Man"; *na mate i gabu* "the price of blood"; *na bongi i vavola* "the day of salvation".

In Florida and Bugotu *ni* is not used with the second of a pair of nouns joined by the copula: *na ki ni Betidalo ma na mate* "the keys of Hell and of death"; *na talugu i seu ma na lapa* "the outside of the cup and the platter".

Ni is used after the verbs *vuni* "to begin", *liliu* "to change", "to turn into", *vuha* "to become". In Sa'a the verbs for "begin" and "change" are followed by the genitive *ni*.

Ni denotes "purpose", as in Sa'a: *te sopou ni vanga* "sitting at meat"; *ke kabu ni tunuva* "it will be for an inheritance"; *na vatu ni piniti* "a stone for anchoring".

(2) By the use of the suffixed pronouns of possession, 3rd pers. sing. and plural: *na tamana na nggari* "the father of the child"; *ra na daledira na prophet* "the children of the prophets".

(3) By the use of the possessive noun *ni*, in the case of persons: *na sonihalavu na nina a God* "the grace of God".

14. Prefixes to nouns. An instrumental prefix is seen in *igaho* "a digging stick"; *gaho* "to dig with a stick"; *ikara* "a baler", *kara* "to bale"; *ihalu* "a needle", Sa'a *halo* "to bore".

The prefix *tama* is used with certain relationship terms to denote a company or set of people: *tamahogoni* "relatives"; *tamavavine* "brother and sister"; *tamatahi* "brothers", "sisters"; *tamatau* means "husband and wife", *tau* "spouse"; *tamadale* "father and son"; *ra na* or *na lei* precedes. The prefix *tama* occurs also in Bugotu and Vaturanga with a similar use.

15. Suffixes to nouns. See § 11 for the noun-suffix *a*. The suffix *ni* is added (1) to nouns to denote a body of people: *tamahogoni* "relatives", *hogo* "a near relative"; *tamavavine*, *tamavavineni* "brother and sister", *vavine* "brother or sister"; *na ovu deteni* "the Judges"; *ra na* or *na lei* precedes; (2) to the cardinal numbers to denote the ordinals: *rua* "two", *na ruani* "the second"; *na* appears also as a suffix in the case of certain numerals: *na ruana* "the second"; *na hangavuluni*, *na hangavuluna* "the tenth".

16. The reduplication of a noun shows inferiority: *tinoni* "man", *titinoni* "image"; *vale* "house", *vaevale* "shed"; *niu* "coconut",

niuniu "a wild palm"; *gotu* "a mountain", *gotugotu* "a little hill", "a heap"; *manu* "bird", *maumanu* "insect".

17. Plural. Plurality is denoted by the use of (1) the plural articles *ra na* of persons only, (2) the noun of assemblage *lei* used of both persons and things; see § 5; and (3) the plur. pronoun, 3rd pers., *nggaira*: *nggaira nina mane* "his men"; § 21.

Codrington states (*ML.*, p. 525) that *ra* is used alone to denote plurality, and instances *ra hogonggu* "my brothers", *ra kukuadira* "their ancestors"; but the texts do not bear this out except when *ra* is used with the possessive noun *ni*, or when *ra* is used of a number of people, with the numerals: *ra ninggua na lei nggari*; *ra vitu*: otherwise *na* is always added to *ra*.

The repetition of a noun, with the copula *ma*, serves to denote plurality: *na vavata ma na vavata* "generations". This use is found also in Bugotu and Vaturanga.

Two plural suffixes, *gi*, *i*, are attached to verbs as objects when things, and not persons, are in question; see § 22. When the verb ends in *i*, *gi* and not *i*, is the suffix used: in other cases *i* is used: *tara idumigi na vuvulu ni ulumi* "the hairs of your head are numbered"; *tara suki potai na limanggu* "they pierced my hands"; *te vagai* "like", of many things.

Codrington's example (*ML.*, p. 525), *na lei iga te subo tara holai*, shows *na lei iga* "fishes", used as if a singular, *te subo* "many", not *tara subo*, and the plural suffix *i* added to *hola*; this is because *na lei iga* is used collectively, and this practice is found also in Bugotu; so also with his other example *na lei bongi te mai*, where *na lei bongi* "nights" is used collectively with a singular verb, *te mai* "comes". This is the general use when the noun is neuter, and in the plural.

In Sa'a 'i (for *gi*) is used similarly to Florida *gi*, *i*, as a plural object of things.

The suffixes *gi*, *i*, are used also of ordinary plurals: *e rua na rongo te pile kikigi* "two very small shell-moneys"; *utoi tua* "very good", "that will do", of many objects; *anggai* "this", *anggai gi* "these".

A plural noun suffix *ni* is used of 3rd pers. plur. (of things) with certain nouns instead of *dira*: *vula* "moon", "month", *vulani* "their season"; *niulu* "year", *niuluni* "their seasons"; *na suleni* "the big ones"; *na pileni* "the small ones". There is a similar use of *ni* in Bugotu, Sa'a, and Ulawa.

Totality is expressed by *udolu* (*Mota nol*), and completion by *soko*: *na hulimu udolu* "thy whole body"; *na udolu* "the whole"; "a

round thing", "a loaf"; *na lei xavata soko* "all the generations"; *soko tua* "finished" "that will do!"; *e ngiha soko* "how many in all?" "as many soever".

As Codrington states, *lei*, a noun of assemblage, conveys by itself the notion of totality: *ninggua na lei totobo* "all that I possess".

18. Gender. To denote gender *mane* "male", *vaivine* "woman", are added to the noun: *nggari mane* "young man", "boy"; *a dalei Sion vaivine* "the daughter of Sion".

19. The word *tina* "mother" is used of things that are big: *na lei tina ni beti mauri* "rivers of living water"; *hala tina* "a high-way"; *beti* "water", *beti tina* "river"; *pari* "earth", *pari tina* "mainland"; *na niulu tina* "high summer". This use is found also in Bugotu and Sa'a.

20. Five nouns—*hanu*, *vatei*, *male*, *puku*, *pile*—deserve notice: *hanu* denotes "person, the person who, he, so-and-so", the personal article *a* preceding: *a hanu te mate tua*, a *Christ sugua* "one died, namely Christ"; *a hanu* is used when a person's name is not remembered. Similarly *na hanu* means "what is the thing?", "what do you call it?", when the name cannot be recalled. Bugotu uses *hanu* in the same way, and Codrington quotes the Oba, New Hebrides, *hen*, *heno* (*ML.*, p. 134) as the same words, and equates them all with the Malagasy *heno*. In *MIL.*, p. 406, Ray has an instance *ra sanu havui* "new things", in a language of the New Hebrides, where *sanu* is probably the Florida *hanu*.

Vatei denotes "thing for doing, place of", and one may compare its meaning with that of the Bugotu *bali*; it is used with the article *na* preceding. Codrington says that *vatei* is probably the same as the Mota *vatiu* "place". He treats *vatei* as "the object of an action", i.e. as having a passive sense; his examples are (*ML.*, p. 525) (*na*) *vatei sukagi* "a thing sacrificed"; (*na*) *vatei aroviamami* "the object of the pitying of us", "we pitiable objects"; but examples in the texts do not bear out his meanings: *na vatei bita wine* "a wine-press"; *na vatei inu* "a drink"; *na vatei sosoni* "a thing for giving", "tribute money"; *na vatei lala beti* "a thing to draw out water with"; *na vatei talu bulu* "a thing (place) to put the lamp on"; *na vatei hevei lee* "an offering"; *na vatei ke nia hare* "a thing for wonder"; *na lei vatei tootoro* "tribulations"; *na vatei na nia huruadira* "a thing to accuse them of".

It is evident, then, that (*na*) *vatei sukagi* is "a thing for sacrificing", rather than "a thing sacrificed"; while (*na*) *vatei aroviamami* means "the pitying of us", "to pity us". As with the gerundival particle *a*, § 12, the Melanesian mind sees things from the active rather than the passive point of view. The Sa'a *leu* and the Ulawa *lehu* mean either "place" or "thing", and thus bear a likeness to *vatei*.

Male is always used with the genitive *i* attached, and Codrington quotes it as *malei*; it seems to be connected with *mala* "place" (Bugotu *matha*, Nguna, New Hebrides, *malo*), and its meaning, with

i added, is "place of": *na lei malei beku tinoni* "the places of men's burial"; *na malei kabu* "a place of sitting"; the article *na* precedes.

Puku means "source", "beginning," "chief," "real,"; the suffixed pronoun of possession, 3rd pers. sing., *na* is added; there is a use also of *puku* as a verb meaning "to emanate from", "have a beginning in", "perceive," "know," "understand": *na puku vaka* "the owner of the ship"; *na puku komu* "a householder"; *vaa puku mai* "to come as from a source"; *na puku ni sukagi* "the chief priest"; *na puku ni mana* "the source of power", "almighty"; *na puku ni kema* "patriarch"; *na pukuna inau* "for my sake, because of me"; *na pukuna ke (keri)* "therefore". The frequent use in the texts of *na pukuna* "because", is incorrect, being a mere following of the Mota *ape, apen*.

Pile is used as noun, verb, adjective; its meaning is "a little", "to be little," "little"; *siki pile* "one piece"; *siki pilena* "a little piece of"; *siki pile hulina* "the least of his bones"; *siki pile totobo* "a small thing"; *na pileda* "our share"; *pipilena* "a little"; *na pileni* "small ones"; *na lei pilepile vanga* "small fragments of food"; *na nggari pile* "a small boy"; *inau tu sule, igoe to pile* "I am bigger than you".

IV. PRONOUNS

21. (1) Personal. Pronouns used as the subject of a verb:—

Sing. 1. *inau, nau, u.*

2. *igoe, o; goe.*

3. *anggaia, nggaia.*

Plur. 1 incl. *igita, gita; a.*

1 excl. *igami, gami; igai, gai, ai.*

2. *igamu, gamu; igau, gau, au; agau.*

3. *anggaira, nggaira; ara, ra.*

Dual 1 incl. *irogita, rogita.*

1 excl. *irogami, rogami; irogai, rogai.*

2. *irogamu, rogamu; rogau.*

3. *ironggaira, ronggaira, aronggaira.*

Trial 1 incl. *itolugita, tolugita.*

1 excl. *itolugami, tolugami; itolugai, tolugai.*

2. *itolugamu, tolugamu; itolugau, tolugau.*

3. *itolunggaira, tolunggaira.*

The dual and trial forms contain the numerals *ro* "two", *tolu* "three". The trial number is used of three persons.

The initial *i* of the forms in the first column is detachable. The form *nau*, 1st pers. sing., is not in common use: *e mua nau hegenggu* "I am not alone". The short forms, *u*, *o*, and *ai*, *au*, are used by themselves as subjects without being compounded with the verbal particles *te*,

ke: *o mua ganagana a takinggu e saniu ngge u nggehengehe hegenggu* "do you not know that my sister has left me to serve alone?" *e gua ngge ai mua tangomana* "why were we not able?" *e gua ngge au matagu* "why are you afraid?" *ai, au* may be followed by the longer forms, *gai, gami, gamu*: *mai hangavia, mi gami tai mua rigia* "and we opened the door, but we did not see him"; *goe* "thou" is used only in address, *e goe! a goe!*

The pronouns of the first column in sing. and plur. numbers are followed by the short forms *u, o, a, ai, au*, compounded with the verbal particles *te, ke* (the vowel of the particle being elided), in the forms *tu, ku, to, ko, ta*, etc.; and the pronouns of the second column in the plural are followed by the short forms *a, ai, au* compounded with *te* and *ke*; the forms *igai, gai, igau, gau* are used as subjects, and the longer forms in each case may be followed by the short forms compounded with *te* and *ke*: *e gua gau nia hare* "why do ye wonder at it?" *igai tai tugunigi* "we declared it".

The pronoun *a* is only used when compounded with *te, ke* in the forms *ta, ka*; Vaturanga uses it in the uncompounded form; the pronouns *u, o, ai, au* are compounded with the verbal particles *te, ke* in the forms *tu, to, tai, tau, ku*, etc.

There is a certain dislike to using the forms in the 3rd sing. and pl., *anggaia, nggaia, anggaia, nggaia*, of things; *anggaia, nggaia* both bear the meaning "he that", "the person who," "that which"; they are also used before personal names as *imanea, manea* are used in Bugotu, and *aia* in Vaturanga: *anggaia a God*; *na maiana nggaia te maemane* "the coming of the righteous one"; *nggaia te kikokiko* "the deceiver"; *anggaia* is not used when the preceding word ends in *a, nggaia* serving instead.

The pronouns *inau, igoe, igita, igamu, igau, nggaia* are used as a kind of secondary object after the verbs and prepositions to which a pronominal object is already attached: *itamiu igau* "from, to, with, by, you"; see § 12. The initial vowels of *inau, igita, igami, igamu*, and *aronggaia* are displaced by *-mua* "not" and *sopa* "each": *i mua nau*; *i sopa gita*.

The pronouns *igau, gau, agau* are used as plural vocatives, and *agau* has no other use: *o (ko)* serves as singular imperative with a verb.

U, gita, gai, ai, gau, ra are suffixed as objects to verbs and prepositions; when used as subject, *igami* may be followed by *gami*, and *igamu* by *gamu*, and *gau* by *au*; the compound forms *tai, kai, tau, kau* always follow *igami (igai)* and *igamu*.

Ara and *ra* are used with the numerals, see § 6; *ara* is a compound of *a*, personal article, and *ra*; the personal article *a* appears also in *agau, aronggaia*; for the use of *ra* to denote the plural, see § 5.

Ra is used by itself as subject: *ivei ra tara hurugo* "where are your accusers?" *ra vulitabua* "they baptized him"; *ra a, ra gagua* "they said".

Ra is used to introduce the subject, as it were, when the verb precedes the subject, see § 5: *ma ra vaukoku mai na vure subo* "and a great multitude was gathered together". *Ra* is used with the verbal suffixes *te*, *ke* in the forms *ta ra*, *ka ra*; these are usually written in one. For *ta ra*, *ka ra*, see § 1.

Ara and *ra* are used with *hei* "who?" "any one"; *arahei*, *rahei* "who?" "they who," "whosoever"; *ra* is used with the demonstratives *ini*, *keri*, *kiri*, to denote the plural: *ra ini*, *ara ini* "these", *rakeri*, *rakiri* "those".

Nggaira is used to denote a plural: *nggaira nina vaovarongo* "his disciples"; *nggaira na Pharise* "the Pharisees"; see § 17.

Ro "two" is used by itself as meaning "we two", "you two", "they two": *e gua ngge ro nea eni* "why are you two doing this?" and is added to the particles *te*, *ke*, the vowels of which change to *o*: *irogami koro tangomana* "we can"; *ronggaira toro bosa* "they two said"; *koro tono* "you two go".

Tolugami, *tolugai* are followed by the form *tai tolu*, and *tolugamu* by *tau tolu*, etc.: *tolugamu tau tolu kenea* "you three searched for him"; *tolunggaira tara tolu tona* "they three went".

22. (2) Pronouns suffixed as objects to verbs, and to prepositions which are verbs in form:—

Sing. 1. <i>u</i> .	Pl.
2. <i>go</i> .	
3. <i>a</i> .	3. <i>ra, gi, i</i> .

The forms *gi*, *i* are used of things only, see § 17.

As stated above, § 21, the longer forms of the pronouns, *inau*, etc., are added as objects in addition to the suffixed pronouns. This is not done for emphasis, but is the regular use. The pronoun of the 3rd pers. sing., *a*, is used as an anticipatory object, following a verb or a preposition; there seems to be some latitude in this use of *a* with regard to verbs, i.e. it is not always suffixed to verbs, but it is always added in the case of prepositions: *vania a Lord* "to (him) the Lord". However, when a transitive verb (i.e. one to which the pronouns of the object can be suffixed) is followed by another verb, or by a verb used adverbially, the pronoun *a* of the object is always added to the second verb as an anticipatory object in agreement with the pronominal object: *kara vadangitaili leea nggaia* "they will persecute him"; *te sani kasilau inau* "leaves me for good". In a similar way *ra* is suffixed in the case of the plural.

In the plural and dual the personal pronouns *gita*, *gami*, *gai*, *gamu*, *gau* are suffixed as objects; in the dual and trial numbers the forms without initial *i* or *a* are thus suffixed; the numerals *ro*, *tolu* precede: *ke nea ro vanigau* "will do it to you two". In the dual and trial

numbers the forms of the personal pronouns without initial *a* follow the suffixed pronouns of the same person: *te bosa vanira tolunggaira* "spoke to the three of them".

Certain verbs have the pronouns of the object attached in all persons in the singular and plural numbers, in what Codrington calls "a middle use"; *gaha, gana* "to dwell"; *kode* "to be in vain"; *taga* "to be lost"; *vaga* "to be like", are thus used: *tu mua sama me kodeu* "I have not run in vain"; *tara gahara* "they dwelt"; *tara tagara* "they were lost". The verb *vaga* "to be like" has two uses; the suffixed pronominal object agrees (1) with the thing (or person) with which the comparison is made; (2) with the person making the comparison, or about whom a comparison is made, this being an example of a "middle" use: (1) *te vagara na sheep*, "like sheep"; *ivei te vagaa na tinoni eni* "what is this person like?" "what sort of person is this?" *na lei totobo vagai raini* "things like these"; *kau bei te vagara* "be ye not like them"; *te kenera te vagara* "he seeks such as they"; (2) *inau tu ruha te vagau na Judea* "I became as a Jew"; *te vagagau na tinoni pepelu* "you are like a merchant"; *ma kau vagagau nina mane ni lulu* "and you shall be like his servants".

Codrington's example (*ML.*, p. 535), *te vagagai na dale ni bolo te tona sania na tinana* "we are like a young pig whose mother has left us", is hardly patient of his translation "a young pig is like us". It is rather an example of a "middle" use.

The suffixed pronoun *na*, § 23, may be added to *vaga*, making the word *vagana*, which means "very": *a Mary vagana eni* "this was that very Mary".

There is a double usage also in connection with the verb *lio* "to desire, wish"; "heart", "mind", "will": (1) *inau tu mua liona* "I do not wish"; (2) *inau tu mua lionggu* "I do not wish"; *inau tu pono lionggu na gania na vanga* "I forgot to eat my food". The second and third of these examples show a "middle" use.

The Bugotu word *hehe* "mind", "will", in the compound *vanohehe* "to desire", "wish", suffixes the pronouns of § 23 in agreement with the subject: *ku vanohehenggu* "I desired". This appears to be a "middle" use.

23. (3) Pronouns suffixed to nouns to denote possession:—

Sing. 1. *nggu*.
2. *mu*.
3. *na*.

Pl. 1. incl. *da*.
1. excl. *mami*.
2. *miu*.
3. *dia, dira; ni*.

For nouns that do not use these suffixed pronouns see § 8. The forms *dia, dira* are interchangeable, *dira* being in more common use: *ahadia*,

ahadira "their names"; *valedia*, *valedira* "their houses"; *itadia*, *itadira*; *na bosa vaniadira* "to speak to them"; but *dira* and not *dia* is always used when an article and noun follow. *Ni* is used in the case of things; see § 17.

These pronouns denote "my, thy", etc.: *dalenggu* "my son"; *na mateadira* "their death".

To express the dual, *ro* "two" precedes the noun, the plural forms of the suffixed pronoun being used: *na ro limadia* "their hands"; *tolu* "three" is used similarly for the trial number.

As in Bugotu, *da* is suffixed to verbs in a kind of imperative use, where the action proposed is for all those addressed: *hageda* "let us all go up!"

Certain verbs have these prepositions suffixed as objects: *manaha* "to know by experience"; *tala* "to permit", *lio* "to desire", *mana* "to be suited to", "to suffice", *tau* "to marry", *gilala* "to recognize"; of these *manaha* and *gilala* also suffix the pronouns of § 22, and *vaga* "to be like" has *vagaa*, *vagana*, and *vagani*. The verb *utu* "to be true", which is usually in the form *utuni*, has the forms *utumu*, *utumiu* "true for you!" in address.

The suffixing of *na* and *dira* may convey a genitive idea; see § 13; and *na* and *dira* are also suffixed to the prepositions *ta*, *ita* as ordinary or as anticipatory objects.

The personal pronouns of the first column, *inau*, *igita*, etc., may be added to nouns (and to the prepositions *ta*, *ita*), to which the above pronominal suffixes have been added. This seems to be quite an ordinary use, and not done for emphasis: cf. § 22.

Nouns with these pronouns suffixed, and used as prepositions denoting position, are: *liligi* "beside", *liligina* "by the side of"; *vuvunga* "top", *vuvungamiu* "above you"; *sara*, *rurugu* "underneath", *sarana* "underneath (it)".

24. (4) Demonstratives: "this", "here" *aeni*, *aini*, *eni*, *ini*, *inei*, *kakeri*, *ke*, *keia*, *anggai*; "that" *keri*, *akeri*, *ari*, *kiri*; "these" *aini*, *eni*, *ini*, *inci*, *iri*, *airi*, *rairi*, *raini*, *nggai gi*, *anggai gi*; "those" *keri*, *kiri*, *akeri*, *akiri*, *rakeri*, *rakiri*. The forms without initial *a* or *ra* follow the noun or pronoun immediately.

Codrington expresses a doubt as to whether *eni* and *keri* are singular and *ini*, *kiri* are plural. The texts show *eni* and *keri* with double uses, sing. and pl., "this, these," "that, those"; both of them being used following words ending in a vowel other than *i* or *o*; when *i* or *o* precedes, the forms are *ini*, *kiri*, sing. or pl. These changes are due to euphony.

The demonstratives *nggai*, *anggai* appear to be forms of the personal pronouns *nggaia*, *anggaia* "he"; for the *gi* of *anggai gi* see § 17. In general the demonstratives follow a noun or a pronoun immediately, but those with the prefixes *a* or *ra* may be used alone: *nggaia eni* "he", "this person", "this is he"; *aeni sugua* "he, this one, indeed"; *eni* is used with the preposition *ta*, *ta eni* "now", "to-day."

The demonstratives *aeni*, *aini*, *airi*, *akeri*, *akiri*, *anggai* have *a* as a prefix; this is the personal article *a*; *aeni* means "this person", "here", "this very"; *akeri* means "that person", "that thing", "those"; *akiri* has only a plural use; *anggai* is used of things as well as of persons, "this", "here"; *gi* is added for the plural and *kiri* may follow. The forms with initial *a* may be used at the opening of a sentence.

Ke is used after *eni*, *ini*, *keri*; also after *ahei* "who?" "anyone," and *anggaia* "he", and after the verbs *ganagana* "to think", *gilala* "to know", *soko* "to finish", *gagua* "to speak"; also after *te vaga* "like", "as", *na pukuna* "because of": *te vaga ke* "thus"; *ke gagua ke* "will speak thus"; *anggaia ke* "he". There is a use of *ke* to denote a preterite: *ma ra rigia ke* "and (when) they saw him"; *ta bosa tugua ke*, "which being translated"; *taho tua ke* "never"; *na aha itamua ke* "thou hast a name". This is the *ke* of *keri*, *keia*, etc.

The *ka* of *kakeri* is used to denote a preterite: *tu nggereia tua i dania ka* "which I previously wrote"; *te sopou me nongi ka* "sat and begged"; *ka* is also used after *ahei* "who?"

A third demonstrative *na*, which does not figure in the above lists, is used to denote a preterite, or to give emphasis: *ku hage loka na* "I will enter in"; *te taho nina langga na* "he has no strength". Bugotu uses the demonstratives *na*, *hi*, *ri* to denote a preterite.

Iri is explanatory: *animiu iri* "yours", "I mean"; *anggaia iri* "these people"; *kakeri* means "these" as well as "that". The prefix *i* in *ini*, *inei*, *iri* is the personal article *i*, just as the prefix *a* in *aeni* is the personal article *a*; *ri* enters into the compounds *kakeri*, *keri*, *akeri*, *kiri*, *akiri*, *iri*, *airi*, *rairi*, *rakeri*: *airi soko* "all these". The simple forms of the demonstratives are *ka*, *ke*, *ni*, *ri*; the longer forms are built up from these with the addition of the personal articles *a*, *i*, either singly or together. The simple forms *ni*, *ri* do not occur in Florida; the former is found in Sa'a and Ulawa, the latter in Bugotu.

It will be seen that in several cases the notion of plurality in the case of the demonstratives is conferred by the prefixing of the plural pronoun *ra*.

Codrington quotes *na eni* "this", *na keri* "that".

25. (5) Interrogatives: *ahei* "who?" "whose?" *ahei didira na tiola* "whose canoes are these?" *ahei na ahana* "who (what) is his name?" plural *rahei*, *arahei*; *hava*, *ha* "what?" "how?" The article *na* precedes; *ivei* "where?" "how?" is used to denote "which?" "what?": *ivei te vagaa* "what?" "how?" also *ivia* "where?" "what?" "how?" The interrogatives are also used as indefinites, "any one," "whosoever," "anything," "whatever."

26. (6) Distributives: *sopa* "each", "every", "respectively", precedes the verb: *kara sopa detera* "they will be judged separately";

tara sopa gaegahe "they severally shouted"; *sopa* is evidently a verb, since the form *sopangi* occurs: *bosa sopangi* "to speak to each and all". The reduplicated forms are *sosopa*, *sopasopa*; *tara vahu sosopaa* "the only-begotten"; the texts show a use of *sopa* preceding a noun or pronoun, like the Mota distributive *val*, but it is doubtful how far this use is correct: *ta na lei sopa vula* "each month"; *na lei sopa komu sosopa* "every village"; *sopa nggaira* "each of them"; but *i sopa gita* "each of us", with *sopa* intervening between the initial *i* of the pronoun and the actual pronoun, may well be correct; *sasakai* "one by one", "each"; *keha*, *kekeha* "another", "different", "other"; *na keha* "another", "the rest"; *keha* is apparently a verb meaning "to be apart, away, different": *rahei tara keha* "others", "some are different"; *hui keha* "to remove"; *pusi keha* "to cut off"; *talv keha* "to put away", "forgive"; *kehakeha* denotes "various"; *keha* is used to denote "one" in a series; *kehani* "the first"; *balu* "some", with the article *na* preceding: *na balu* "some", "certain", "a few", "part", "another"; *na balu gua na tinoni* "some other people as well"; *ra na balu* "some people"; *ki balu* "some", "certain people"; *balu* is evidently a noun, and may be connected with the Sa'a *halu* "some"; *tango* "each" precedes the word it qualifies: *tango sakai* "to take individually", "to give to each", "one at a time"; *te tango sakaira na nggehenggehena* "each one of them received his work"; *tango rua* "two at a time"; *tango sakai bongi* "each day".

27. (7) Relatives. There are no relative pronouns. Their place is supplied by a pronoun of the object suffixed to a verb or preposition: *anggaira tara bungutia tara tutukua* "they look on him they pierce him", i.e. whom they pierce; *vanira nggaira tara havi mai* "to those who are still alive"; *ahei ke mua dolovia a hogona te vaevanea ke* "he that loves not his brother he has seen him", i.e. whom he has seen. The idiom noticed above, § 10, conveys a relative sense: *anggaia te nggito* "he (that) steals", "a thief".

28. Reflexive: *hege* "self", "of own accord", "alone", with the suffixed pronouns of possession, is used in a reflexive sense: *ahei ke talu sulea hegena* "he that exalteth himself"; *me te matea hegena* "then he killed himself"; *tige* "of oneself", "alone", "of own accord", with the pronouns suffixed, has a similar use. A reflexive sense is also conveyed by the use of *pulohi* "to return", "back", following the verb: *tau kiko pulohigau* "deceiving your own selves".

29. Possessives : *ni, ga*. These are nouns and are used with the pronouns of possession suffixed, *a* being added in 1st and 2nd pers. sing. : *ninggua, nimua, nina* ; *ganggua, gamua, gana*. The plural forms are *dida, nimami, nimiru, didia, didira* in the case of *ni*, and *gada, gamami, gamiu, gadira* in the case of *ga*. The article *na* may precede.

The forms *dida, didia, didira* are irregular, the *n* of *ni* apparently being replaced by *d*, and it was suggested in the author's Vaturanga grammar that *didira* (the Vaturanga form also) might be a reduplication of *dira* (see § 23 for the forms), rather than a change from *nidira*, as Codrington postulated, there being no known instance in the Solomon Islands of a change from *n* to *d*. Also a further suggestion was made, viz. that *dida* (the Vaturanga form also) might be a reduplicated form of *da*, the vowel being changed to correspond with the *i* of *gita*, pers. pron. 1st pers. pl. incl. These suggestions were founded on the fact that the forms *mami, miu, dira* exist in Vaturanga, being used as suffixed pronouns of possession ; while *dida* is used like the similar form in Florida. It may be suggested also that *didia* of the Florida forms is a reduplication of *dia*. It may be that the form *didia* is due to the loss of *r*.

The possessive *ni* denotes (1) "my", "mine", etc. ; (2) "for my part", etc. In the first case the possessives precede, in the second they follow, the noun : *na ro didia (didira) na bosa* "the words of the two of them" ; *tara tona didira* "they went for their part".

There is a set of pronouns containing *ni* and having the personal article *a* prefixed ; *aninggua, animua, anina, adida, animami, animiu, adira (adidira)*, which precede the noun and mean "mine", "for me to do" : *animua a God* "thy God".

Ga is used of things to eat or drink ; also with the words denoting "friend", "enemy", "clan", "neighbour", "belt", "earth", "shield", "sickness", "ghost", "death" ; the article *na* may precede : *na gana beti* "his water to drink" ; *na gamua na vanga* "your food" ; *na ganggua na levu ni mate* "my enemy" ; *na gadira na pari* "their garden-ground" ; *gadira na vahagi* "their sicknesses" ; *gadira na tidalo* "their ancestral ghosts" ; *na gadira na mate* "their deaths" ; *ro na gada na kema* "our two clansmen" ; *gadira na tako* "their shield" ; see § 8.

Codrington quotes a further form, *ke* ; it appears to be used like *ga*, but is not in common use.

V. ADJECTIVES

30. The adjectives follow the noun ; and, in general, all words used as adjectives are in a verbal form, i.e. they are used with the

verbal particles *te*, *ke*; they thus form a predicate. Certain words, however, are used as pure adjectives, i.e. they are not used necessarily with a verbal particle, e.g. *uto* "good", *dika* "bad", *sule* "big", *pīle* "little": *na nggari pīle* "a small child"; *na manga sule* "a great voice"; *na parako vaolu ma na pari vaolu* "a new heaven and a new earth"; *na mane uto* "a good man". Stress is laid on the adjectival character of a word by the use of the verbal particles *te*, *ke*, the forms *tara*, *kara* being used when the sense is plural.

31. (1) Adjectival suffixes: *ga*, *a*; *ga* is added to nouns and verbs; its use with verbs is the more extensive and may be considered as one of the most characteristic features of the Florida language. It is added also to foreign words: *leven* "leaven", *leveniga* "containing leaven"; *halautu* "road", *halautuga* "having roads"; *beti tinaga* "possessing rivers"; *kuliga* "having ears"; *gotuga* "hilly"; *tarungaga* "spiritual"; *horu* "to go down, be deep", *horuga* "deep"; *dato* "to go up", *datoga* "high"; *vanga* "food", *vangaga* "fruitful"; *rua* "two", *ruaga* "second".

A is added to verbs and nouns, but more frequently to verbs: *hai*, *haia* "always"; *kiki*, *kikia* "little"; *uto* "to be good"; *utoutoa* "well"; *maemane* "to be straight", *maemanea* "straight"; *oto* "a branch", *otootoa* "with branches". This *a* is probably *ga* through the loss of *g*.

In the texts there is a tendency to use the termination *ga* as an ending of the verbal noun: *na vooga* "ignorance"; *ra na pukuga* "the wise"; *na tabuga* "holiness"; *na ovu ni kulaga* "a company of friends"; *na vatei liulioga* "pleasures". This appears to be a copying of the noun ending *va* in Mota (from which the translations were made); but the usage may conceivably be established and become permanent.

As in Vaturanga, there is a sporadic use of verbs as adjectives, the suffix *li* being added: *ngasili* "firm", *mamavali* "heavy". There are several instances in the texts of an ending *ha* which is sometimes verbal and sometimes adjectival or nominal: *ngarangaraha* "to cry" (Sa'a ngara); *kauha* "firm", *kau* "to be fixed", "fast"; *pau pangguha* "joints", *panggu* "to join". This may be an equivalent of *ga*, since *ha* is the equivalent in Vaturanga of the Florida *ga* (the adjectival ending quoted above) and *ha* is used as a verbal noun ending in Vaturanga.

(2) Adjectival prefixes: *ka*, *ma*, *ta*, *tata*, *tapa*, *tava*; the adjectival prefix *ka* is not in common use, and the only instance in the text is

kaluba "loosed", *luba* "to loose". Bugotu texts also furnish a single instance, *kamoto* "broken" (Mota *mot*, Sa'a *mou*), though there is no word *moto* "to break" in Bugotu. The Vaturanga texts also furnish a single instance, *kapili* "to roll over", *pili* "to turn". In *ML.*, p. 169, Codrington refers to this prefix *ka*, and on p. 187 he states that it is found only in Fiji; but the three instances above, though isolated, are examples of the adjectival prefix *ka* in those three languages.

In *MIL.*, p. 382 (49), there occurs the word *kalili* "round about", "round", in a language of the New Hebrides. This *kalili* is evidently the Florida and Bugotu *kolili*, with a similar meaning, *lili* "to go about", a common Melanesian word, and occurring in Bugotu. The *ka* of *kalili* will then be an adjectival prefix, altered to *ko* in Florida and Bugotu.

It is more than probable that 'a, the Sa'a and Ulawa adjectival prefix, is for *ka* and not for *ga*, as stated in the author's Sa'a dictionary: *hali* "to break off", *'ahali* "broken off"; *holo* "to cross", *'aholo* "across", etc.

The prefix *ma* is seen in *manggoti* "broken", *nggoti* "to break"; *ta* denotes condition or spontaneity; *taboha* "burst", *boha* "to burst"; *tavukesi* "open", *vuke* "to open"; *tata* is a reduplication of *ta*; *tatahalu* "continually", "straight on"; *tapa* is seen in *tapataligu* "to go round about"; *tapatuguru* "to rise up", "stand up", with a notion of spontaneity; *tava* denotes spontaneity; *tavatogi* "to fall off spontaneously", "to be loosed".

32. Comparison of adjectives. A simple statement may convey an idea of comparison: *anggaia te sule, igoe to pile* "he is bigger than you"; the preposition *ta, ita* "from", is used in comparisons: *a Manoga te sule ta a Laukona* "Manoga is bigger than Laukona"; *vule* "to be great" is also used in comparisons: *migamu tau mua haba vulera* "are you not much greater than they?" The verb *vaa* "to go" is also used in comparisons: *te lada vaa* "more glorious"; *te haba vaa tatana na vanga na vola* "the life is more than meat"; *tara subo vaa tadira tara diki* "they were more in number than the first"; see § 40.

The adverb *ngangata* "very" is used of degree and expresses a superlative; it follows the verb: *inau tu tangitangi sule ngangata* "I cried very much". The adjective *kikia* "small" is added to *pile* "little", "small", to increase its force: *pile kikia* "too small", "very small", "least".

VII. VERBS

33. Verbal particles. The verb in Florida is conjugated by means of (1) verbal particles used simply; (2) verbal particles compounded with pronouns; any word used with either of these two methods of conjugation is a verb. The verbal particles, simple or compounded, precede the verb; and in the simple form they may be used without a subject.

The particles in use are *e*, *te*, *ke*, of which *e* is without temporal signification, while *te* is used of present or general time, and *ke* is used of the future or in conditional sentences. The particles precede the verb immediately.

The particle *e* is employed of 3rd pers. sing. only, and is not used with a subject, but is used impersonally: *e uto*, *me uto* "it is good"; *e utuni* "it is true"; *e taho* "it is not", "no", "nothing"; *e mua* "it is not"; *e soko* "it is finished"; *e vagaa* "it is like"; *e gua* "how?" it is used in the phrases *e gagua*, *e a* "saying", of reported speech; also it is used with all the numerals from two to ten: *e rua* "two"; *e ngiha* "how many?" The copula *ma* "and" is compounded with the verbal particle *e* in the form *me*, and is used thus to carry on the tense significance even when the tense of the preceding verb is past, the subject not being further expressed: *ma nggaia te rugu horu me sari taonia* "and he went out and followed him"; *ke vaa me vaa* "it will go on and goes", i.e. for ever. Bugotu has a similar usage, though it was not recorded in the author's Bugotu grammar. For this use see *ML.*, p. 173.

The particle *te* may be used without a subject, (1) in the phrases *te a*, *te gagua* "saying", used of reported speech, *te vaga* "like", "as"; also in the idiom referred to above, § 10; (2) with adjectives: *te subo* "many"; and with the negatives *te taho*, *te mua* "not"; otherwise it is used with a singular subject in the ordinary way: *ma nggaia te rugu horu* "and he went out"; it is also used in the case of things: *na lei beti te obo pungusia* "the waters overwhelmed it"; see § 17.

The particle *ke* is used without a subject, (1) in the phrases *ke a*, *ke gagua* "saying", of the future; *ke gua* "how?" *ke gua niga* "when?" *ke vitu*, etc., of numbers, in a conditional use; *ke vaa me vaa* "for ever"; *ke taho* "it will not be"; otherwise it is used with a singular subject in the ordinary way: *ma nggaia ke hulira* "and he shall lead them"; *ke* is used to denote the imperative, and also in

conditional sentences; see §§ 34, 35. It is also used in cases where the present tense would be employed in English: *na limana ke perou* "the hand of him that betrays me"; *ahei ke dolovia a hogona* "he that loveth his brother".

Both *te* and *ke* are compounded with the short forms of the personal pronouns *u*, *o*, *a*, *ai*, *au* in the forms *tu*, *to*, *ta*, *tai*, *tau*, *ku*, *ko*, etc., the vowel of the particle being elided. The forms in the 3rd pers. plural are *ta ra*, *ka ra*. All of these compounded forms may be used alone as the subject without a further pronoun preceding; but ordinarily the longer forms of the pronouns are used preceding the compounded forms: *gita ka hangga taga igita* "we are about to perish". The particles *te* and *ke* are used together, *te* preceding and merely strengthening *ke*, and the sense is future or conditional; also the compounded forms are used together, *tu ku*, *to ko*, *ta ka*, *ta kai*, *ta kau*, with *ta kara*, *to koro* as the forms for 3rd pers. plur. and dual, the sense being as above.

This use of the two particles together is an ordinary use, and is not done for emphasis; it occurs more frequently in conditional sentences, etc.

It will be seen from the above that Codrington's treatment of *tu*, *ku*, *ta*, *ka*, etc., as mere verbal particles will not stand, and that it is incorrect to speak of "vowel changes of the verbal particles" in Florida. The Florida verbal particles belong rather to the third list of verbal particles in *ML.*, p. 172, viz. those variable by reason of coalescence with the pronoun.

A definite past is denoted by the use of *tua* following the verb immediately. This *tua* is the Ulawa *ua* "yet", "still," the Mota *tuai* "old", and the Indonesian *tuwa*: *uto tua* "enough!" "that will do!" *soko tua* "finished"; *e taho tua* "never", "not at all"; *e tolu tua na bongi* "three days already"; *anggaia te hage tua ta na vale* "he has gone into the house"; *tua* also denotes finality and emphasis, like the Sa'a particle 'oto, which is used of a definite past: *me taho vaho tua na puni* "no darkness at all"; *na tidalo tua* "it is a ghost!"; *kau mua tangomana tua na hage* "you shall not be able to enter"; *inau tu taho tua* "I shall never"; *anggaia tua* "his very self"; *ta na bona ni bongi tua keri* "at that very hour".

The demonstratives *na*, *ka*, *ke* are used to denote a preterite, see § 24.

34. Imperative. For the imperative the verb is either used alone and without a pronominal subject, or else it is used with the pronoun

of the 2nd pers. sing. or plur., either singly or compounded with the verbal particle *ke*: *tuguru, o tuguru* "arise!" *kau kabu uto* "farewell!" *ko rugu horu* "go out!" *kau tona keha* "depart ye!"

35. Conditional. A particle *ke* denotes likelihood, probability, supposing, if, possibly; it occurs at the end of the sentence, and the verbal particle *ke* may be used at the beginning of the sentence: *ahei ke dolovia a kulana ke* "whosoever loves his brother"; the conjunction *ngge* also denotes "if", and is followed by the verbal particles *ke, te ke*, see § 52; *ngge* may precede a conditional sentence, *ke* being added at the end.

A simple statement may convey a conditional sense, the verbal particle *ke* being used: *ke liona* "if he wills"; *ke talanggu a God* "if God allows me"; *mu ku mua inuvia* "except I drink it"; the particle *te* may precede: *te ke vahagi* "if he be sick"; *igamu kau rongovia na mangana taeni* "you, if you hear his voice to-day". Bugotu also uses a verbal particle *da*, with a future meaning, to denote "if".

36. Dehortative. The dehortative is *bei* "do not!" "shall not"; *ko bei matagu* "do not fear!" *ma kara bei pukugita* "and they shall not know us"; *na mane ke bei tona sania a tauna* "let not a man leave his wife"; *bei* also means "lest", the conjunction *nggea* "haply" being usually added: *kara bei nigita kabalagi* "lest they be offended in us"; *ke bei pungi nggea* "lest it be darkened"; *bei . . . nggea* also conveys the notion "must not".

sanias means "do not": *sanias soo* "let be!" *ke sanias* "let it not be so". The verb *sani* means "to leave", "omit", "reject".

37. Negatives. The negative used with verbs is *mua*; it precedes the verb immediately. The verbal particles *e, te, ke* are all used with *mua*: *e mua gita ta dolovia* "it is not that we love him"; *inau tu mua nggaia* "I am not he"; *igamu kau mua mai tanggua* "ye will not come to me"; *mua* comes between the articles *na, a*, and the noun or pronoun or gerundive: *a mua Lord*; *a mua Dalena a David eni?* *na mua malei lima* "not man's handiwork". There is a similar use of the negative *boi* in Bugotu. *Mua* also divides the separable vowel prefix from the pronouns: *i mua nau*; *a mua nggaira*.

The negative verb *taho* "not to be", "no", is used with *mua* to denote "must be", "not fail": *ma nggaira gua ku mua taho na laviadira mai* "and them also I shall not fail to bring"; *ke mua taho siki soosodo ke topora* "and there was every chance of their running into danger".

Mua, like the Mota negative *gate*, is used as an exclamation, "how!" *e mua vaolu na tutunggu ni tarai eni* "what a new teaching is this!" *na mua utoutoni vaho na tuadira* "how beautiful are their feet!" This use is not found in the Bugotu and Vaturanga languages.

38. Illative. The illative is *ngge*; see § 52.

39. Verbal prefixes. The causative prefix is *va*, which is used with verbs and means "to make", "cause to be"; the use of *va* makes transitive an intransitive verb: *marara* "to shine", *vamarara* "to cause to shine", "to make light". It is also prefixed to verbs that are already transitive in form: *valadavagini* "to proclaim", "extol"; *vaguruvagini* "to dispute with".

There is a use of the causative prefix *va* with numerals, denoting "times": *vavitu* "seven times".

40. Auxiliary verbs. The verb *vaa* is used as an auxiliary. In itself *vaa* means "to go": *na komu tara vaa ngaa* "the village where they were going"; *vaa rigi* "to go and see", used as a preposition of motion towards; *ngge (ke) vaa me vaa* "goes on and on", "for ever"; This *vaa* is used (1) before verbs as an auxiliary: *vaa sara* "to go to"; *vaa tona* "to go"; *vaa hage* "to enter"; *vaa dato* "to ascend"; *vaa riti* "to go reach", "to reach"; (2) after verbs, continuing the action, with the meanings "further", "more"; *ke mua nia pulugamu vaa* "will he not much more clothe you?" *ko velenagami vaa ta na ovu ni bolo* "send us away into the herd of pigs"; *kau dutuvia vaa a God* "draw nigh to God"; *murina vaa* "afterwards"; (3) to denote comparison, more, rather: *anggaia te mana vaa (itatana)* "he is more powerful (than he)"; *te lada vaa* "more renowned"; *te uto vaa* "more blessed". There is no similar use of the verb meaning "to go" in the Bugotu language, but, as will be seen in the next paragraph, the use of *vaa* in Florida corresponds to that of *ba* in Vaturanga.

A second word *baa*, probably meaning "to go", is also used as an auxiliary, preceding the verb: *ahei ke baa gahaa itanggua* "whosoever abides in me"; *mahei te ke baa mai rigigau* "whosoever comes to you"; *ngge ko baa taulagi ke* "but if thou marry"; *ngge to ko baa tangomana* "but if thou canst". This *baa* (spelt *ba* in the texts) is used also in Vaturanga as an auxiliary verb, and its meaning is "to go", e.g. *ke ba me ba* "for ever", which may be compared with the Florida *ke vaa me vaa*.

Codrington (*ML.*, p. 537) treats *baa* (*ba*) under "Conjunctions", and says it is an adverb rather than a conjunction, adding that at times it must be translated "if"; but his examples are not consistent with

the above examples of the use of *baa* as an auxiliary: (1) *ngge kau ba gilalai na lei tolobo ini, ngge kau nia tonggotonggo kau ba kabarigi* "if you know these things you will rejoice if you do them"; the first "if" is supplied by the opening word *ngge*; the second is contained in the word *kau* (see § 35), and *ba* is used as an auxiliary, the second *ngge* having an illative force; (2) *ahci te ke ba hovenggu* "whoever rejects me", is a simple statement, *te ke* conveying a conditional sense, while *ba* strengthens the verb.

Talu "to put", "assign", is used before verbs as an auxiliary: *talū sule* "to exalt"; *talū sapa* "to embark on a voyage"; *talū tugu* "to exchange"; *talū utuni* "to believe"; *talū tagaa* "to be lost"; *talū muri, talū pile* "to be humble". The same use of *talū* obtains in Vaturanga and Bugotu.

Vuha "to produce", "bear fruit", "become", is also used as an auxiliary verb following *polo* "until": *polo kau vuha rigia* "until you see it"; *vuha* is also used as an auxiliary like *baa*, *vaa*: *mi taeni tau vuha manahana nggaia* "and now you know him"; *i taeni to vuha bosa tate* "now thou speakest plainly"; *ne* "to do", "do to", "make", has an applied meaning: *nea na bosa* "to do (i.e. say) a word", "to speak"; *mivei te nea na gilala* "and how does know"? i.e. "and how shall he know?" See also *ni* below.

The prepositional verb *ni*. Certain verbs are preceded by the verb *ni*, the pronouns of the object being suffixed: *ni sika* "to hate"; *ni gugu, ni tangi* "to cry about"; *ni maa* "to be ashamed of"; *nigo hugu* "to deny thee"; *nia huru* "to accuse him of"; *nira vatu* "to name them"; *nia lunggu* "to be tired with it"; *nia tangomana* "to be able to do it"; *ni tarai* "to talk about"; *ni vetena* "to give a command concerning"; the last two verbs are transitive, but the others are intransitive, and *ni* supplies the transitive force. This usage occurs also in Bugotu.

It is probably this same *ni* which is used as a preposition of accompaniment, "with": *ni vaa* "to go with", *nira vaa* "to go with them"; *ngge nigi mai na rongo* "then he brought the money"; *kau nigi mate na palumiu* "you will die of your sins"; *tara nia kokolu* "they gathered together about it".

There is a further use of *ni* meaning "to do", "do to": *nia na bosa* "to say"; *na tolobo inau tu nigi* "the things which I do"; *mara nigi e vati na tunuva* "and they made four portions of them"; *ivei te nia* "how do?" "how?" *tu nia na doloviamiu* "I have loved you".

42. Reciprocal prefix. The reciprocal prefix is *vei, veivei*; the

transitive verbal suffixes *gi* and *i* may be added to the compound verb, *gi* being used when the verb ends in *i*. The verb in its complete form, prefix, verb, transitive suffix, is not transitive, and may denote relative action as well as positive reciprocity: *veidolovigi* "to love one another", *na veidolovigi* "mutual love"; *veiarovi* "to be merciful", *na veiarovi* "mercy"; *veituiturigi* "to tread on one another".

43. The verbs *gagua*, *a*: *gagua* denotes properly "to do", "doings", hence "to say" (cf. *Sa'a te* "do", "say"); it is composed of *ga* + *gua*, where *gua* = "how?" *Gagua* is used of reported speech, and is of frequent occurrence. It comes at the end of the sentence, with the verbal particles *e*, *te*, *ke*, or with *tara*, *kara*: *e gagua* "saying", "said he"; *tara gagua* "said they". When its meaning is "say" *gagua* is not used in the 1st pers. plural; when it means "do" it is used with all persons: *pe ke mua gagua ke* "if it were not so"; *ivei tara gagua* "how do?" "by what means?" *ma na gagua* "and the rest" "what not"; *na lei gagua* "doings", "things"; *ahai ioe, ngge o gagua* "whom makest thou thyself?" *te gagua (eni)* "thus", "like this", "namely", "that is", "meaning".

A means "do", "say", and is used of reported speech, occurring at the end of the sentence. It is used freely, but always of the 3rd pers. sing. or plural only: *e a* "saying", "said he"; *ivei te a* "how?" "how will it be?" The forms used are *e a*, *te a*, *ke a*, *te ke a*, *ra a*: *ma na hava itamami, ra a* "what is that to us? said they"; *a* is probably the *ga* of *gagua* through the loss of *g*. Both *a* and *gagua* occur in Bugotu, with similar meanings and usages, but the exception noted above in the case of *gagua* does not occur in Bugotu. In Florida there is no sign of quotation before the words quoted, but Bugotu uses *e a*. The Bugotu *gua*, of quotation, does not occur in Florida.

44. Verbal suffixes. The suffixes which are added to verbs to make them transitive are:—

- (1) Simple: *gi*, *hi*, *i*, *li*, *mi*, *ni*, *ngi*, *ri*, *si*, *ti*, *vi*; *la*.

vonu "to be full", *vonugi* "to fill".

tangi "to wail", *tangihi* "to wail over".

kapu "to close", *kapui* "to close over", *kapuri* "to shut tight", "make firm".

hage "to enter", *hageli* "to go on board a canoe".

sono "to swallow", *sonomi* "to swallow something".

sua "to remove", *suani* "to be carried by a current".

savu "to cross", *savungi* "to add to", "fulfil."

hina "to shine", *hinari* "to shine on".

ramu "to beat", *ramusi* "to beat a person", "flog".
luba "to cease", *lubati* "to loose".
inu "to drink", *inuvi* "to drink something".

The suffixed pronoun of the object is not necessarily added to the transitive form, but it is always added to any adverb or supplementary verb which immediately follows. This is the Bugotu usage also.

The suffix *la* is used by itself, as in Bugotu, to give a transitive force to a verb; in both languages the only instance in the texts of such use is *dika* "to be bad", *dikala* "to harm"; but the compound forms in Florida given below prove the use of *la* as a verbal suffix. The compound suffix *vagini* is added to *la*, making a suffix *lavagini*, which is always transitive: *gahe* "to shout", *gahelavagini* "to shout at"; *kau* "to be fast", "stuck", *kaulavagini* "to retain", "make fast"; *tate* "to appear", *tatelavagini* "to make manifest".

The verb *nggunalavi* (*ngguna* "to be disturbed in mind") shows the suffix *vi* added to *la*.

For another use of the suffix *li* see § 31; *na vahagitaili* "hardship", (*vahagi* "to be ill" occurs in the texts).

(2) Compound: *hagi*, *hagini*; *kagi*, *kagini*; *lagi*, *lagini*; *magi*, *magini*; *ngagini*; *ragi*, *ragini*; *sagini*; *vagi*, *vagini*.

These suffixes convey a definite transitive force to the verb, and may be regarded as transitive suffixes proper, i.e. the pronouns of the object are regularly attached to them; but the shorter forms (like the similar forms *ha'i*, *la'i*, etc., in Sa'a) may be used intransitively. There seems to be no difference in use between the longer and the shorter forms, each of them has a transitive force, and the meaning of the verb is the same, whichever suffix is used.

kia "to laugh", *kiahagi*, *kiahagini* "to laugh at".
kana "to be hostile", *kanahagi*, *kanahagini* "to be hostile to".
havu "to scatter", *havukagi*, *havukagini* "to scatter".
tau "to marry", *taulagi*, *taulagini* "to marry".
pari "to take an oath", *paringagini* "to revile".
poli "to plait", *poipolisagini* "to do from side to side".
tala "to permit", *talamagi*, *talamagini* "to consent", "agree to".
tao "to incline", *taoni* "to follow", *taoragi* "to stoop", *taoragini*
 "to overturn".
tuguru "to stand", *tuguruvagi* "to cause to stand", *tuguruvagini*
 "to raise up".

A suffix *gini* appears in *varavagini* "to lean against", *varava* "to lean"; and in *sulupagini* "to sheathe", *sulupa* "to go into"; *tai*, *taili* appear as suffixes: *vadangi* "to suffer", *vadangitai*, *vadangitaili*;

vahagi "to be sick", *vahagitaili* "to be ill of". The suffix *hagi* is used as a participial ending (like *ha'i* in Sa'a): *dani* "to be daylight", *danihagi* "till daylight", "to keep awake all night"; *bongi* "to be dark", *bongihagi* "all day", "till nightfall".

45. Reduplication of the verb. The verb is reduplicated in three ways: (1) by the omission of the middle consonant: *bongi*, *boibongi*; this is the usual practice with words of two syllables; (2) by the doubling of the first syllable: *gilala* "to know", *gigilala*; (3) by the doubling of the whole word: *hugu*, *huguhugu*; this is a practice with words of two syllables.

Some verbs use a twofold method of reduplication: *sopou* "to sit", *soposopou* (irregular), *sosopou*; *pile* "to be little", *pilepile*, *pipile*. The effect of reduplication is to increase the sense of frequency of the action or to intensify the meaning.

Codrington considers the first method of reduplication to be the normal use, but the texts show rather that the second method is the more common; this may be due, however, to incorrectness of spelling, e.g. *titili* instead of *tiitili*.

46. Passive. There is no passive form of the verb; but a passive sense is conveyed (1) by the use of *ta* and *ka* (see § 33), i.e. of the personal pronoun *a* compounded with the verbal particles *te*, *ke*; the use of the first person denoting the participation of the audience with the speaker: *ma ka mua tangomana na idumiadira* "we shall not be able to number them", i.e. they cannot be numbered; *ngge ta ka lavira nia na bosa uto* "then shall we receive them with blessings", i.e. they be blessed; *ma na vangana na maemane ka suba horua ta na mabo* "and the fruit of righteousness is sown in peace"; *ta bosa tugua ke* "being translated"; (2) by the use of the verbal particles *te*, *ke* without a subject, i.e. by an impersonal use: *ke nei kalei* "it will be fulfilled"; *me te mavatigami* "and we are oppressed"; *te talana vania* "it is given to him"; (3) by the use of *tara*, *kara*, the verbal particles compounded with the personal pronoun *ra*, i.e. by the employment of active forms: *kara vatugo nia a Kephas* "thou shalt be called Cephas"; *te vaga tara arovigami* "as we have obtained mercy"; *tara vulitabua* "he was baptized". The first method is peculiar to Florida; the second is found also in Mota, and the third in Sa'a.

47. The sentence. The subject is usually at the end of the sentence, though not necessarily so: *te hangga hu na aho* "when the sun was setting"; the subject, if plural and in the 3rd person, is often preceded by the pronoun compounded with the verbal particle: *tara koehorua ra*

na Magoi "the wise men mocked him"; *tara mua holo ahani ra na vure* "the Gentiles do not name them".

There is a very great use of the copula *ma* in Florida (and Bugotu), the sentences being co-ordinate and not dependent. Equivalents of "when" and "while" are thus not required, and there is no proper equivalent for "when", but the adverb *soo* carries the idea of "while": *nggaira soko tara tona ngge nggenggera, ma a Kurenus te haba* "they all went to be enrolled, and (when) Cyrenius was governor"; *na tangi ma na nggiringgiri livo, ma kau rigira . . .* "weeping and gnashing of teeth and (when) you will see . . ."; *me bosa varagaha vanira nggaia te rigira* "he spake a parable to them when he saw them"; *te ke gahaa mua* "while he still abode"; *me te nulavi* "and (when) it was dark"; *ke roropo* "when it was morning"; *ma na maiana mai* "and his coming", i.e. when he is come; *te koli* "as he lay".

48. The anticipatory object. The pronouns of the object, 3rd person, *a* and *ra*, are used as anticipatory, or extra, objects of verbs and prepositions: *vania a tamana* "to his father"; *vanira na tinoni* "to the men"; *tara vuivunia na nggenggere eni* "they began this writing".

As stated in § 21, an anticipatory object is not always employed with a transitive verb. The use of an anticipatory object is general in the languages of the Central and South-East Solomon Islands.

VII. ADVERBS

49. Time: *mua* "yet", "still", "again", of repetition; follows the verb; used following *mua* "not", to signify "never": *ke mua durakea mua* "shall never be destroyed"; *goi* "again", of repetition; precedes the verb, and carries the notion of "change"; it is followed by *gua* "also"; *gua* "also", "again", of addition; follows the verb; after the customary Melanesian usage *gua* follows the second member of a couplet where "also" would not be used in English: *na balu . . . na balu gua* "some . . . others"; *diki* "first" precedes the verb; *tua* "already" follows the verb, and is used as a preterite; *polo, riti, ritini* "until"; these are verbs, and the verbal particles *te, ke* follow; *vaho* "then", "thereupon", "indeed"; has an explanatory use, or gives emphasis; precedes or follows the verb; no verbal particle accompanies *vaho*, but *ngge* may precede or follow, and no pronominal subject is used necessarily; *taeni, i taeni* "now", "to-day"; *ngge vaa, ngge gua* "to-day", of time to come; *ke dani, daidani* "by day"; *ke bongi, boibongi* "by night"; *i dania, ni dania* "formerly"; *sakeragi* "to rise up" is used meaning "then, straight-way", and serves as a connective; *soo* "if", "whether" (Lau so):

soo inau, soo nggaira "whether I, or they"; *nggea* "thereby" "there-with", "withal"; follows the dehortative *bei*; also denotes "haply", "perhaps"; *soo nggea* "haply", "perhaps"; *ta na bule, lakamua* "haply"; *i nola* "yesterday"; *i kise, ta na ngiha* "bye and bye"; *i ngiha* "when?" "at some future time", "bye and bye"; *valiha* "the third day on", "day after to-morrow"; *i ropo* "to morrow"; *i ropo valiha* "the third day on", "bye and bye"; *ropo gana, puipungi gana* "early in the morning"; *roropo* "morning"; *vu ni tolu* "the third day on"; *vu ni vati* "the fourth day" (Marau Sound, Guadalcanal, *pui* "day"); *te bongi hau* "midnight"; *haulagi* "of old", "formerly", *hau* "to be far off"; *tanggiha* "recent".

Place: *i ani, i nei* "here"; *i ane* "there"; *evei* "where?" "what?" "wherever", "anywhere"; *ivei* "where?" "how?" "by what means?" "what?" "anywhere", "somewhere"; *ivia* "where?" "what?" "how?" "somewhere"; *kakeri, i kakeria* "there"; *i kokou* "up", "above", "on top"; *i sara, i pari* "outside", "down"; *i longa* "landwards (from sea)", "north"; *lau* "shorewards (from land)", "south"; the use of *longa, lau* as meaning "north" or "south" necessarily changes according to whether the speakers live on the east or the west coast of the island; *boko* "west", "of sunset"; *uli* "above"; *ulu* "south"; *galaga* "up", "east"; *mai* "hither"; *nggatu* "away"; *dato, hage* "up"; *horu* "down"; *ngga, i ngga* "there", "where", "thence", "there is", "there was", "thereby", "thus"; follows the verb.

Manner: *lee* "merely", "entirely", "just", "very"; *leea* "only", "merely"; *soo* continues the action and means "keep on doing", "still", "further", "while", "only", "merely"; it follows the word which it qualifies: *inau soo* "it is only I"; *ma tara vanga soo* "while they were eating"; *vaasoo* "still", "only", "entirely"; used of conditional affirmation "granted that"; follows the verb; *vaga, te vaga* "like"; see § 22; *te vagai ini* "thus"; *ivia te vaga, ivei te vaga* "how?" "e gua (ngge)" "how?" "why?" "o gua" "how is it that you?" "how are you?" *soko* "finished"; *mate* "to be dead" is used as meaning "quite", "very"; *beto mate* "quite quiet"; *uto mate* "very good"; *e ngiha* "how many?" also indefinite; *e ngiha soko* "how many soever"; *tovongo* "haphazard", "to no purpose", "waste", "lightly"; precedes the verb; *kolu* "together", "with"; *kolu, sonikolu, sakai sonikolu* "together".

50. Negative. The negative adverb is *taho* "not to be", "no"; *taho tua* "certainly not"; *taho tua akeri* "not that!" "certainly not!" *ke taho, te ke taho* "is not", "will not be"; see § 37.

VIII. PREPOSITIONS

51. Locative *i*.

Rest at *ta, ita, tata, i tata*.

Motion to *vaa rigi, ta, ita*.

Motion from *sani, ta*.

Dative *vani*.

Genitive *ni, i*.Instrumental *nia*.Accompaniment *ni*.

The locative *i* is used with place-names, and also with the adverbs of time and place; *ta, ita* mean "of", "from", "to (of persons)", "into", "at", "with (of accompaniment)"; the suffixed pronouns of possession may be added in all persons sing. and pl., except in 3rd pers. sing., where *tatana, itatana* are used; *ta na lei gotu* "to, at, from, the hills"; *ta, ita* are also used to denote "by", "through" of an agent. The forms used with *ta, ita* are *tangu, tanggua, tamua, tatana, tatada, tamami, tamiu, tadia, tadia*. *ta, ita* are used in the comparison of adjectives, § 32; the *i* of *ita* is the locative. *Ta* is not repeated with the second member of a clause: *ta na pui ma na ungaunga ni mate* "in darkness and in the shadow of death".

Vaa rigi means "go see", and denotes "to" of motion. It is used of persons only; cf. *Bugotu regi* "to see" used as a preposition of motion towards; *sani* is a verb meaning "to leave", "omit", "not to do", "reject"; when used as a preposition it denotes "from" of motion; *sania* is used also as a dehortative, "don't!" § 36.

Vani is a verb meaning "go to", "say to", "give to", "do to"; as a preposition it is used either of persons or of animate objects; its meaning is "to" or "for"; there is a use of *vani* with *vetena* "to send"; *vetenaa vania* "send him to him"; *lutu vania* "to work for him"; *nggaia te nia na bosa vaniadia* "he spoke to them"; *na vaniana* "to say to him"; *hea vania* "give it to him"; *tara vania* "they said to him".

For the genitives *ni, i* see § 13; *ni* is used of place, "belonging to": *a Joseph ni Arimathea*. In *Vaturanga ni* is used of "place whence".

Nia means "with" of the instrument; it precedes or follows the word which it qualifies: *nia na beti* "with water"; *te nia pupulua na hulina na tivi* "clothed with clothing".

For *ni* of accompaniment see § 41; *ni* followed by *kolu* = "with", to express accompaniment, a verb intervening. *pungisi, pungusi* "to oppose", "be in the way of" is used as a preposition meaning "over", "against", the pronouns of the object being added.

Codrington's statement (*ML*. p. 532) that there is no preposition in the Florida language meaning "concerning", "in regard to", is amply borne out by the evidence of the New Testament in the language. But the translators have not been careful in this matter; and various so-called equivalents are found in the texts, e.g. *na pukuna*. But in the

classic cases of John xvi, 8-10, no preposition is used, although in the Mota version from which the translation was made there is a use of the preposition *ape* = "on account of", "in respect of": *ke dete kalea na maramana na tangotango dika* "he shall judge the world (in respect of) sin". Also in 1 Cor. vii, 1, 25; viii, 1, no preposition is used: *ma na lei totobo iri* "now (in respect of) those things".

The same lack of a preposition meaning "concerning", "in respect of" occurs in the Bugotu language, though in the author's Bugotu grammar *eigna* is quoted with the above meanings. But subsequent investigations have proved this to be wrong. The translators were anxious to find an equivalent in both languages for the Mota *ape*.

Similarly, in neither of the two languages is there a real equivalent for *yáp*, the "for" of argument, though the texts in the languages show so-called equivalents, viz. *na pukuna* in Florida, *eigna* in Bugotu. These again are only the "corrupt following" of the Mota *ape*. There are instances in the texts of both languages of the true use, viz. (1) making a simple statement; (2) co-ordinating the clause by the use of the copula *ma*; (3) employing the explanatory words *mugua*, *vamua* in both languages (see § 54), and *hiri*, *hitagi* in Bugotu.

Compound prepositions. These are nouns with the locative preposition *i* added: *i loka* "within"; *i sara* "underneath"; *i vuvunga* "above"; *i liligi* "alongside", "beside". The pronouns of possession are added in agreement with the noun.

IX. CONJUNCTIONS

52. Copulative: *ma*, *mai*, *maia*.

Disjunctive: *ma*, *pa*, *hau vaa*.

Conditional: *ngge*, *ke*.

The vowel of *ma* changes to *i*, *o*, *u* in sympathy with the first vowel of the succeeding word; *me* is frequently used, even when the following vowel is *i*; *ma* means "and" or "but". The initial *i* of the pronouns and the locative *i* coalesce with the vowel of *ma*: *minau*, *mi ani*, *migoe*: *ahei ma nggaira* "but who are these?" *ma* follows *ngge*: *ngge me te holo polora* "and he called them aside"; the use of *ma* is quite a feature of the language, see § 47: *tara ganagana me te mate tua* "they thought he was dead"; *nggaia te ganagana ke me te rigia na mabubu* "he thought he had seen a vision"; *ngge ta kau nigi bati na totobo ini ke, me uto* "if you keep yourselves from these things it will be well"; *mai* appears to be a transitive verb meaning "to add to", "in addition", and may be the same as Ulawa *mai* "to help"; the form *maira* "with" is used of the plural: *maira na tahina a Lord* "with the brethren of the Lord".

As stated in § 33 *me* carries on the sentence; in this case the *e* of *me* is the verbal particle; *mai* and *maia* both mean "and".

The vowel of *pa* changes to *e*, *i*, *u* in sympathy with the first vowel of the succeeding word; *pa* means "or". The initial *i* of the pronouns, and the locative *i*, coalesce with the vowel of *pa*: *pinau*, *pivei*: *te uto pe ke dika*; *pu tu ku*. The forms *pe*, *pi* are in common use.

Ngge has an illative and also a conditional and subjunctive use; its meanings are "thereupon", "then", in narrative; also "in order that", "so that", "if"; it precedes the verb and is not followed by the verbal particle *te*, but by *ke*, *te ke*, *me ke*; the subject need not be expressed; *ngge me ke* "in order that"; *ngge ke*, *ngge te ke* "if"; *ngge ke bei* "lest"; *polo ngge ke* "till", "until"; *ma a Jesus te rigia ngge rutu* "and when Jesus saw it he was angry"; *polo ngge ke poso* "until it was fulfilled"; *ngge to ko Dalena a God* "if thou art the Son of God"; *soko ngge tiva kehaa* "then he put her away"; *ngge talana* "then he permitted him"; *ngge teke mai siki sakai* "if a certain person comes"; when *ngge* means "if" it may be followed by *ke* used at the end of the sentence (see § 35): *ngge inau pe anggaira ke* "whether it were I or they"; *e gua ngge* "how?" "how then?" *ngge vaa*, *ngge gua* "to-day, of time to come"; *ngge vaa me vaa* "for ever and ever"; *nggeni* "to-day", is probably for *ngge eni*, on the analogy of *ta eni* "now", "to-day".

The vowel of *ngge* coalesces with the vowels of the short forms of the pronouns, *nggu*, *nggo*, *ngga*, *nggai*, *nggau*; *ngge au*, *ngge o*, occur in the texts.

Hau vaa "far from" is used as meaning "but", "rather", "nevertheless": *me hau vaa*; *hau vaa ma*.

For *ke* see § 35. It is not necessary to employ *ngge* or *ke* to denote "if"; a simple (co-ordinated) statement may be made instead, or the verbal particle *ke* may be used: *to ko nongi siki totobo, ma a God ke vahego* "if you ask anything, God will give it you"; *ke gahai rotamiu siki totobo* "if you have anything"; *migau kau nggehenggehe uto* "and if you do good"; *teke mua vahea mai i kokou* "if it is not given him from above. See § 35. See § 49, Time, for *soo* = "if".

X. NUMERALS

53. Cardinals.

1 <i>sakai</i> , <i>siki</i> , <i>ki</i> , <i>siki sakai</i> .	6 <i>ono</i> .
2 <i>rua</i> .	7 <i>siu</i> .
3 <i>tolu</i> .	8 <i>alu</i> .
4 <i>vati</i> .	9 <i>vitu</i> .
5 <i>lima</i> .	10 <i>hangavulu</i> .

The numerals from two to ten are used with the verbal particle *e*.

Keha "another", "away", "different", is used as "one" of a series (*kekeha* "another", "some"); *sakai* denotes "one, any", "a", "a certain"; the personal article *a* is used with *sakai* and *siki*: *a sakai vamua* "only once"; *sakai vamua* "one and only one", "it's all the same!", "no matter!"; *sakai* also means "at all", "altogether", "totally": *te mua sakai dika* "it's not bad at all"; *te sakai kise* "altogether delays"; *ahe sakai* "to breathe one's last"; *lio sakai* "to dare", "be brave"; *sakai sonikolu* "together"; *sakasakai* "each one"; see § 7. For *sa* of *sakai* cf. Bugotu *sa* "one". Sesake, New Hebrides, has the form *sikai* "one" (*ML.*, p. 469). Cf. also Bugotu *sikei* "one".

Siki denotes "one", "a", "a single", "some", "any", and is used both by itself and also with *sakai*: *siki vuvulu* "a single hair"; *siki toto* "a thing"; *siki nina toto* "one of his things"; *siki mane* "a certain man"; *siki nggari mane* "a certain young man"; *siki sakai* "some one person"; *a siki sakai* "some person"; *na siki bona pile gua* "a little while after"; *siki vanga* "any food". The *ki* of *siki* is probably the *ki* which is used as an article; see § 3. Lau uses *si* as an article meaning "one", "any". The reduplication of a numeral denotes "each", "apiece", "at a time": *ruarua* "two at a time"; *vavati*; *onoono*.

Tee denotes "only", "single"; *ganagana sakai tee* "to be of one mind"; *tango sakai tee* "to do severally"; *sakai vamua na tee* "single". Lau *te* "one".

Another form of *rua* is *ruka*; Vaturanga also has *ruka* "two".

For the numbers over ten, *sara* "to reach" is generally employed: *e hangavulu me sara e rua* "twelve"; *e hiua hangavulu hiua* "seventy-seven"; *na sara sakaini* "the eleventh". A "hundred" is *hangalatu*; a "thousand" is *toga*; "ten thousand" *mola*. The article *na* is used with all these; *mola* also means "very many", "countless"; *na idu hahi* "difficult to count" is used as meaning "innumerable"; *matapono* "closed" may be added after *hangavulu* "ten" to denote completion.

Codrington (*ML.*, p. 538) gives a list of specific numerals: *banara* "ten baskets of food"; *gobi* "ten canoes", "ten puddings"; *gaibala* "ten bunches of bananas"; *mola* "ten baskets of almonds"; *pangga* "ten pigs", "birds", "fish", "opossums"; *pinggu* "ten coconuts", "breadfruit", "crabs", "shell-fish". To these may be added *isa* "ten shell-moneys." The article *na* precedes all these.

Bugotu also has *pangga* "ten pigs", "a herd"; *pinggu* "ten

coco-nuts"; and Vaturanga has *pinggu* "ten coco-nuts". Codrington also quotes *parego* "a ten", "thing in tens".

Codrington gives a set of numerals used in a game at Olevuga, Florida: *eta*, *ura*, *lotu*, *tavi*, *nila*, *noa*, *tivu*, *rau*, *beta*, *talari*; he states that these numerals, from the second to the seventh, are metathetic forms of the ordinary numerals from two to seven, and that *eta* may be *tea* (*Mota tea* = "one") in the same way. At Sa'a and Ulawa *eta* is the ordinary numeral for "one"; *rau* is possibly for *aru*, i.e. *alu* "eight", by a change from *l* to *r*.

(2) Ordinals: *ni* is added to the cardinal numbers to form the ordinals; the article *na* is used with the ordinals; *ruani* and *ruana* both occur in the texts; also *hangavuluni* and *hangavuluna* "tenth". For "first" *na diki* is used (*Bugotu kidi*); *kehani* also occurs: *na diki maladira* "their former state"; *na diki kema* "patriarch". The form *ruaga* denotes "a second", "another": *ko bei ruaga na pupulu* "don't have a second garment"; *toro mua ruaga na vinahi* "they two are not a different flesh"; there is a form *varuani*, meaning "second".

Multiplicatives. The word *tuguru* "to stand", "a post", is used as meaning "times": *e tolu na tuguru ni neana ngga* "there were three times the doing of it", "it was done three times"; *sakai vamua na tuguru ni hageviana* "only once the time of entering"; *me rua na tuguru ni mate* "twice dead". The cardinal numeral may be used: *e tolu na neana* "three its doing", "thrice"; *ke vitu na tango hahiamu* "seven times the harming of you"; *vavitu* means "seven times".

Taba "layer", "succession", is also employed as a multiplicative: *e tolu na taba ni bosa vaniana* "three times the speaking to him".

Pape "together", "in company": *lutu pape* "to work together"; *pape tolu* "three together"; cf. *Mota pepe, pepe rua* "two together", of canoes sailing.

For "Distributives" see § 26.

XI. EXCLAMATIONS

54. *A* is used in address: *a Simon* "oh, Simon!" The common Oceanic *e* of address is seen in *e goe* "you" (vocative); *gee, a gee* "you" (vocative), *Bugotu ge*.

Eo denotes assent, *teo* negation; *ive* expresses disapproval; *ina* asks questions.

There are four words which Codrington calls expletives, and which are used as explanatory words: *vamua*, *mugua*, *sugua*, *vagua*. Their

place is probably under "Adverbs". *Vamua* means "only", "forsooth", "I mean", "indeed", "rather"; it is used in explanations, and is an equivalent for "because"; see § 51; it is formed from *mua* "yet", "still"; *mugua*, *sugua*, *vagua* are all formed from *gua* "also", "again", of addition. These four words all follow the verb; *mugua* is used in explanations, like *vamua*, and means "rather", "I mean", "don't you know!" It is used as an equivalent for "because"; see § 51: *me mua akeri vamua* "not that, I mean"; *ma igita gua mugua* "and we ourselves also, to be sure!" *sugua* means "certainly", "indeed", "to be sure!" *vagua* means "even", "if it were", of a supposititious case.

Bugotu has both *vamua* and *mugua*, with similar uses.

XII. OATHS, CURSES

Codrington, *ML.*, p. 539, gives a number of oaths. To these may be added a *tinada* "by our mother!"

The Structure of a Bantu Language with special reference to Swahili, or Form and Function through Bantu Eyes

By E. O. ASHTON

THE purpose of this article is to bring to notice an aspect of a Bantu language, which is not often touched upon in the conventional grammars, and the hope is expressed that its perusal may stimulate thought. Even if it but blazes a trail from which others may depart, the writing of it will not have been in vain. This article is both introductory and complementary to an article entitled "The 'Idea' Approach to Swahili", which appeared in the *Bulletin*, Vol. VII, Part 4, 1935.

As one who has had some years of experience in teaching Swahili, the writer feels that many of the difficulties met with by a student are due to a lack of knowledge of the structure of a Bantu language. It follows, therefore, that the right selection of the main characteristics of a Bantu language, no less than the method of their presentation, plays an important part in acquiring "Bantu eyes" through which to view Bantu grammar.

When beginning the study of any Bantu language, the student soon learns the importance of affixes, but he does not often realize their syntactical value, nor that an understanding of their formative value actually supplies one of the keys to good idiom. In "The 'Idea' Approach to Swahili" already referred to, it is shown that an affix contains an idea inherent in itself, which it imparts to the root to which it is affixed; with the help of a few selected affixes, such as *-a*, *-o*, *ki-*, *vi-*, *pa-*, *ku-*, *mu-*, the article shows in detail *how* these affixes modify the root. The scope of the present article is wider and more general. It is:—

- (i) To point out what are the principal affixes in Swahili.
- (ii) To indicate what the "idea" inherent in each affix is.

The application of these principles is left to the reader himself, for it would require space far beyond the scope of this article to illustrate each affix in detail; also, it is in applying these principles that he will acquire Bantu eyes through which to discern form and function. But

to one who approaches Swahili in the orthodox way, affixes are merely affixes, which may take the form of Prefix or Suffix, and the work of Prefixes is to classify Nouns, while that of Suffixes is to make derived forms of the Verbs, with *-ni* as a Locative particle. And here, for such a one, the interest in Affixes comes to an end, whereas in reality it should be only beginning.

Now the first essential is to recognize that a Bantu language is made up of (i) Roots and Stems, (ii) Affixes. With this recognition there follows the need to examine each component in detail.

ROOTS AND STEMS¹

Roots and Stems are either Neutral or Non-neutral in character. The Non-neutrals are those which can be used to form one part of speech only; they are few in number and call for no special comment.² The majority of Roots and Stems are Neutral in character, that is to say, by the help of formative affixes and by their contextual situation they may be used for more than one part of speech. At this stage one is not prepared to label these roots, in reference to their origin, as "adjective" roots, "noun" roots, "verb" roots, etc.; that must wait until more is known of early Bantu speech. Some few roots may be looked upon as "Ideophones".³ In the present article it must suffice to put them under headings *according to their syntactical function* in the sentence. It is the recognition of their neutral character which is important, for this recognition is the first step towards acquiring "Bantu eyes" as mentioned above.

NEUTRAL ROOTS AND STEMS

1. *Nominal and Verbal*.—*Mwendo* (a journey), *Enda* (go).
2. *Nominal, Adjectival (or Qualificative) and Adverbial*.—*uzuri* (beauty), *mtu mzuri* (a fine man), *vizuri* (nicely).

¹ Professor Doke in his *Bantu Linguistic Terminology* gives the following definitions:—

Root.—"The irreducible element of a word; the primitive radical form without prefix, suffix, or other inflexion, and not admitting of analysis."

Stem.—"In Bantu that part of a word depleted of all prefixal inflexions." He goes on to say: "Many grammarians make little distinction between root and stem." No distinction is made in this article, and Roots and Stems are classed together, because the theme is primarily the function of Affixes in relation to both roots and stems.

² Examples, *mimi*, *wewe*, etc.

³ See *Bantu Linguistic Terminology* (pp. 118-19) for some illuminating thoughts on primitive Bantu speech.

3. *Pronominal and Qualificative.*—

- (a) Demonstrative -le, h-
 (b) Possessive stems -angu, -ako, -ake, etc.
 (c) Interrogative -pi, -ni

When these are used as adjuncts to a noun, they are qualificatives. When used without a noun, they are pronominal in function,¹ e.g. :—

*Pronominal usage.**Qualificative usage*

- | | |
|---|------------------------------------|
| (a) <i>Zile</i> si nzuri. Those are not nice. | Nguo <i>zile</i> . Those clothes. |
| (b) <i>Zile</i> si zangu. Those are not mine. | Nguo <i>zangu</i> . My clothes. |
| (c) <i>Zipi</i> ? Which ones ? | Nguo <i>zipi</i> ? Which clothes ? |

4. *Enumeratives.*— -ote.

Lete *zote*. Bring all of them. Nguo *zote*. All the clothes.

5. Other Roots and Stems such as -ina, -ekha, -mene, and -mwe in ChiNyanja.

AFFIXES

Turning next to Affixes, the ground to be covered is wider and more complex. The first division into Prefix and Suffix is simple enough. (The term "Prefix" will here include "Infix", as the latter always precedes the root or stem.) In order to facilitate reference to these affixes, they are set out in tabular form on p. 1114.

Before discussing them in detail, it is necessary to point out that it is not intended that the student should be given a full view of all the affixes of a Bantu language at one time; this would put upon him a burden as unnecessary as it is undesirable. But it is necessary to dwell at the outset on the fact that all affixes are formative in function, but that all formatives have not the same function. *The unfolding of their syntactical function according to their contextual situation must necessarily be a gradual process.* Thus the distinction between Classificatory and Concordial function in the early stages prepares the way for discussing later on the difference between *ki* as a Classificatory or Concordial prefix and its adverbial function. It follows, therefore, that the acquisition of "Bantu eyes" is a gradual process. It is, however, a process which gains momentum in proportion to the willingness to discard "European glasses", by which is meant the tendency to view Bantu through the medium of English grammatical terminology and "word equation".

Affixes may be divided into six groups, and each kind of affix has its own particular function, according to its contextual situation.

¹ This terminology does not follow in every respect that of Doke.

TABLE OF AFFIXES

Prefixes.

m, wa ; m, mi ; ki,
vi ; ji, ma ; n,
n ; u, n ; ku,
pa, mu, with
coalescence.

yu, (m), wa ; u,
(m), i, (mi) ; ki,
vi ; li, ya, (ma) ;
i, (n), zi, (n) ; u,
zi, (n) ; ku, pa,
mu, with coales-
cence.

pa, ku, mu, i,
ki, vi, u

The Initial Vowel }
of LuGanda }
(and Zulu) }

(Classificatory
Prefixes.)

ji

a, na, li, ta
me, ki, ka, nge, etc.

ha, si.
ni, u, (ku), a, (m),
etc., tu, m, wa,
etc.

I. CLASSIFICATORY in relation to Nouns.

II. CONCORDIAL in relation to Adjuncts of the Noun and to Pronouns.

III. IMPLICATORY of:—

- (a) *Adverbial* Function in relation to Nouns and Neutral roots used as Pronouns. -ni
(b) *Definiteness* to Nouns.
(c) *Emphasis* on one of two Adjuncts.
(d) *Nominal* or *Pronominal* function to Neutral Roots.

IV. RELATIONSHIP:—

- (a) *Prepositional*, to help express an adjectival, adverbial, or associative idea. (The *a* root.)
(b) *Pronominal* to express reference. (The *o* root and the *e* root.)

V. FORMATIVE:—

- (a) In relation to *Nouns*. a, e, i, (ji), o, u.
(b) *Derogatory* idea in relation to *Nouns*.
(c) In relation to *Verbs*. ia, ea, ua, lia,

lea, ika, eka,
uka, ya, vya,
za, sha, na,
ma.

VI. CONJUGATIONAL in relation to Verbs.

- (a) *Time*.
(b) *Aspect*.
(c) *Mood*.
(d) *Negation*.
(e) *Person and Number*.

a, e.
i

Suffixes.

I. CLASSIFICATORY PREFIXES.

These require no further explanation. Every grammar devotes space to these prefixes, and deals with them from various aspects, such as the phonetic laws affecting coalescence and sound change, the underlying idea in each class, etc., etc.

II. CONCORDIAL PREFIXES.

These are generally spoken of as "The Concorde". They, too, receive their full share of attention in all grammars. It suffices to say here that the concordial prefixes vary in different languages. In Swahili, for instance, the concordial prefix of the adjective and numeral is the same as that of the noun, whereas in ChiNyanja they are different. But this difference is irrelevant to the point under consideration, viz. their concordial nature.

III. IMPLICATORY AFFIXES.

It is these affixes which deserve more attention than they usually receive. In form they may be either Suffix, Prefix, or Preprefix.¹ Implicatory Affixes cover a wide field.

(a) *Adverbial Affixes.*

(i) *pa-, ku-, mu-, i-, -ni.* The prefixes *pa*, *ku*, and *mu*, in addition to being Classificatory and Concordial in function, may in some languages, such as LuGanda and ChiNyanja, be used as Adverbial Affixes. They are prefixed either to a Noun (in which case they are Preprefixes) or to a Neutral Root or Stem to indicate Adverbial function. (In Swahili *-ni*, suffixed to the Noun, has the same function as *pa*, *ku*, and *mu* prefixed to the noun in other languages.) It is probably the three-fold function of these particles which makes the study of them so difficult for Europeans. In addition, "Place" as Subject of a sentence (which is typical of Bantu speech) finds no counterpart in English except in the expressions "Here is" or "There is". Hence the difficulty in understanding the construction of a sentence such as: "*Pale alipokufa pakaota maboga*" (= On the spot where he died there sprang up some pumpkins). In Bantu an Adverb can form the Subject. In English we should regard "pumpkins" as the Subject in the above sentence.

¹ The word "preprefix" is not used in the above sentence as synonymous with the "Preprefix or Initial Vowel" of LuGanda. It is used to describe the form of the prefix in so far as it sometimes precedes a root which already has its classificatory prefix, that is to say the prefix in so far as it occurs before a noun.

The function of these particles, *pa*, *ku*, *mu* is determined by their contextual situation :—

Classificatory: *Pahali*. = Place (a Noun).

Concordial: *Pahali pazuri*. A beautiful place. (Concord of Adjective with Noun.)

Pale pakaota maboga. (Concord of Subject Prefix with Adverbial Subject.)

Adverbial. *Pale pakaota maboga*. (Pale—"On the spot".)

Place as subject deserves more attention than it is generally accorded. The use of *pa* as subject directs the emphasis on to "place" rather than on to "pumpkins", and illustrates the preciseness of Bantu speech.

(ii) *The ki and vi Particles of Manner*.—In Swahili adverbial function may be imparted to a noun or a neutral root by these particles, and occasionally by *u*. (Cf. Nyanja *chi* and *zi*, and Ganda *bu*.) e.g. :—

Kusema vizuri. To speak well.

Kuamkia kizungu. To greet in English fashion.

Enda upesi. Go quickly.

(b) *Definiteness to Nouns*.

(c) *Emphasis on one of two Adjuncts*.

(d) *Nominal or Pronominal Function to Neutral Roots*.

These may all be implied by the use of the Initial Vowel in LuGanda, a full discussion of which will appear in a later issue of the *Bulletin*. For the present it must suffice to say that the implication of definiteness plays a large part in Bantu speech. By this is meant more than a mere "the" idea of definiteness. Words such as "my" or "this", used as an adjunct to a noun, give to that noun an implication of definiteness, and in LuGanda the noun assumes the Initial Vowel, e.g. *Ekitabo kyange* (My book). Should the adjunct of the noun imply indefiniteness, the Initial Vowel is not required, e.g. *Kitabo ki* ? (Which book ?). It is interesting to note in passing that the use of the Objective Prefix with its Noun is but another example of this implication of definiteness. Its inclusion or non-inclusion in a sentence often puzzles a European, until it is realized that the implication of the English wording supplies the key to its correct translation.

IV. RELATIONSHIP PARTICLES, *a o e*.

Before discussing these particles it should be clearly understood that they are treated as affixes from a functional point of view.

Whether they are also "roots" is irrelevant, for the article deals with function rather than with nomenclature. Nomenclature is, however, of vital importance, and is beginning to receive the attention it deserves. Our thanks are due to Professor Doke for his book, published recently, dealing with Bantu terminology.¹ According to the author, *a* is a formative; he does not give it the status of a word, and therefore does not allow it to be reckoned as one of the Parts of Speech. Be that as it may, its function is prepositional, and with the prefix proper to its particular context it translates almost every preposition in English. Unfortunately *o* and *e* have escaped mention by Professor Doke. The frequency with which *a* and *o* occur in almost all Bantu languages (together with *e* in LuGanda) denotes how fundamental they are, and stresses the necessity of getting a clear understanding of their function.

(a) *The "a" of Relationship.*

The form which this relationship takes varies according to (a) the nature of the words to which it relates, (β) the prefix which it assumes.

(1) *a* between a noun, and some other word or words takes the concordial prefix of that noun, and helps to express an adjectival (or "qualificative") phrase.

Kiti <i>cha</i> mti.	A wooden chair.
Kisu <i>cha</i> kukatia nyama.	A knife for cutting meat. (A carving-knife.)
Alimpiga kofi <i>la</i> chavu.	He slapped his face. (He hit him a cheek slap.)

(2) *a* between a verb and some other word or words prefixed by *ku* (*ku* + *a* = *kwa*) helps to express an adverbial phrase.

Alikwenda <i>kwa</i> miguu.	He went <i>on</i> foot.
Alishindwa <i>kwa</i> hofu.	He fainted <i>through</i> fear.
Alistaajabu <i>kwa</i> ukubwa wake.	He was astonished <i>at</i> its size.

(3) *a* between a noun and some other word when prefixed by *n-* indicates an associative idea. In English this associative idea may need to be translated by a conjunction or a preposition according to context.

Enda <i>na</i> Hamisi.	Go <i>with</i> Hamisi.
Mimi <i>nawe</i> .	You <i>and</i> I.

(b) *The "o" of Relationship.*

The relationship function of *o* (and of *e*) is that of *pronominal reference* to some other word in the sentence, expressed or understood.

¹ Op. cit.

It frequently requires no equivalent in the English translation. Hizi = these + *o* of reference = Hizo. The use of *o* is the embodiment of the Bantu characteristic of preciseness. Whenever there is reference to something already mentioned or implied, in Bantu generally and in Swahili particularly, *o* appears as a suffix (and occasionally as a prefix also, e.g. *ovyō* = just anyhow). In Swahili one of its many uses is as a particle of reference to indicate the relationship between a Noun and its Antecedent in a relative sentence. For further details of the *o* particle in Swahili, see "The ' Idea ' Approach" already mentioned.

(c) *The "e" of Relationship.*

This *e* prefix is characteristic of LuGanda. Its function is twofold : (i) it corresponds to the *o* of Swahili¹ as the particle of relationship between the *Object* and its antecedent in a relative clause, e.g. Ekitabo kyenjagala (The book I want) (Sw. : Kitabu nitakacho). (Note that the Initial Vowel in LuGanda acts as the relationship particle between the *Subject* and its antecedent.)

(ii) *e* in LuGanda also relates the subject of a sentence with its complement, if that complement is nominal. It is known here as a "Copula" in Bantu terminology, e.g. Kye kibira (It is a forest).

V. FORMATIVE AFFIXES.

(a) *In Relation to Noun Forms.*

These suffixes, which indicate a change in the form of a noun, do not vary very greatly. Some languages are richer than others. Swahili, for instance, has six noun suffixes, *a, e, i, ji, o, u*. Space forbids more than a cursory mention of them. These suffixes are dealt with in some grammars and ignored in others. They may be briefly described as follows :—

(i) *-a* with the Living Class Prefix indicates a personal agent. It is generally followed by a noun used qualificatively, e.g. Mshona viatu, a shoemaker.

-a with the *ki-* prefix generally implies impersonal agency, e.g. Kichinja mimba, a slayer of pregnancy (i.e. the youngest born) Kinyosha mgongo, a back straightener (i.e. a tip).

(ii) *-i* also denotes an agent, without qualification, e.g. Mshoni, one who sews.

¹ It is probably correct to surmise that *e* in Swahili has disappeared, surviving in the singular of the Living Class only, and that *o* has taken its place.

(iii) *-ji* denotes an habitual agent,¹ e.g. Mwindaji, a hunter. Msomaji, a reader.

(iv) *-e* indicates resultant state. It is probably connected with the *e* of state in verb forms in languages other than in Swahili, e.g. Mkate, something cut off (hence a round of bread, a plug of tobacco). Kiumbe, something which has been created. Mtume, one who is sent (hence an apostle).

A few of the so-called adjectival roots take this suffix *-e*, e.g. eupe, white; nene, stout. Thus used, they describe state.

(v) *-o* with prefix *m* or *ma* indicates :—

Action.	Mchezo, a game.
Result of action.	Mwanzo, a beginning. Mapatano, agreement. Mapatanisho, reconciliation.
Place.	Malisho, a feeding ground.
<i>-o</i> with prefix <i>ki</i> indicates instrument.	Kizibo, a stopper.

(vi) *-u* indicates state or quality, e.g. Upofu, blindness. Kipofu, a blind man. Hence *u* appears in many of the so-called adjective roots which describe state, e.g. *-ivu*, ripe; *-ovu*, rotten; *refu*, long.

These suffixes are dealt with very fully in Dr. Alice Werner's *Introductory Sketch of the Bantu Languages*.

(b) Derogatory Idea in Relation to Nouns.

Most Bantu languages employ an affix to give a derogatory idea to a Noun or to imply an insult. In Swahili *ji* is prefixed (or "infix"), e.g. vijipesa (a few worthless pice). In Zulu, with nouns indicating females, the suffix *-kazi* is employed, e.g. umfazikazi (a great hulk of a woman). It should be noted, however, that in Swahili *ji* has other uses which do not imply a derogatory idea.

(c) In Relation to Verb Forms.

By means of suffixes various phases of verbal activity are imparted to a Verb. The resultant forms are commonly spoken of as the "Verbal Derivatives". Bantu languages are usually very rich in these suffixes. Swahili, however, has few beyond the most fundamental ones.

(i) Simple	-a	(v) Passive	-wa
(ii) Prepositional	-ia, -ea	(vi) Causative	-ya, -vya, -fya,
	-lia, -lea		-za, -sha

¹ Formed probably from *-i* attached to the *-ga* verbal suffix of habitual or continuous action (now obsolete in Swahili).

- | | | | |
|------------------|------------------|------------------|-----|
| (iii) Neuter | -ika, -eka, -uka | (vii) Positional | -ma |
| (iv) Associative | -na | (viii) Converse | -ua |

In ChiNyanja there are affixes to indicate other aspects of the Verb, such as :—

Completeness, Insistence	-ta
Interval of time	-ba
Obligation	-dzi
" Just in time "	-fa
Mereness	-ngo

In Zulu the suffix *-isisa* indicates intensiveness. In Swahili this idea may possibly be seen in the words *sa'a* and *sana*. In Swahili, further, an old adage runs : " Fungato haiumizi mkono " " Binding well does not hurt the hand ", which is obviously an echo of the *ta* of completeness. And again one may easily connect such words as *fumbata* (to grasp) ¹ with this same particle.

The function of many of these secondary verbal suffixes appears to be adverbial, or, according to Doke, descriptive. They could equally well appear under the heading of Implicatory Suffixes. A study of these adverbial affixes in relation to verbs would bring to light many interesting points. The above illustrations do not touch even the fringe of such an investigation. It is interesting to note how those languages, which in process of time have shed these adverbial affixes, make good their loss. Thus in Swahili there is no adverbial suffix to express " to have just done something ", but the same idea is expressed in the makeshift phrase " *Ndio kwanza* " followed by the verb in the subjunctive, e.g. *Ndio kwanza wafike*, they had just arrived.

VI. CONJUGATIONAL AFFIXES IN RELATION TO VERBS.

(a) Time particles.

(b) Aspect particles. These require a chapter to themselves and will be discussed in a later article. They are dealt with in brief outline in " The ' Idea ' Approach ".

(c) Mood suffixes. The Subjunctive Mood with its suffix *-e* must also be left over for the present, together with the—

(d) Negative particles *ha*, *i*, *si*.

(e) The prefixes of person and number in relation to the verb call for no particular comment.

¹ Fumba, to close ; fumbata, to take or grasp in the hand.

The *e* and *o* of LuGanda and the *o* of Swahili

By E. O. ASHTON

IT would seem that originally there were two particles in Bantu to indicate pronominal relationship of reference, but that in process of time some languages (among them Swahili) dropped the *e* and allowed *o* to usurp some of its functions. The *e* has been retained in LuGanda and plays its own particular part. *o*, too, occurs in LuGanda, partly coinciding with its use in Swahili. It also occurs in LuGanda in places which in Swahili would require a different construction.

e and *o* are alike in that their syntactical function is the same—that of reference to some word expressed or understood. Each requires a concordial prefix, and each can be attached to various parts of speech.

I. THE *o* IN SWAHILI

It appears as:—

1. A relationship particle between the Subject and its antecedent, e.g. *Kiti kilichoanguka*, the chair which fell down.
2. A relationship particle between the Object and its antecedent, e.g. *Kitabu nitakacho*, the book which I want.
3. A relationship particle between the Demonstrative expressed and its antecedent understood, e.g. *zizo hizo*, those very same ones.
4. The adverbial complement of manner of “*ndi*”, e.g. *Ndivyo*, that (in mind) is how it is done.
5. The pronominal complement of “*ndi*” in relation to something in mind, e.g. *Ndicho*, that’s the one.
6. Adverbial suffix of Place to the verb “to be”, e.g. *Alikuwa^{ko}*, he was *there* (i.e. place in mind).
7. Pronominal complement of the *na* of association, e.g. *Ninacho*, I have *it* (i.e. something in mind).
8. Pronominal complement of the *kwa* of instrumentality, e.g. *Kwacho*, by means of it.

II. THE *o* IN LU^GANDA

In LuGanda *o* performs the work of 3, 6, and 7, leaving that of 1 to the Initial Vowel, and that of 2 to *e*. In addition *o* in LuGanda is found as:—

1. Suffix to the Partitive *ku*, e.g. *Fumbako*, cook a little of it.

2. Expressing relationship of inanimate things, e.g. *Ekai kyakyo*, the fibre of it.
3. Adverbial suffix to finite verbs in reference to place understood, e.g. *Salirawo*, cut it there. *Gyawo ebintu*, take the things away (from here).
4. Complement to the *ti* of likeness, e.g. *Bwetyo*, like that (in mind).
5. Particle of relationship in such phrases as: *Ekintu kinabyo ebintu*, one of them. *Binabyo*, the others. *Kinabyo*, its fellow.
6. Noun formative meaning place to do something in, e.g. *E'somero*, a place to read in. *Ediro*, a place where food is eaten (cf. *malisho* in Swahili).

III. THE *e* IN LUGANDA

e, like *o*, is a particle of reference, but its use is restricted:—

1. It indicates relationship between the *Object* and its antecedent, e.g. *Omuntu gwenjagala*, the man whom I want. It should be noted that in adverbial expressions the antecedent is more often implied than expressed, and its concordial prefix supplies the key to the implication. Also the *e* often coalesces with the following sound under certain conditions, e.g. *Lwaliija* (< *lu* + *e* + *aliija*) *ombulire*, when he comes tell me. The concordial prefix *lu* agrees with *olunaku* = a day. *Wano wentambula* (< *wa* + *e* + *ntambula*), here where I am walking.

2. It also indicates relationship between the Subject and a nominal complement. In Bantu phraseology it is a "copula", e.g. *Ye mulenzi*, it is a boy. *Kye kibira*, it is a forest. In LuGanda a relative construction is sometimes used to give emphasis. This explains such sentences as: *Wetuli*, we are here (lit.: it is here we are). A sentence such as "I want some *books* (not paper)" would require the use of the *e*: *Ebitabo byenjagala*, it is books which I want.

These foregoing examples of the *o* and *e*, when put into tabular form, show clearly that their syntactical function of reference relationship is one and the same:—

Swahili.	LuGanda.
Hicho	Ekyo
Nacho	Nakyo
Yupo	Aliwo
Nilichotaka	Kyenjagala
Niendako	Wentambula

Fumbako
Gyawo
Bwetyo
Kinabyo
Kinakyo
Ekai kyakyo

Kilichopotea
Ndicho
Ndivyo

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

Sinica

By E. Edwards

MY COUNTRY AND MY PEOPLE. By LIN YUTANG. pp. xviii + 363.

London: William Heinemann, Ltd., 1936. 15s.

Dr. Lin is that too rare phenomenon, a patriot with a sense of humour. And because he has humour he has courage, and does not attempt to conceal the weak places in the armour of his country. Indeed he seems at times to flaunt them a little, as if to show how confident he is that they will not in the end be able to bring about her defeat. And yet he is not really boastful, nor lacking in clear-sighted appreciation of the magnitude of China's problems and of the fact that she alone can set her house in order. No more human book on China has yet, to my knowledge, appeared.

"How is China to be understood? Who will be her interpreters?" are questions Dr. Lin puts to himself and his readers. And he follows these with the still more pertinent inquiry, "Do the Chinese understand themselves? Will they be China's best interpreters?" How few of our friends see our families as we do, or are able to accept our estimate of them! But sometimes one more understanding than the rest is able to bridge the gulf between his home and the rest of the world, and to suggest, by his frankness, his consideration, and his sincerity, that his family must be "nice". China has such an interpreter in Dr. Lin. It does not matter whether we accept at its face value everything he says of China, or whether we agree with his theories and beliefs about his country's past, present, and future; here is a Chinese, a member of the great Chinese family, who can make us understand *why* exercise is anathema to them, *why* funerals are occasions of merrymaking, and *why* they have indomitable patience, a less sensitive nerve-system, and yet, apparently, less courage than peoples of other "families". "I write only for the men of simple common sense. . . . To these people, who have not lost their sense of ultimate human values, and to them alone I speak," Dr. Lin declares. Such people are not few, even in these days, and Dr. Lin's honesty has gained for his country more understanding sympathy than any amount of "whitewashing" could have done. No problems are solved by this book, no constructive theories set forth; on the whole its tone is pessimistic, but it is the truth as seen by one who "has

not given up hope", and is still confident that China "will, as she always did, right herself again". In leaving the reader sharing its author's hope and confidence the book will serve his purpose.

CHINA. A short Cultural History. By C. P. FITZGERALD. pp. xx + 615. Plates and Map. Edited by Professor C. G. SELIGMAN, F.R.S. London: Cresset Press, 1935. 30s.

This new history of China is intended for the general reader. It covers the whole course of her development from prehistoric times to the latter part of the nineteenth century. Its seven parts deal with the seven great epochs of Chinese history, reducing to a minimum the complications of political and dynastic events and treating more fully cultural and economic developments. A special feature of the work, absent from many earlier histories of China, is the proportion of space given to the period before the beginning of her relations with the West in the nineteenth century. Art, religion, economic and political experiments, and literature are discussed in connection with each epoch; there are many illustrations, carefully chosen to illuminate the text, and Mr. Fitzgerald has made excellent use of the material provided by modern scholarship and research, both Chinese and Western.

It is not to be expected, in a work of this size, that all the parts will be equally good. But it would be unfair to point to this or that weakness without at the same time pointing out special excellences. Speaking generally, I find Mr. Fitzgerald most interesting on questions relating to social and economic conditions; others of his readers will, I imagine, be particularly interested in his discussion of the drama and the novel, which have previously been but scantily treated. In any case this is a book which may be warmly recommended to the ordinary reader, for whom it is intended.

THE NEW CULTURE IN CHINA. By LANCELOT FORSTER. London: Allen and Unwin, 1936. 7s. 6d.

In a somewhat pessimistic series of essays Professor Forster, who, as professor of education in the University of Hong Kong, may be said to occupy a position half-way between east and west, asks many questions to which no immediate answer can be found. "Is

the old classical system dead beyond recovery ?" "Can Confucianism be revived . . . and made to operate effectively among all classes of the community ? . . ." On the whole he himself seems doubtful of the effectiveness of such a revival, while sure that present experiments in education without an ethical background are doomed to failure. He describes China as "without direct guidance and without principles to which it can whole-heartedly adhere", and says that until she finds a solution of her philosophical problems "efficiency and discipline, strength and security, wealth and national power will not be achieved". How her problems are to be solved neither he nor anyone can say as yet. In addition to the new culture many related topics are discussed—the mass educational movement, a social and educational experiment of great importance to China; the "Three Principles" of Sun Yat-sen; and other subjects which from time to time have aroused his interest.

The varying moods in which the author writes reflect the successes and failures of new ideals and revolutionary developments. China has never thought in terms of years or decades; if she seems slow to grasp the consequences of applying the externals of western civilization to a great country whose habits of thought remain largely unchanged, the impossibility of waiting till the change has been brought about from within before applying them is obvious to her leaders, and the "bewildering sense of ferment" left, as Sir Michael Sadler observes in his Introduction, in the mind of the reader, is a true reflection of the struggle to make use of both methods in bringing China into line with the rest of the world. In Professor Forster's view one of her fundamental needs is the destruction of the idea of the importance of the individual, and the merging of the welfare of the individual in that of the wider political group of which he is a member. In view of her social traditions, in which the family is the unit, the transference of the emphasis from the family to the State is a problem which goes to the root of the effective political organization of the country. The enormous size of China makes the task one of the greatest difficulty; when she can teach her people that "unity is strength" the purpose of the revolution of 1911 will have been achieved.

A wide circle of readers to whom the situation in China is as puzzling as it is kaleidoscopic will welcome Professor Forster's effort to elucidate for them, in a sincere and straightforward manner, some of the more intricate bits of the puzzle.

A PAGEANT OF ASIA. A Study of Three Civilizations. By KENNETH SAUNDERS, pp. 464. Oxford University Press, 1934. 21s.

THE IDEALS OF EAST AND WEST. By KENNETH SAUNDERS, pp. xxiii, 268. Cambridge University Press, 1934. 10s. 6d.

In both these volumes Dr. Saunders elects to cover a wide field, for, like other writers of the present day, he believes, after personal contact with contemporary scholars and thinkers of India, China, and Japan, that the civilizations of Asia should be studied as a whole rather than as a number of single units. One of the drawbacks of this approach is that it involves so many omissions. Dr. Saunders' pageant includes only certain of the great ages of each of the three countries of which he treats, and emphasizes particularly the religious and philosophic aspects of their development. He lightens his task and assists his readers to become familiar with the thought of the sages of old by quoting many passages from the literature of each country. This method he follows to an even greater extent in *The Ideals of East and West*, whose aim is "to be useful in an age of transition, when ethical ideals, like everything else, are being tried and tested". Originally delivered as Earl Lectures at the Pacific School of Religions in Berkeley, California, these chapters on the ethics of the chief religious systems of Europe and Asia depend to a considerable extent upon the illustrative readings which make up something like two-fifths of the whole.

"Not only in the parallels and similarities between these great systems but in the contrasts which emerge from a comparative study is there useful matter for thought and conduct," says the preface. There is perhaps at times in Dr. Saunders' attitude a tendency to create in the minds of those of his readers who have not studied the subject an impression that the similarities between Taoism and Christian ethics for instance are closer than in fact they are; the Christian ideal of the Holy Spirit working in the heart of man to guide his footsteps in the Way of God and the spontaneous existence depicted in the *Tao té ching* have little in common.

Dr. Saunders is to be congratulated on the selection of his anthology, and both books may be recommended to the general reader provided he is not misled into supposing that the similarities which Dr. Saunders points out go farther and deeper than Dr. Saunders himself means to suggest.

MEN AND GODS IN MONGOLIA (ZAYAGAN). By HENNING HASLUND. Translated from the Swedish by ELIZABETH SPRIGGE and CLAUDE NAPIER. pp. xvi + 358. London: Kegan Paul, 1935. 15s.

For more than three years (1927-1930) Mr. Haslund was on active service with Sven Hedin's Central Asiatic Expedition. The main features of that journey have been published already, but the personal experiences of the members of the expedition have their own special interest.

Mr. Haslund's first book, *Tents in Mongolia* told the story of his introduction to Mongolia. In his own straightforward style he related how he and others were foiled by political disturbances in their efforts to found a farming colony in a little-known district of Mongolia. The feature of the book was the author's own power of finding the common denominator of humanity, and of sharing with youthful enthusiasm and ready sympathy in the lives of the strange people whom he met.

The present volume finds him no less enthusiastic and sympathetic, though more mature, and the events narrated are not less exciting than his earlier experiences. Across the desert to Estin-gol, through the middle of the terrible Black Gobi, to Hami, where his whole party was arrested, on to Urumchi under armed guard, he came at length to the country of the Western Torguts, whom he had in the beginning set out to find. The most important part of the book is the account of this mysterious people, among whom the author lived for a long time, investigating their customs and their laws and exploring the surrounding country.

As a Shaman and the friend of a reincarnation of the Buddha he was able to learn much that is of value to the ethnologist; as a traveller he will be read with delight by all who enjoy romantic adventure.

The book is well illustrated with photographs and the words and music of Torgut songs and choruses. There is also a map showing the author's journeyings from 1927 to 1930.

CONFUCIANISM AND MODERN CHINA. By REGINALD F. JOHNSTON, K.C.M.G. pp. 272. London: Gollancz, 1934. 8s. 6d.

Sir Reginald Johnston's book is based on lectures delivered at Bristol University in 1933. The signs which he then perceived of the rehabilitation of Confucianism have since been greatly magnified.

China's leaders have realized that a cultural background cannot be changed at will like a theatrical back-cloth, and that a new culture must grow, just as the old one grew, out of environment and character.

To many serious Chinese the dangers of abandoning Confucianism have been evident from the beginning. We may well doubt, as Sir Reginald Johnston does, the sincerity of Chinese who profess to think Western civilization superior to their own. Discarding the system while holding to the tradition, and adopting a new and, in their opinion, inferior culture could have only one result. The decision to observe the birthday of Confucius as a national holiday means that what may have seemed like undue optimism on the part of Sir Reginald in 1934 has been entirely justified by the course of events during the last two years. Modifications of Confucianism there cannot but be; but the innate power of resistance to outside influences which has been a marked characteristic of the Chinese people throughout their history must in the long run prevent them from denying the truth that is in them; and the essentials of her old tradition must and will form the foundation of the structure of the new China. As Lin Yutang says, "She will, as she always did, right herself again."

THE WAY AND ITS POWER. A study of the Tao Tê Ching and its Place in Chinese Thought. By ARTHUR WALEY. pp. 262. London: Allen and Unwin, Ltd., 1934. 7s. 6d.

Mr. Waley fixes the date of the *Tao tê ching* as the third century B.C. and interprets it with that period as its background. The result is revolutionary and illuminating. As a work of the sixth century B.C., in which its supposed author, Lao Tzū, is said to have lived, much of the *Tao tê ching* was incomprehensible; set in relation to all the other schools of thought which existed in the third century it is seen to be a collection of sayings borrowed from other and often opposing systems of belief and ingeniously turned to suit the author's purposes. Mr. Waley's translation aims "to reproduce what the original says with detailed accuracy", and he has added paraphrases and commentaries further to elucidate the meaning of difficult chapters. But this translation and these commentaries would still leave much of the *Tao tê ching* unintelligible without the Introduction, for which Mr. Waley is inclined to apologize because it comprises more than half the book. But it is for this introductory study, intended for

those who have no professional interest in Chinese studies, and the appendixes, intended chiefly for specialists, quite as much as for his historical translation that we are indebted to Mr. Waley, who well knows how to set scholarship at the service of the ordinary reader.

THE LITERARY INQUISITION OF CH'IENTUNG. By LUTHER CARRINGTON GOODRICH. pp. xii + 275. Baltimore: Waverley Press, 1935. 15s.

This volume is Number 1 in a series of studies in Chinese and related civilizations, published for the American Council of Learned Societies. Mr. Goodrich, who is lecturer in Chinese at Columbia University, has undertaken in it a study of the literary censorship of the eighteenth century in China. Such censorship was not uncommon; despotic emperors from the time of Ch'in Shih Huang-ti had known how to force their will upon contemporary scholarship. Mr. Goodrich gives a brief résumé of book-burnings prior to 1772, the year in which Ch'ien Lung issued the edict which brought pouring into Peking books of every sort, "meritorious" and otherwise. Among them were a considerable number deemed to be subversive and defamatory to the Manchu dynasty. The result was the compiling of two bibliographies—the *Ssü k'u ch'üan shu* Catalogue, containing all books worthy of a place in the imperial library, and an *Index Expurgatorius*, on which were listed the books banned wholly or in part. Books were suppressed for various reasons, of which Mr. Goodrich cites eight principal ones. A large number, written at the end of the Ming dynasty, were anti-Manchu; others defamed earlier dynasties or peoples claimed by the Manchus as ancestral; geographical works sometimes contained information considered dangerous to the ruling house, and so on. The net was large and its meshes very fine.

After discussing the Inquisition in part i, Mr. Goodrich proceeds, in the second and longer part of the work, to translations of the biographies, memorials to the throne, imperial edicts, and proclamations on which his study is partly based.

It is odd that the true significance of the *Index*, whose existence has long been known, was not discovered earlier, and our thanks are due to Mr. Goodrich for his careful and well-annotated study of an extremely interesting subject.

THE ROMANCE OF THE WESTERN CHAMBER (HSI HSIANG CHI). A Chinese play, translated by S. I. HSIUNG. Preface by GORDON BOTTOMLEY, pp. xxiii + 281. London: Methuen, 1935. 8s. 6d.

Chinese stage conventions emphasize what Chinese ethics condemn. Plays about clandestine love affairs are no doubt a natural result of the strict segregation of the sexes enforced by Confucian practice. Such plays, like "gangster" films, are meant to be enjoyed but not imitated. It would not be just to blame the "barbarian" Mongols, under whose rule the Chinese drama blossomed so richly, for this characteristic of the theatre. The *Western Chamber* and other plays with similar themes are based on stories written during the T'ang period (A.D. 618-906), under a Chinese, and not a foreign, dynasty.

Mr. Hsiung has translated this "really artistic" drama to prove to us that *Lady Precious Stream* was "just a popular, commercial play". Some comparison of the two plays would thus seem to be invited in order to discover precisely in what the superiority of the *Western Chamber* consists. Their conventions (which may account for a good deal of the popularity of *Lady Precious Stream*) are equally odd, and there is little to choose between them in unreality. If the "artistic" play were reduced by the omission of the songs we should probably find in what remained that both in theme and characterization the "commercial" play could hold its own; and it must be confessed that the lofty sentiments so often expressed in the *Western Chamber* are put into practice in its rival. In two particulars, none the less, the *Western Chamber* is supreme: its elegant language and its delicate imagery prove it the child of a scholarly mind, a Chinese scholarly mind, which used the story as material on which to embroider fair and fanciful designs in words. This being so, it is even a little shocking to the reader to find that the translator has sometimes chosen to give the English a "quaint" or a comic turn, admirably suited to *Lady Precious Stream*, but not to the more "classical" style of the *Western Chamber*. Nevertheless Mr. Hsiung's translation deserves our thanks and will be widely read.

ANNUAL CUSTOMS AND FESTIVALS IN PEKING, AS RECORDED IN THE YEN-CHING SUI-SHIH-CHI. By TUN LI-CH'EN. Translated and annotated by DERK BODDE. Peip'ing, 1936.

This is not the first book to deal with the customs and festivals of Peking; but it is the first translation of the annual cycle of life in

Peking seen through the eyes of a Chinese. The author of the original work, Tun Li-ch'ên, was a Manchu, born in 1855, who spent most of his life in Peking, which he found so full of interest that he amused himself by writing this record of customs, festivals, and ceremonies and published it in 1900.

Mr. Bodde deserves our gratitude for introducing us to this old Manchu gentleman, and through him, to the everyday life of the people of Peking and of China, for many of these customs and feasts are not peculiar to any one place.

Students of folk-lore and sociology as well as students interested specially in China will find in this volume much that will appeal to them. There is, perhaps inevitably, a certain monotony about descriptions of feasts and ceremonies, but the additions of the compiler, sometimes scholarly, sometimes just "auld wives' tales", help to maintain the reader's interest.

Mr Bodde has added useful appendices relating to the calendar and other matters. Chinese characters are used throughout the book both in footnotes and for the names of festivals. Some of the illustrations, which include six plates, twenty-eight text-drawings and a map of Peking, are reproductions of old wood engravings, and the remainder are the work of a modern Chinese artist.

To those readers who knew China before the days of industrial and political revolution this book will revive old and pleasant memories; those who know her in her present days of stress and hurry will find in it some explanation of the essential simplicity, due to close contact with nature, benign, or starkly cruel, of the Chinese people as a whole.

CHINESE FESTIVE BOARD. By CORRINNE LAMB, with line-drawings and paper-ends by JOHN KIRK SEWALL. Peiping: Henri Vetch, 1935.

As befits a properly civilized people, the Chinese have always regarding eating as an art as well as a necessity. In spite of his declaration that the "earnest scholar does not demand his fill when he eats", Confucius invariably refused to eat meat that was not minced to his liking, required ginger with every meal, would not sit on his mat if it were not straight, and did not stint the wine. In the days when Alfred was burning cakes in England, Chinese scholars were in the habit of giving elaborate dinners when they successfully

passed their state examinations. The menu of one of these feasts, which has come down to us from that period, includes many dishes with fanciful and fantastic names. "Longevity gruel" explains itself; "white dragon-brain" was camphor, which the Cambodians also ate at feasts; "fairy-meat" consisted of slices of chicken cooked in milk. Other dishes popular at that time and obtainable in special food-stores were "unborn phoenix", "ivory dumplings", and "broiled dragon's whiskers". Mrs. Lamb sets none of these delectable (and probably unpalatable) dishes on her *Chinese Festive Board*, but she offers to English-speaking enthusiasts for Chinese food—and they are many—a varied and attractive selection of recipes which can be prepared in foreign as well as in Chinese kitchens. Of more general interest are the introductory pages in which table etiquette, liquors, and drinking-games are discussed. An acquaintance with these and similar conventions should be helpful to the uninitiated Westerner in China.

CHINESE ART. Edited by LEIGH ASHTON. pp. xvi + 111. London: Kegan Paul, 1935. 5s.

CHINESE ART. An Introductory Handbook. pp. 102. London: B. T. Batsford, Ltd., 1935. 15s.

A BACKGROUND TO CHINESE PAINTING. By SOAME JENYNS, Assistant Keeper, Department of Oriental Antiquities, British Museum. pp. 237. London: Sidgwick and Jackson, Ltd., 1935. 10s. 6d.

THE CHINESE EYE. An Interpretation of Chinese Painting. By CHIANG YEE. 24 plates, pp. xvi + 240. London: Methuen, 1935. 7s. 6d.

INTRODUCTION TO CHINESE ART. By ARNOLD SILCOCK. pp. 285. London: Humphrey Milford, 1935. 6s.

The International Exhibition of Chinese Art at Burlington House in 1935-6 was responsible for the publication of a considerable number of books dealing with one or more aspects of Chinese art. It is not an easy matter for the reviewer to determine the particular usefulness of each. The majority were intended, obviously, for readers interested rather than informed in Chinese art, and their authors have therefore devoted considerable space to background and fundamental principles. Among works treating of Chinese art, a small book edited by Leigh Ashton with articles on painting and calligraphy, sculpture

and lacquer, the potter's art, bronzes, jades, and textiles, may be given a foremost place. Mr. Binyon contributes an introduction and discusses the twin arts of painting and calligraphy. No one knows better than Mr. Binyon how, by an image or a phrase—cf. p. 2, "you will find yourself taking the same sort of pleasure" (in the brushwork of calligraphy) "that one has in the clean sharp shapes of iris-blades thrusting up from the sod, or the swift swerve of water past a stone"—to give direction to imagination and stimulate the mind to transfer the emotional experience of Western art to the investigation of Chinese art ideals. In a chapter entitled "Sculpture and Lacquer", the Editor condenses into thirteen pages the facts essential to an examination of actual pieces, and in an even fewer number of pages he deals briefly but adequately with textiles. Similarly Mr. R. L. Hobson takes his readers over the whole ground of the potter's art, using broad strokes to paint his picture, but filling in details wherever they are likely to help and not confuse. Mr. A. J. Koop and Dame Una Pope-Hennessy, both specialists in their respective subjects, are responsible for articles on Bronzes and Jades. The book is pleasingly produced, suitably illustrated and very cheap, and for the not too serious amateur must have served as an admirable guide, while, too, it should still be an excellent introduction for those who wish to know more about the subjects of which it treats.

Unlike the essays which compose *Chinese Art*, Mr. Silcock's book does not assume any previous knowledge of the subject. To make things easy for beginners he avoids names and dates as far as possible, atoning for this omission by adding as an appendix a series of synoptic tables giving the dates of important persons and events in Chinese history with concurrent events in the rest of the world. Most of the material of this effective introduction has been gathered from the works of experts in each field, to whom Mr. Silcock acknowledges his indebtedness. The lucid presentation of the material thus obtained is his own, and he succeeds admirably in providing "a simple picture of the environment and the age-long development of a great people and a noble art".

The illustrations, which comprise sixteen text-figures and twenty-seven plates are admirably chosen and the volume is very pleasingly produced.

In a quite different category is Mr. Jenyn's *Background to Chinese Painting*. The introduction, by Mr. W. W. Winkworth, is addressed "To Collectors", and one feels that the author had in mind an audience

at least vaguely familiar, and not that unknown quantity, the "general reader". After a general survey, for the purpose of which he divides painting into seven periods, Mr. Jenyns deals with the influence of religion on painting; its relation to calligraphy; materials and technique; the treatment of landscape and the human figure; and the use of bird, flower, and animal motives. Opinions will differ as to which of these chapters is best; this is not a book for an unsophisticated public, and those to whom it is addressed will decide the point for themselves according to the special aspect of Chinese painting which appeals to the taste of each. The numerous illustrations, some of them unfamiliar, are a delight, and the book is extremely well produced.

In *The Chinese Eye*, Mr. Chiang Yee, himself an artist, writes of Chinese painting from the Chinese point of view. He discusses not only the history, the essentials, the instruments, and the species of painting, but also the relation between it and philosophy and literature. Mr. Chiang's own paintings, in a variety of styles, have been twice exhibited in London, and those who saw them will be especially interested to learn, from his own pen, what are the emotions and the principles which underly his work and that of his fellow-artists past and present.

On the technical side Mr. Chiang is instructive; his translation of Hsieh Ho's Six Canons of Painting is interesting and worthy of note; on the artistic side his is the true poet's approach, and he illuminates for us every now and then the attitude and the artistic conceptions of the Chinese painter. Speaking of the inscriptions found on most Chinese paintings, he says, "Veri-similitude is never a first object; it is not the bamboo in the wind that we are representing but all the thought and emotion in the painter's mind at a given instant when he looked upon a bamboo spray and suddenly harnessed his life to it for a moment. That moment may have had a psychological significance in itself—the artist was . . . parting from friends—then, the drooping attitude of the leaves will have a meaning for their creator beyond the comprehension of the onlooker had he no written explanation."

Mr. Chiang acknowledges his indebtedness to Miss Innes Jackson's generous help in rendering his work into a lucid English style and drawing his attention to parallels in European thought.

The twenty-four illustrations are grouped under three heads—Figures, Landscapes, and Birds, Flowers and Animals. They are

specially selected to illustrate various points throughout the book and are representative of the best of Chinese painting.

On a larger scale than any of these is Messrs. Batsford's *Chinese Art*, published on the occasion of the Exhibition. This work is based upon the *Burlington Magazine* Monograph, *Chinese Art*, published in 1925, long out of print. While, unfortunately, some of the contributors to the former publication found themselves unable to assist in the preparation of the new edition, the publishers are to be congratulated upon producing a series of essays by well-known authorities in the subjects treated. Mr. Lawrence Binyon writes on painting, Dr. O. Sirén on sculpture, and Mr. Bernard Rackham on pottery and porcelain. Mr. A. F. Kendrick and Mr. W. W. Winkworth also contribute, while Mr. Roger Fry writes on the significance of Chinese art, and Mme Quo Tai-Chi has permitted the inclusion of a review of forty centuries of Chinese art which she contributed to the *Queen*.

It is impossible, within the limits of a brief review, to discuss these essays individually. It is sufficient to say that here is a work which includes an outline of the historical background of the principal forms of Chinese art, and an account of the important types in each field. The book is intended to be "popular"; it is at the same time comprehensive and yet free from an over-elaboration of detail, easy to read and yet informative. The publishers, feeling that "however illuminating the text, the most enlightening and satisfactory method of appreciating Chinese art is by the study of comparative examples, and especially by presenting these in the beauty of their original colour", have generously packed the book with illustrations—23 plates in colour and 62 in monochrome, all beautifully reproduced.

THE CHINESE ON THE ART OF PAINTING. Translations and Comments by OSVALD SIRÉN. pp. 261. Peiping: Henri Vetch, 1936. 12s. 6d.

This volume is in some respects a complement to Dr. Sirén's *History of Early Chinese Painting*, of which volumes i and ii, have already appeared. The present work consists chiefly of translations from Chinese works on painting, and was the result of a conviction on the part of the author, which many will share, that a true knowledge of the history and significance of Chinese painting must be based on historical records and the works of Chinese critics rather than on the comparatively few specimens which survive.

In the arrangement of his material Dr. Sirén has elected to follow the sequence of the dynasties, believing that the process of evolution and the special ideals of each period can be thus most clearly presented. As to the material selected for inclusion, here again Dr. Sirén has been content—and wisely so—to use what the Chinese themselves have regarded as being of importance and have preserved in their historical collections.

The greater part of the book consists of translations from such well-known works as *Li tai ming hua chi* and *Ku hua p'in lu*. Some of the material had already been translated by others, but Dr. Sirén has co-ordinated the available information in relation to certain problems, theoretical rather than practical, which he seeks to elucidate as far as possible for the student. The book is illustrated by a number of half-tones, well chosen and well reproduced, and includes an adequate index. It will be well worth the while of the serious student, whether of Chinese or of Chinese art, to make himself familiar with the views of great Chinese critics and masters of painting through Dr. Sirén's scholarly work.

SOME TECHNICAL TERMS OF CHINESE PAINTING. By BENJAMIN MARCH. pp. xiii + 55. Baltimore: Waverley Press, 1935. \$1.50.

Increased interest in Chinese art and all subjects connected with China makes more and more desirable the production of technical works to aid western students. Many people whose enthusiasm for Chinese painting was fired by the recent International Exhibition in London will welcome this handbook by a promising young American sinologist, who died, unfortunately, before its publication. The volume appears under the auspices of the American Council of Learned Societies, as number two of the series entitled "Studies in Chinese and Related Civilizations".

The author's aim was to impart some knowledge of painting as a craft, and his collection of terms is the outcome of a practical study of the technique of Chinese painting made in Peiping under the tutelage of a Chinese artist and student of the classical tradition. The terms, which comprise the Chinese characters, their romanized equivalents, and an English explanation of their meaning, are grouped for convenience under a number of heads, which include Materials, Subjects, Techniques, Brushwork and Composition, and Seals and Signatures. The list is not exhaustive, even on the technical side;

still less does it include the terminology of aesthetics, but so far as his study went, the author spared no pains to explain intelligently rather than to define arbitrarily the meaning of the terms he collected. An alphabetical list makes the book easy to use, and a number of plates illustrating brush-strokes and "type-forms" (i.e. the various forms in which leaves, mountains, water, etc. are painted) add to its interest and value.

CHINESE JADE. By FRANK DAVIS. Published privately by the author, 1936. 5s.

In this little book of less than seventy pages Mr. Davis has given to the amateur of jade "a reasonably accurate chart by which to steer his course". He helps as much perhaps by what he omits as by what he says, and what he says is the outcome of his own interest in that "friendly and noble substance" which intrigues him as it intrigued the Chinese from the earliest times.

To write on jade after Dr. Laufer requires some courage, but Mr. Davis has not tried to rival his predecessor but only to simplify the subject. He has, in the main, confined himself to an attempt to set jade against its historical background, and to suggest its significance in Chinese art and ceremonial. So little is known on this subject that to a large extent theories must take the place of facts, and Mr. Davis's theories are interesting, if not always convincing. Sometimes even his facts are mis-stated, as for instance, when he avers that Chou feudalism "was at least a stable system, and it was enlightened enough to give every honour to Confucius", but we will not cavil overmuch, for this sincere and concise little monograph deserves to be welcomed by a large number of readers whose interest in the subject is general and not specialized. The illustrations are well-chosen and very well reproduced and the typography excellent.

MODERN NEWSPAPER CHINESE. Progressive Readings with Vocabularies, Notes, and Translations. By J. J. BRANDT. pp. xii + 321. Peiping: Henri Vetch, 1935.

Many modern students of Chinese owe a good deal to Mr. Brandt's earlier textbooks, *Introduction to Literary Chinese* and *Chinese Particles*. They will find additional reasons in this new work to thank him for the painstaking manner in which he endeavours to solve the problems

which beset the student who undertakes the study of newspaper style. The stage at which students express a desire to be able to read Chinese newspapers varies greatly; if they begin their study of the subject with this book they will quickly find themselves familiar, even in their early days, with a wide vocabulary of terms and expressions commonly used to-day. The author's aim is to provide the reader with interesting and up-to-date material for the study of the newspaper style. His extracts, taken from the newspapers of Shanghai, Tientsin, and Peiping during the year 1934, include every type of subject from a *Tax on Bobbed Hair* to the *Meaning of Political Unification*, and reach from the children's weekly page to the resolutions of a financial conference.

The sixty lessons into which the book is divided are arranged in progressive order of difficulty. Each lesson is accompanied by a vocabulary and notes as well as an English translation. Most people will agree that in order to translate into good idiomatic English it is necessary to abandon in many cases the exact meaning of the Chinese. Mr. Brandt, we are glad to observe, has chosen to stand by his students and to offer them as close a rendering as possible of their text. For this they will be especially grateful. It is not necessary that journalistic Chinese should be rendered into literary English of a high quality; it is essential that the student should be able to see how the translator arrives at his translation.

A useful handbook such as this will no doubt go to a second edition when the author will be able to correct a number of typographical errors. In the meantime students will be glad that they were no longer deprived of the assistance which it cannot but give them in their study of modern Chinese.

CHINESE MADE EASY. By WALTER BROOKS BROUNER and FUNG YUET MOW, with an Introduction by HERBERT A. GILES. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1935. 10 guilders.

The present volume is no doubt a new edition, though there is nothing save Professor Giles's Introduction, dated 1903, to indicate that the book had been published earlier than the date printed on the title page. And the date is important. In 1903 such a work must have been of the greatest assistance to students, to whom few textbooks of the Chinese language were available; in 1935 its usefulness

is less, because in the interval the teaching of Chinese in all its branches has made great advances and good books and trained teachers are not difficult to obtain. Nevertheless, for students of Cantonese the book is not without value. It consists of a number of sections. Thirty-three lessons on various subjects form the first part. These comprise sentences printed in character, with the Cantonese pronunciation and the literal meaning of each character, as well as an English rendering of the sentence. The second section includes the complete text of the *San tzu ching* in large characters in the written style, accompanied by a translation. Other sections include 1,000 characters intended to give practice in writing and some sample pages of a Chinese-English dictionary. At the time of writing their preface the authors claimed that their methods were unique but the student who buys the book at the present time must not expect to find in it anything new or revolutionary in the technique of language-study.

CHINESE AND ENGLISH MODERN MILITARY DICTIONARY. 5,500 army, navy, air technical terms. Compiled by Captain J. B. DAVIDSON-HOUSTON, R.E., and Lieutenant R. V. DEWAR-DURIE, A. & S.H. (With illustrated appendixes showing naval and military badges of rank.) Peiping: Henri Vetch, 1934.

The problem of translating western scientific and other terms into Chinese has been met by the establishment a number of years ago of a special committee, with the result that a more standardized vocabulary of suitable new words is being added to the Chinese language than seemed possible before the committee came into being. Early attempts to compile dictionaries of technical terms in Chinese and European languages were hampered by the unsystematic methods then practised by the Chinese themselves in translating western words, and by the efforts of western specialists to express in Chinese technical details of which the meaning was not understood by Chinese. Nevertheless even before the Great War many technical, medical, and military terms were included in Chinese-English and English-Chinese general dictionaries, and a few special vocabularies of such terms were compiled. Since that time, largely through the medium of the newspapers, western ideas have become familiar to an ever increasing number of Chinese, while civil wars and the modernization of the Chinese army have helped to focus attention upon military matters

in particular. The work which the compilers of the present handbook have done, therefore, in preparing for the use of Chinese and English speaking people a well-arranged and extensive vocabulary of military and technical language, cannot but be appreciated by all students of modern Chinese.

CHINESE CALLIGRAPHY. By LUCY DRISCOLL and KENJI TODA.
pp. viii + 71. University of Chicago Press, 1935. 9s.

It is related of Ou-yang Hsün, the famous calligraphist of the T'ang period, that he went to see an ancient tablet written by So Ching of the Chin dynasty (A.D. 265-419). Reining in his horse, he looked at it for a long time and then rode away. A hundred paces off he stopped, turned back, and remained gazing at the tablet until he was exhausted. Then he sat on a blanket and continued to gaze. He slept at the foot of it and remained there for three days.

Probably nothing has been, or can be written about Chinese calligraphy which will explain fully this attitude of rapt devotion before a specimen of fine handwriting. It is an interesting problem on which a great deal more will be written.

The authors of the present work have gone direct to Chinese sources for their material, and have endeavoured to interpret and evaluate their quotations "from a modern psychological point of view". Though the method is attended by certain dangers, it is interesting in itself. The literature of the subject is so large that it has been "barely tapped". The *Shu fa* (Laws of Writing) of Ou-yang Hsün (A.D. 557-641), which must surely have been the basis of the "Eighty-four Laws" of Li Shun of the fifteenth century, is not mentioned, though it is important both in itself and as one of the earliest works on the subject, written at the beginning of a period when calligraphy was developed until more than fifty styles were recognized.

Readers unfamiliar with Chinese writing may find difficulty in understanding some of the translations. The following passage and the authors' comment thereon, taken at random (p. 51), is far from clear:—

"When two characters are written so as to make one character, the spots and lines, above and below, bending down and looking up, should show the force of separating and uniting. . . . The order of

spots and lines ought not to be even and uniform; it should show unevenness like the arrangement of feathers or scales.'

"He is speaking of the problem of breaking the integrity of two movement patterns sufficiently to let energy go from one to the other so that a unifying interchange is felt between the parts. . . ."

Neither will the student of Chinese, seeking a history of the art of calligraphy, find it here. The authors have made a praiseworthy effort to look into, and interpret for those already acquainted with the subject, the mind of the Chinese masters of calligraphy. The degree of their success must not be minimized; the book is interesting; we do see, from the interpretation offered, how the successful calligraphist achieves a harmony between mood and material on the æsthetic side, and how he attains a mastery over brush, ink, and paper by a precision and a persistence which we usually associate with scientific experiment.

The volume is well produced, and is illustrated by a number of ink-rubbings from the collection of the late Dr. Laufer. It would be much more easily handled, however, if an index had been provided.

E. EDWARDS.

CAMBODIAN GLORY. By H. W. PONDER, F.R.G.S., F.R.S.A. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$. pp. 320, plates 24, maps and plans 4. London: Thornton Butterworth, Ltd., 1936. 15s.

A great many books, ranging from learned treatises to globe-trotters' notes, have been written on Cambodia, and especially about Angkor, but Miss Ponder's work cannot be classed with either of these extremes. A great part of it naturally deals with the history and antiquities of the country and their gradual discovery by European explorers and archæologists; and a long list of sources, besides other references, indicates that the author has not merely looked at the venerable buildings but also studied the literature on the subject, including the latest archæological discoveries and reports. But she also had eyes to see, and her own impressions, vividly set down, make fascinating reading. There is much, therefore, in her work about the splendid medieval buildings at Angkor and its neighbourhood; but there is also much else, for it contains a well informed and sympathetic sketch of the modern state of Cambodia as well. Having paid two visits to it, with an interval of some years between them, she was better qualified than the usual hasty traveller; and her accounts of

her travels and experiences, interesting in themselves and illuminated at times by flashes of humour, illustrate the progress which the country is making under French guidance. Her chapter on education also brings out this point, especially in relation to the revival of the old native arts and crafts, and so does the chapter headed "Twentieth Century Cambodia", which deals largely with economic products, transport, labour, and public health. Other chapters are concerned with Buddhism and the influence of the monks, law ancient and modern, Cambodian dancers (of whom a charming account is given), royal cremations with their costly ceremonial, and many other matters. Having read every word of the book I can vouch for the fact that it is extremely readable and interesting.

It may be permissible to refer to a few passages which seem to be open to criticism. In regard to the statement on p. 102 concerning the death of Doudart de Lagrée, it should be pointed out that though the expedition of which he was the leader was in fact the first official French mission of exploration to visit Angkor, its main object was the reconnaissance of the Mekong River, with a view to the possibility of its use for transport, and that his death occurred in Southern China. It is by no means certain that "Zabedj" (p. 114) represents Java; probably it was Southern Sumatra. (The word *that* before *Zabedj* is evidently a misprint for *than*.) I see no connection between the images representing Buddha sheltered by a Nāga (p. 181), which have been found in most Buddhist countries, and the legendary Nāga descent of the old Cambodian kings (pp. 100-1); and it seems to me extremely doubtful that there was a Thai King in Siam in A.D. 607 (p. 291).

I regret to notice a number of misprints, such as *Puolo* (p. 15, etc., for *Poulo*, the French spelling, or *Pulo*, a current English one), *Scanda* (p. 37, for *Skanda*), *Rakshas* (p. 50, etc., for *Rākshasas*, as an English plural, unless the former is the Cambodian variant), *sumptious* (p. 57, for *sumptuous*), *collonades* (p. 57, but on p. 285 with one l), *dieties* (p. 62, for *deities*), *Prah Kahn* (p. 62, etc., for *Prah Khan*, correctly given on pp. 104, 134), *woman* (p. 69, for *women*), *Dangrengs* (p. 77, but the map on p. 157 has *Dangrek Mountains*), *Chantababoun* (p. 95, for *Chantaboun*), *meterological* (p. 97), *Won* (p. 111, for *Wou*, i.e. the Wu dynasty of China), *Amarpura* (p. 119, for *Amarapura*), *Tcho-kiang* (p. 131, for *Tche-kiang*, the Chinese province Chehkiang), *buerre* (p. 147, for *beurre*, unless the first spelling was intentional, to represent an English pronunciation of the French word), *Putohita*

(p. 182, for *Purohita*), and *guardien* (p. 260, etc., for *gardien*). Somewhat unusual nowadays are *pidgeon* (p. 17, for *pidgin*, coupled with *French*), *Thibet* (p. 17) for *Tibet*, and (so far as my limited experience goes) the use of *garbage* (p. 145) in the sense of *garb*, or *garment*. The appearance of a French or English *s* (for the plural) in the Khmer expression *pols domrey* (p. 202) also seems odd; the *nepas-palm* (p. 16) is, I conjecture, the Malay *nipah*.

It may be an open question whether foreign European spellings of Oriental names, such as *Boroboedoer*, *Massoudi* (p. 114) and *Manou* (p. 190) should be retained in an English work (apart from verbal citations in the foreign language). But it is certain that forms like *Icanavarman* (p. 111), *Crutavarman*, *Crestavarman* (p. 113), *Yacovarman* (p. 114, etc., and on p. 299 *Yarcovarman*), and *Crivijaya* (p. 126), where the French transcription has *ç* (not *c*), can only mislead the general reader. A spelling like *Isvarapura* (p. 254), though not absolutely technically right, is surely preferable. In *the new faiths melted into the new* (p. 179), one *new* should be *old*; and *open grass land . . . is a feature . . . and on them*, etc. (p. 212) is a slip.

The reader will be thankful for the maps and plans, although the former, being on a small scale inevitably give few details. The index is useful for reference and the illustrations are beautiful.

C. O. BLAGDEN.

BUDDHIST CAVE TEMPLES OF INDIA. By MAJOR R. S. WAUCHOPE.
pp. ix + 121 with 51 plates. The Calcutta General Printing Co.,
Ltd. 12s. 6d.

No comprehensive account of the Buddhist caves of India has been published since Burgess and Fergusson wrote them up over half a century ago. Major Wauchope, by condensing their bulky and inaccessible volumes into 114 not very closely printed pages, provides the public for the first time with a handy guide to those unique monuments of Indian religious art. Omissions, of course, are inevitable, and the treatment of the major groups, such as Ajanta and Ellora, is cursory, but the author brings out most of the salient features of all the important groups. His survey includes the Udayagiri caves of Orissa, which are Jain, and the "Brahmanical" caves of Elephanta. His introductory chapters and glossary contain some rather crude mistakes (e.g. *torān* = "box," pp. 8 and 38, *garbha* = "dome," p. 111); his views on symbology he might well have left out; there are a

few blunders in the numbering of the caves and in the "captions" of his plates. But such blemishes are redeemed by the cleverness with which he has assembled his illustrations, numbering over one hundred. Of these, the "general views", which show the caves in their proper setting, are especially welcome, for previous writers usually give "close-ups" only. The remainder constitute a neat corpus of types of stūpa, column, capital, doorway, façade, etc., which should prove useful to students, as well as sightseers, who wish to learn the elements of Indian cave architecture.

F. J. R.

MEDIEVAL INDIAN SCULPTURE IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM. By RAMAPRASAD CHANDA; with an introduction by R. L. HOBSON, C.B. pp. xiv + 77, with 24 plates. London, 1936. Price 10s. 6d.

General Charles Stuart, who served in India from 1777 to 1828, made a hobby of Indian images. When his collection came to auction in 1872, Victorian England was not interested, there was no bidding, and the British Museum got it for nothing. But for "Hindoo" Stuart's enthusiasm, our national collection would be almost as poor in Indian sculpture as it is in samples of "Indo-Sumerian" civilization. Lord Curzon was the first to awaken Indians to the merits of Indian art, and it is fitting that, with the zealous co-operation of the museum staff, an Indian Superintendent of the archaeological collection at Calcutta, who knows Indian sculpture from A to Z, should "write up" Stuart's legacy, and the additions which have since accrued.

Mr. Chanda wisely limits his theme to medieval sculpture; Gandhara and Amaravati he leaves alone. But medieval sculpture can only be understood in terms of time and space. On the evidence of style, subject, and material Mr. Chanda classifies the collection, assigning to each piece its period and province, and he sketches the evolution of Indian figure sculpture from its beginnings at Bharhut, Bodh Gaya, and Sanchi.

The bulk of the collection represents the art of the Pala Empire of Bengal, the early and best phase of which is well in evidence. There are some interesting fragments from Mathura, a few very fine examples of the Gupta art of Benares, a number of specimens which link Gupta with Pala, and some rather late and decadent sculptures from Orissa.

In plain, unaffected language Mr. Chanda explains the differences

between the various "schools" of Indian art; notably the half-closed eyes of the northern deities and the wide-awake outlook of those of the south. Students will welcome this concise, well-balanced introduction to a somewhat difficult subject.

F. J. RICHARDS.

POPULAR HINDUISM. THE RELIGION OF THE MASSES. By L. S. S. O'MALLEY, C.I.E. pp. viii + 246. Cambridge University Press, 1935. 7s. 6d.

This is a very readable account of modern Hinduism, its characteristic beliefs and ideals, its worship and ceremonials, the objects of its worship, its caste system, and its sects. Obviously these many and varied subjects cannot be dealt with at all fully in a small book of less than 250 pages. In fact the main criticism that occurs to one is that far too many matters are touched upon for any of them to be really satisfactorily treated. There is also the difficulty caused by the wide variations of belief and practice in different parts of India. A reader who has not been in India, and even some who have, may quite easily fail to realize that a statement made in one paragraph about one part of India would be grotesquely untrue of another part of the country which is dealt with in the next paragraph.

But in spite of this the book gathers together a great deal of information that it would not be easy to find elsewhere in so small a compass, and the general impression left on the mind of the average reader will probably be on the whole a fairly correct one.

It is a great pity that the author did not use a more exact and consistent system of transliterating Indian names. There is no distinction made between Kali and Kālī, and the English reader will naturally think they are identical. If one writes Parameshvar, Ganesh, and Vishnu, one certainly should not write Siva and Salagram and vice versa. On any system of transliteration it is difficult to see how the spelling Gokhul can be defended.

W. SUTTON PAGE.

DHOLĀ-MĀRŪRĀ DŪHĀ. A folk tale in verse from Rajputana. Edited by RĀM SĪH, SŪRAJ KARAN, and NAROTTAM DĀS. 8½ × 5½. pp. 15 + 877. Benares: Nagari Pracharini Sabha, 1934. Rs. 4.

Rajputana is one of the homes of the ballad, and there for centuries it flourished. Its glory may be dim now, but the past was splendid,

and it may flourish once again. In the meantime we must rejoice that there are men in the country who love the literature of their native land and are giving others the pleasure of studying it.

Of the three editors of this poem the first, Rām Sih, is the Director of Education in Bikaner State; the second, Sūraj Karan, is the vice-principal of the Birla College in Jaipur; the third, Narottam Dās, is professor of Hindi and Sanskrit in the Dungar College, Bikaner. The first and second editors have already edited an important Rājputānī work, Prithirāj's masterpiece, *Veli Krisan Rukmañī rī*.

The ballad, which is 1,348 lines long, is very charming. It has all the life and vigour which we are accustomed to associate with such poetry; in fact, it is of outstanding merit even in a country famous for its ballads.

There must be few languages which have so many cerebrals as this dialect of Rājasthānī. Words like *baṛarī*, *Mālavanī*, *halphal*, *chāharī*, *dumñī*, *ḍumñī*, abound on every page; they give good practice in pronunciation to European students. The linguistic value of the poem is indeed very great. Rājputānī is not well known, and we welcome anything that increases our knowledge of it. The most interesting individual words are three "genitive prepositions", *sandāū*, which occurs five times; *handāū*, which occurs twice; and *hundāū*, which occurs once. They remind us of Kashmiri *sund*, *hund*.

At the end is an index of the first lines of all *dohās* and *sorathās* preceded by a glossary of about 3,000 words.

This is a book which I have greatly enjoyed. An article on a subject connected with it is printed in another part of this number of the *Bulletin*.

In conclusion may I express the hope that the editors will continue their fruitful labours.

T. G. B.

TULSĪ DĀS'S RĀMCAṬITMĀNAS (RĀMĀYAṆ). Edited with commentary by RĀM NAREŚ TRIPĀTHĪ. 9½ × 7¼. pp. 14 + 6 + 308 + 11 + 1,291 = 1,630. Allahabad: Hindi Mandir, 1935. Rs. 5.

It is thirteen years since Shyām Sundar Dās published his excellent edition of the Rāmāyaṇ with commentary; in 1934 appeared the huge commentary of Janaksutāśaraṇ Shītalāsahay Sāvant (price Rs. 35), and now we have this one by a well-known poet and writer

who has done much to make Hindi and its literature known to the world.

Ram Naresh Tripāthī is the editor of the Kavitā Kaumudī series. Four volumes in it are devoted to Hindi, including two (reviewed in the last number of the *Journal*) which contain village poetry. He has also produced a book of agricultural songs collected from Rajputana, Bihar, and the United Provinces.

This edition of the Rāmāyaṇ has a long Introduction which gives an account of Tulsī Dās's life and works. It is pointed out that while the Rāmāyaṇ is not a translation from the Sanskrit it is full of echoes of many (about 200) Sanskrit works.

Of the scores of commentaries on Tulsī Dās's Rāmāyaṇ he mentions briefly fourteen; he refers also to the English, Gujrati, Bengali, Bihari, and Uṛiyā translations.

An interesting and useful section is that on Arabic and Persian words in Tulsī's works. All these words are given; thus the Rām-caritmānas has 62, while the Kavitāvalī has 136.

The text is followed is that of the Nagari Pracharini Sabha. The print is good and clear.

T. G. B.

YĀDGĀR I VĀRIṢ. By ZIYĀ MUḤAMMAD. 9½ × 7. pp. 207. Lahore, 1935.

The most popular poem in the Panjab is Vāriṣh Shāh's *Hīr*. There are people who know it by heart. Professional reciters are invited on special occasions to come and recite it, while large numbers of listeners gather to hear the words they love so well.

The districts in which the poem finds greatest favour are those which lie to the north of Lahore, Shekhupura, Gujranwala, Gujrat, Jhang, Lyallpur, and Shahpur, the inhabitants of which speak Northern Panjabi or a type of Lahndi which is not very different.

Other poets have written of the devotion of Hīr and Rānjhā to each other, but Vāriṣh Shāh's poem is the best known and best liked.

Mr. Ziyā Muḥammad has collected all the details he could concerning the life of Vāriṣh, about which little is known. Unfortunately, as he himself informs us, most of the stories about the poet have no foundation. In addition to telling us all that could be discovered about him, he has described his poem, discussing its philosophy, giving a critical estimate of its poetical value and explaining the

reason for its popularity. He has performed a similar service, though not so fully, for the author's other poems.

Before the time of Vāriṣ Panjabi was regarded as incapable of expressing high thoughts; the vocabulary was believed to be very meagre, and when a writer failed to find the word he wanted, he simply took a Persian or Arabic substitute. But Vāriṣ changed these ideas. He displayed the resources of the language, writing in true idiomatic style and introducing many of those proverbial sayings which give such a spice to village talk. Further he showed how a story should be written, and encouraged his fellow poets to follow the path he had opened up. In this way he brought new life into the dejected spirits of his countrymen.

We have good cause to be grateful to Mr. Ziyā Muḥammad for the labour he has bestowed on his subject and for the interesting and useful work which he has produced.

T. G. B.

NĀMĀ-LEKHĀ AUR MUNĪBĪ. By KASTŪR MAL BĀṬHIYĀ. 9½ × 7. pp. 12 + 671. Ajmer: Banthiya and Co., 1935. Rs. 6.

This is an excellent book by a well-known writer on commercial subjects. Nearly twenty years ago he brought out *Hindī Bahīkhātā*, the first volume of the *Saral Hindī Vyāpār kā Granthmālā* series. The third edition appeared in 1927.

Nāmā-lekhā is in part a revised and rewritten edition of *Bahīkhātā*, and partly a totally new work. It is divided into two main sections; the first has sixteen chapters, the second nineteen. The first deals for the most part with the same subjects as the earlier work; only the chapters on *hundies*, cheques, and promissory notes are reserved for the second section.

The second part of the book, two-thirds of the whole, is devoted largely to company law. It discusses the formation and dissolving of partnerships and companies, describes the laws which govern them, and gives the details of their books and management. Much space is given to insurance companies, railway companies, factories, and warehouses, income tax, bankruptcy law, and similar topics.

Mr. Kastūr Mal is to be warmly congratulated on the ability and precision with which he has written: both this book and his earlier one are worthy introductions to an important branch of science. The author not only knows his subject, as one might anticipate from his

being a Director of the Indian Produce Co., London, and Vice-President of the Indian Chamber of Commerce in Great Britain, but has considerable experience in the work of examination, and consequently is acquainted with the needs and difficulties of students.

There is only one suggestion I would make. A glossary of Hindi commercial terms and their English equivalents would be useful to both Indians and Englishmen.

The book may be strongly recommended not only to those for whom it is primarily written, but to those who speak another tongue, and wish to learn Indian business methods and Hindi business phraseology.

T. G. B.

BHĀṢĀ RAHASYA, Part I. By SHYĀM SUNDAR DĀS and PADM NĀRĀYAṆ ĀCĀRYA. 9½ × 6. pp. 10 + 406. Allahabad: Indian Press, 1935. Rs. 4.

In writing this book the authors have had in view the instruction of their fellow countrymen in linguistic science and in the application of that science to the languages of India, with special reference, as is natural, to Aryan languages, above all to Hindi. Much of what is said will be new to most Indian students, though familiar to Europeans, especially to those who speak English, for they have access to it in English works.

After an introductory chapter the writers discuss speech and language, types of languages, language families, and Indian languages. Then comes a long chapter on phonetics which treats of sounds in general, sound changes, the phonetics of Khaṛī Boli (Hindustani with a strongly Hindi tinge), and finally short notes on the pronunciation of Avesta, Sanskrit, Pali, and Prakrit.

The most interesting part of the book is the section of nineteen pages on the phonetics of Hindi or Khaṛī Boli, which is the result of much study. There are details in it with which I cannot agree, but I recognize with admiration the enormous labour which the authors have expended upon it. In connection with this phonetic account of Hindi sounds attention should be drawn to the Sanskrit-English and English-Sanskrit vocabularies of phonetic terms. (There are a few Hindi words scattered through them.) Students will find that reference to the vocabularies will, by showing in what sense the terms have been used, make the description of the sounds much easier to follow.

The authors are heartily to be congratulated on their work; it will open a new world to Hindi-reading Indians, and the pages on Hindi sounds are of value to Hindi-reading Europeans.

T. GRAHAME BAILEY.

THE JASMINE GARLAND (KUNDAMĀLĀ). Translated by A. C. WOOLNER. Panjab University Oriental Publications No. 27. Oxford University Press, Humphrey Milford, 1935. 6s. net.

Mentioned by writers of the eleventh and following centuries, but rediscovered only in recent years and first published in 1923, the *Kundamālā* is a modest addition, of uncertain date and authorship, to the dramatic literature based on the last book of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. Its author's name being given in one MS. as Diñnāga, the Indian editors hailed the play as the work of Kālidāsa's supposed rival (the Diñnāga of *Meghadūta* 14), whom they further identify with the Buddhist philosopher of that name. Dr. Woolner finds no good reason for this identification, and on internal evidence holding the play to be later than the *Uttara-Rāmacarita* dates it "somewhere between the seventh and the eleventh centuries". The translation is similar in execution to that of the Trivandrum plays and its production equally good.

C. A. R.

THE MEGHADŪTA OF KĀLIDĀSA. Translated from the Sanskrit by G. H. ROOKE. Oxford University Press, Humphrey Milford, London, 1935. 8s. 6d. net.

This differs from most verse translations of the famous lyric in appealing to the mind rather than to the ear. The lines, eight to a stanza, are irregular in length and rhythm. Occasional alliteration but no rhyme is used. The diction is generally poetical; where it is not, the effect to the ear is prose. On the other hand, freedom from metrical restrictions allows the words to be chosen and placed as the sense requires, significantly, without padding; and the whole has a vigour, ruggedness almost, hitherto unsuspected in Kālidāsa indeed, but full of character and stimulating to the reader's interest. Opposite to each page of the translation is the text, beautifully transliterated into italics, with amusing extracts from Mallinātha's

commentary. The book also has a map of the Cloud's journey, an introductory poem by Rabindranath Tagore, and coloured capitals at the opening of each part, all excellently printed and produced.

C. A. R.

A SANSKRIT PRIMER. By E. D. PERRY. New and revised edition. Columbia University Press, 1936. 16s. 6d.

The new edition has a new title-page, a new preface, and a new price. Most of the misprints and errors noted in the *Corrigenda* of earlier editions have been corrected, as well as a few not so noted. Some still remain, e.g. :—

Page 56, sentence 14: besought ... were *should be* beseech ... are.

Page 99, footnote: Add or n after dental mute.

Page 188, § 487: Add practically before limited.

Page 193, heading: LXV *should be* XLV.

Page 212, under √vraj: insert pra after +.

Page 213, under √cās: cāste *should be* cāsti.

In other respects the book is unchanged: for practical purposes it is simply a reprint.

C. A. RYLANDS.

CODICES AVESTICI ET PAHLAVICI BIBLIOTHECAE UNIVERSITATIS HAFNIENSIS. Vol. V. The Pahlavi Codex K 43. First Part. Second Part. With an introduction by ARTHUR CHRISTENSEN. Levin and Munksgaard, 1936.

Both these volumes, containing the two distinct MSS. bound up together and numbered K 43, maintain the high standard of excellence of the first four volumes. The texts are as easily legible as the original, as personal use of the MS. enable me to judge. We have in these volumes, easily accessible to all, important Pahlavi texts. The fragment of the Greater Bundahišn and the incomplete Book of the Mēnōk ī Khrat have long been known in Andreas's valuable edition. It is however very useful to have three complete chapters of the Dēnkart, chapters 5, 6, and 9, with parts of chapter 3. Our access to this text has previously been through two printed editions which cannot serve as complete substitutes for the MSS. K 43 contains also the Vahman

Yašt, a Pāzand fragment of the Jāmāsp-nāmak, the Paragra ceremony, and part of the Srōš Yašt.

All readers of Pahlavi texts have reason to be grateful to Mr. Munksgaard for his publication of these valuable volumes.

H. W. B.

ARCHÆOLOGICAL HISTORY OF IRAN. By ERNST E. HERZFELD. The Schweich Lectures of the British Academy, 1934. pp. xi + 112. London, 1935. 7s. 6d.

These papers represent the three Schweich lectures which we were privileged to hear in 1934, increased by the additional material which the time allotted to a lecture did not permit of being included. In the three studies—of pre-Achæmenid and Achæmenid, of Hellenistic, and of Sasanian Iran—the author has endeavoured to piece together, in default of definite written documentary evidence, all the scattered data which his many years of familiarity with this field of studies have brought to his notice. How incomplete this evidence may be is illustrated by the occasional remark that such and such a point is disputed or doubted. But it was obviously impossible to deal in a lecture with the doubts of others. Instead we have a brilliant synthesis of the most various evidence from buildings, legends, coins, inscriptions, and geography. Our old Persian vocabulary is enriched by the word *spāθmāida*, Bab. *madaktum* "military camp", which the author has used to explain the Avestan *hamaspaθmaēdaya*. The publication of the full text will be eagerly awaited. One is impressed by the great use made of architecture as a clue to changing and developing ideas, and here the excellent plates and frequent illustrations in the text prove most helpful. That in some places the linguistic arguments suggest doubts is of less moment, but one may regret to learn that the Khwarnā (p. 63) is interpreted as lightning or thunderbolt. The whole fascinating story of Gundofarr and the castle on the Kūh i Khwāja is once again related in the second lecture. We know the name *arostom* in P'austos Biwzandaçi (fifth century), ed. Venice, 1914, p. 333, and in the anonymous Syriac chronicle quoted by Hübschmann, *Armen. Gram.*, 71. These are our earliest references to the name. They show for the fifth century the disyllabic form **rōstam*. We need not, however, doubt that the form *rusthm* in Zoroastrian Pahlavi books is old, in use earlier, at least as an epithet. Written evidence seems still to fail which would bring

the name Rustam into immediate connection with Gundofarr. It allows one to suppose that the legend may have been older and independent of him.

These lectures sufficiently indicate how much important evidence has yet to be made generally accessible.

H. W. B.

HISTORY OF EARLY IRAN. By GEORGE G. CAMERON. pp. xvi + 260.
The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, Illinois. 1936. 13s. 6d.

The author has recognized and happily sought to fill the gap which Iranian scholars have always noted: it had not been easy to find a connected account of events in the land, which later adopted the name Iran, before the Iranian intrusion into historical documents. The ideal history of early Elam and its relations with the neighbouring great powers would doubtless furnish all the relevant historical documents. The present book is therefore a sketch within limited space happily supplemented by useful bibliographical notes. After a brief introductory chapter on the land of Elam and its people, the history of Elam is traced from the earliest allusions in Babylonian documents to the downfall of the Median Empire and the rise of Cyrus 553 B.C. The history is concerned mainly with the political events. We have, therefore, a valuable chronological framework. The wealth of royal names, names of pretenders to royalty and of officials, civil and military, make it a most useful book.

H. W. B.

LES INFINITIFS AVESTIQUES. Par E. BENVENISTE. pp. 117. Paris, Adrien-Maisonneuve. 1935.

In 1904 the *Altiranisches Wörterbuch* of Bartholomae summed up the results of a vigorous activity in Iranian studies. But researches have been since then energetically pursued in many quarters, in Middle Iranian with abundance of new material, but largely also in Old Iranian. Apart from new views, occasionally an opinion rejected by Bartholomae has been restored to honour, as here p. 49 *piθe* compared with Skt. *pītha-*. It may be noted that Pahl. 𐭯𐭥 in such phrases as *garān pīm ī hač marg* "grievous anguish arising from death" (*Pahl. Texts*, ed. Jamasp-Asana, p. 135, §20), if read *pīm*

is probably a derivative of the same verb *pīyati* "be hostile". In the present volume, M. Benveniste has examined in detail the many words at present classed as infinitives. By a stricter definition, indicated on p. 61, it is shown that many of these cannot rightly be defined as infinitives. The authentic infinitives are then severally treated of. In the course of the discussion many valuable interpretations are offered of difficult passages of the Avesta. A particular treatment is reserved for the infinitive *-dhyai*. It is noted that this form is associated with medio-passive verbs. It is therefore concluded that *-dhyai* is itself medio-passive. We seem, however, here to be on debatable ground. "For the hearing" could mean "that someone hear" or "that it be heard" according as the subject is interpreted. A chapter is devoted to the Middle and New Iranian infinitives. The derivation of *-išn* from *-aθna-* is valuable. The suggested derivation of Paštō *-əl* from **-atai* is rendered somewhat difficult by the fact that *-əl* follows the verbal form which already contains the Old Iranian *-ta-* participle: *kṛəl* = *kṛ-* < *kṛta-* and *əl*. A suffix such as *-aθa* might be more serviceable. We have in Middle Persian *āmađišn* with *-išn* < *-aθna-* added to the *-ta-* participle.

H. W. B.

MATERIALIEN ZU DEN IRANISCHEN PAMIRSPRACHEN. VON HANNES SKÖLD. WÖRTERVERZEICHNISSE VON H. SMITH. Acta Reg. Societatis Humaniorum Litterarum Lundensis XXI. pp. viii, 319. Lund, London (Humphrey Milford), 1936. 25s.

Dr. Hannes Sköld was able with the support of the Letterstedt Fund to visit the Pamirs in 1928 where he toiled at the study of the dialects of Šughnī, Rōšānī, Orošōrī, Bājūī, Iškāšmī, Wakhī, Bartangī, Yazghulāmī, and Šahdara. Sköld died prematurely before finishing his edition of this material. G. Morgenstierne, C. Fontaine, H. Smith, and G. Jarring have collaborated to carry out the work. Sköld's Wakhī and Iškāšmī material will appear elsewhere. In this present volume we have a most careful edition of the texts in Šughnī, Rōšānī, and Bājūī with translation. To this is added a comparative list of words from the dialects studied by Sköld, indexes and a Šughnī, Rōšānī, and Bājūī glossary in which N. Persian equivalents of the loan words are given but not the etymological equivalents of the genuine dialect words. The vowel sounds are here distinguished with

great accuracy. In the introduction p. 19 it is even attempted to distinguish central Šughnī, Bājūī, Rōšānī, Bartangī, and Orošōri on the basis of the pronunciation of the vowel in Old Iran. -ān. The material is a most valuable contribution to Pamir studies. In the folklore it is interesting to have the *žindīrv* or *žendīrv* in which the Av. *gandarəva* survives.

H. W. B.

SAMDHINIRMOCANA SUTRA. L'explication des mystères. Texte Tibétain édité et traduit par ÉTIENNE LAMOTTE. Université de Louvain, Recueil de Travaux publiés par les membres des Conférences d'Histoire et de Philologie 2^e Série, 34^e fascicule. 1935. Fr. 75.

The present work is a valuable edition (in transcription) of the Tibetan text of an early Mahāyāna sūtra of which the original Sanskrit has perished. With this the Chinese versions have been compared and the variants quoted. A most useful feature of the work is the presentation of the Sanskrit equivalents of Tibetan phrases, in particular those with technical meaning. The Sanskritist may thus easily see what precise Sanskrit word corresponded to the Tibetan or to its French translation.

The earliest extant translation of part of the text into Chinese was by Guṇabhadra between A.D. 435 and 443. But, as the text was a source for Asaṅga whose works are known in Chinese in 413-421, a date second to third centuries A.D. is reasonably proposed (p. 24-5).

In his preface M. Lamotte has discussed the texts and commentaries, the title, the importance of the text by reason of its early date and position between the Prajñāpāramitā texts and those of the Vijñānavāda, and has given a detailed analysis of the contents. The author has p. 7 himself rightly recognized how little satisfactory literal renderings of Buddhish technical terms are.

H. W. BAILEY.

AKHBĀR AR-RĀDĪ WAL-MUTTAḲĪ FROM THE KITĀB AL-AWRĀK. By ABŪ BAKR MUḤAMMAD B. YAḤYĀ AṢ-ṢŪLĪ. Arabic text, edited by J. HEYWORTH DUNNE. Subsidized by the E. J. W. Gibb Memorial Trust. 10 × 7. 308 + 13 pp. London: Luzac, 1935. 12s. 6d.

In publishing the section of the Aurāq of Eṣ ṢŪlĪ concerning contemporary poets (reviewed in the *Bulletin* for 1934, p. 686)

Mr. Heyworth Dunne announced his intention of bringing out the other surviving parts of this important book, and he is making remarkably good progress. The present part relates to the khalifate in the last stage of its decline.

Er Râdî reigned from 322 (934) to 329 (940), when he was succeeded by El Muttaqî, who was deposed in 333 (944). At his accession Er Râdî found the dominions of the khalifate much diminished and its affairs generally in a deplorable condition. Under El Muttaqî little territory was left beyond the area in the immediate neighbourhood of Baghdâd and the khalif himself was obliged to wander away from his capital for some time as a fugitive. After the appointment of Ibn Râ'iq as amîr el umarâ' in 324, the khalifs became ciphers in the hands of their ministers and before long military leaders and other ambitious subjects contended for the guardianship of their sovereigns. Civil warfare thus became almost incessant. Ibn Râ'iq, Bajkam, the Barîdis of Baṣra, and the Hamdânids of Maṣîl were the most prominent figures in these disputes. The aim was always the possession of Baghdâd and the disputants in turn succeeded in taking the town and holding it for one or more periods.

Eṣ Ṣûlî's account of the two reigns takes the form of a journal in which events of varying importance are set down in the order in which they occurred. It is more detailed and less dry than the ordinary chronicle to which readers of Arabic history are accustomed. The author is writing from first hand knowledge and includes personal experiences and remarks and opinions of his own. He had exceptional opportunities of observation for his subject. Eṣ Ṣûlî had been attached to the court of the khalifs for years, so that he must have been acquainted personally with every one of any consequence in Baghdâd; he had been tutor to Er Râdî and when Er Râdî became khalif he appointed him to the small circle of his regular companions, some of whom were always at hand for his service. El Muttaqî refused to have any companions of the same description, but Eṣ Ṣûlî continued to take a close interest in public affairs after he had lost his official employment. He was in Baghdâd throughout the time, except for short absences, and he limits himself almost entirely to events in the place. When he is obliged to mention something that happened at a distance, he does so in a summary way, sometimes giving the date at which the news reached Baghdâd rather than that of the incident.

Examples of matters that Eṣ Ṣûlî records regularly are the proceedings of the khalifs, the appointment of ministers and important

functionaries, the arrest and punishment of individuals and the reasons, the decease of persons of eminence with obituary notices. Among the miscellaneous items mentioned as they occur, one finds such things as the movement of troops, attacks on Baghdâd, local disturbances, robberies and remarkable crimes, the price of necessities in times of scarcity. Eş Şûlî gives his opinion of several prominent personages and reports talks that he had with some of them. The one to whom he gives most attention is Er Râdî and here he gives the substance of his conversations fully, not being able as he says, to give the exact words. Er Râdî was an accomplished versifier and Eş Şûlî collects the whole of his poems in the book, consisting of a considerable number of short pieces totalling some hundreds of lines. Eş Şûlî also inserts many poems of his own composition, made for particular occasions, for which he was often called on for a poem.

The ruin of the khalifate was the result of internal disorder rather than external attack. In Eş Şûlî's narrative the gradual process can be followed till near the final breakdown. The loss of revenue in consequence of the loss of provinces must have caused serious difficulties to the government, but at first one sees no signs of such a shortage of money as might have been expected. For instance, the historian Jahshiyârî is called upon to pay no less than 200,000 dinârs as a fine, and Ibn Râ'iq can give 14,000 dinârs for a slave girl. A caravan from Baghdad to Khurâsan carries treasure to the value of 3,000,000 dinârs and merchandise of equal value. The anarchical conditions and the grievous damage suffered by the merchants as a result are illustrated by the caravan referred to being plundered by Kurds and none of the stolen property being recovered or the robbers being punished. Another caravan had been cut off similarly by Carmathians a little while before. Wilful damage to the irrigation canals by belligerents in the civil warfare was a cause of general impoverishment. Another was increasing lawlessness at Baghdâd where open robbery began to prevail. In the end such of the inhabitants as were able to leave the town began to depart. Eş Şûlî tells us how he himself was plundered by soldiers and made poor for ever afterwards. A striking incident that he describes is an incredibly barbarous massacre of troops who had surrendered. Er Râdî was by no means devoid of ability but he was quite unable to cope with the situation in which he found himself. Among the others no very commanding figure appears.

Eş Şûlî has been disparaged as a historian, because in some of his books he has been guilty of copying without acknowledgment.

Here there is no question of plagiarism; he is a first rate original authority, fully justifying El Mas'ûdi's commendation of his special merits. It is strange that such a book has had to wait so long for publication. One is glad now to have it before one complete.

Mr. Heyworth Dunne's edition is produced from a unique manuscript of the thirteenth century, in a difficult hand as appears from a reproduction given, but tolerably correct, it seems, for the notes do not show many emendations. The editor will have had to supply nearly all the pointing, no doubt, and he has vocalized the poetry completely throughout the book. The difficulties of his task can be imagined. He is to be congratulated on the excellent edition he has turned out.

In a certain number of passages of the prose the meaning is not easy to make out and readers would have been grateful for a little help in the way of punctuation or vowels or for a note where the reading as printed does not make sense. Some copyist and not the author is no doubt responsible for El Ikhshid's being called Aḥmad, a mistake that occurs twice, though once he is given his right name Muḥammad. Ibn Ḥinzāba and El Faḍl are identical, but the index treats them as distinct persons. The printing is generally good and only in a few places does it fail to reach the standard that such a book deserves.

RHUVON GUEST.

ABOU Ṭ-ṬAYYIB AL-MOTANNABĪ. By R. BLACHÈRE. 8vo, pp. xix + 366. Paris: Adrien-Maisonneuve. 1935. Fr. 45.

The output of articles and monographs on al-Mutannabī has been so extensive in recent years that Professor Blachère's book is doubly welcome. For not only does he give a detailed original survey of the poet's *diwān* in its historical setting and literary aspects, but also a critical summing-up of all these works, Egyptian and Syrian as well as European. So ample a study deserves a fuller notice, but we must be content with a brief remark. Admirable as are his analyses both of single poems and of the characteristics of successive periods, one cannot help feeling that Professor Blachère, especially in his criticism of such pieces as elegies (pp. 106, 212) and his distrust of the merely ornamental, sometimes leans towards a "European" point of view. To determine at what point, in the work of one whom he rightly calls a "magicien du verbe", mannerism becomes affectation

is for us an all but impossible task. But in so far as his conclusions are directed against the misguided appreciations of some recent Arabic writers, they are justified; and for the rest, this study, despite a few bold or even questionable translations, may fitly rank as a model exercise in literary criticism.

H. A. R. G.

IL CALIFFATO DI HISHÂM. By FRANCESCO GABRIELI. 4°, pp. 143.
(Mémoires de la Société Royale d'Archéologie d'Alexandrie,
Tome VII, 2.) Alexandria, 1935.

Considering that Hishâm was the last Caliph to rule over an undivided Islamic world, it may appear surprising that a reign so obviously momentous in the history of Islam should have had to wait till now for monographic treatment. Hitherto Wellhausen's *Arabische Reich* has offered the only critical survey of the material, but it is noteworthy that Professor Gabrieli confirms his conclusions on the whole, while revising them in detail. The main feature of this fresh study is a detailed scrutiny of the government and campaigns in the outer provinces, which leads up to and supports the argument that the reign of Hishâm was essentially a defensive struggle against the internal and external forces that menaced the unwieldy body of the Arab empire, and that to his government was due "the miracle of maintaining its frontiers intact over a period of twenty years".

On the other hand, the deficiencies of our sources are reflected in the comparatively brief space which is allotted to the internal administration of the Caliphate. Professor Gabrieli is doubtless justified in limiting himself to a survey of the direct evidence, and in dismissing inferential conclusions as "suggestive e probabile, ma non documentabile con più precise prove". But the question of Hishâm's services in reforming the financial administration in the provinces must be investigated sooner or later; in the meantime, the assumption that such reforms as are hinted at in the sources were merely local actions initiated by the governors may possibly do less than justice to the Caliph.

In its discussion of provincial activities, Professor Gabrieli's work is a masterpiece of thoroughness, and the present reviewer in particular acknowledges his correction of several matters relating to the history of the Arabs in Transoxania. While the remainder of this notice is devoted to discussion of some controversial points, these in no way

affect this judgment on the execution of the work as a whole. The argument that Samarqand was recovered by the Arabs in 118/736 is not convincing. That under Asad "si restaurava pienamente l'autorità araba in . . . Transoxiana" (p. 56) is a statement without support of any sort; the only expeditions he led or sent out, so far as the sources go, were the one in which he attempted to cut off the water supply of Samarqand, and two into Khuttal. In December, 737, the Türgesh army was accompanied by the king of Sughd, along with the rulers of Ustrūshana and Shāsh (Tab. 1609, 13). Still more decisive is the wording of the narrative of Naṣr b. Sayyār's second and third expeditions in 740 or 741: *thumma ghazā 'l-thāniyata ilā wagharsara wa-samarqanda thumma qafala thumma ghazā 'l-thālithata ila 'l-shāsh* (Tab. 1689, 7-8). Can *ghazā ilā* in such a context imply anything but an expedition into hostile territory? In regard to the supposed execution of Kūrṣūl on the Shāsh expedition, it is surely evident that the second narrative (from an Azdite source) in Tab. 1691, foot-1692 is a parallel or variant to the first (1689-1691, anonymously from al-Madā'inī), and this contains no indication that the Türgesh were concerned in the matter at all—which is, for the rest, unlikely in view of the internal troubles of the Türgesh after the assassination of Su-Lu. Besides, too many good reasons have been put forward for the identification of Kūrṣūl with Baga Tarkhān for them to be simply set aside by accepting at their face value the typically "romantic" features of the first narrative. On p. 46 and n. 1, Khusraw was certainly either son or grandson of Pērōz, since the Chinese documents (Chavannes 172, 257-8; cf. *Arab Conquests*, p. 16) make it quite clear that Pērōz was the son of Yazdigird and that he was long since dead. In the passage quoted in n. 2 on the same page, Farghāna may perhaps be an oral corruption of Farāwa or Faghāndiz, both villages in the vicinity of Bukhārā. Finally, it still appears to the reviewer not impossible that the traditional account of the measures of al-Ashras may reflect an attempt to introduce the separate *kharāj* and *jizya* system (not a "direct intervention" of Hishām, as Professor Gabrieli has misunderstood it, p. 44, n. 4). The text quoted in n. 1 on p. 42 shows that in 728 these terms were still undifferentiated in Khurāsān, and the subsequent troubles may well have arisen from a misunderstanding due to this confusion of meaning.

H. A. R. G.

G. BERGSTRÄSSER'S GRUNDZÜGE DES ISLAMISCHEN RECHTS. Bearbeitet von JOSEPH SCHACHT. 8vo, pp. viii + 145. Berlin and Leipzig: de Gruyter. 1935. RM. 12.

This compact work has a double object. One is directed to the student of comparative jurisprudence, who is given an analysis in juristic terms of a standard work of matured Ḥanafī Law (the *Multaqā 'l-Abḥur* of Ibrāhīm al-Ḥalabī, d. 1549). The other is addressed rather to the student of Islamic culture, and sets out the principles which underlie the formulation of Islamic Law and their place in the general field of Islamic thought. The title reflects this duality; to the former it is only the last four words that matter, while its main appeal to the Orientalist is contained in the first three. The width of Bergsträsser's scholarship, his depth of learning and scientific honesty lend special authority to his views, and we owe a debt of gratitude to Professor Schacht and Professor Pretzl for rescuing these lectures and notes from his MS. materials.

The introductory chapters contain—apart from the initial generalization—little that is not generally accepted. Then follows a valuable analysis of the basic concepts applied to legal transactions; intention, statement, stipulation, suspension, representation, and especially validity and nullity. The rulings themselves are grouped with remarkable concision in eight chapters, and the book ends with a short chapter on the limitations to the application of the Shari'a and an original discussion of its peculiar nature and structure.

While the general substance and practical value of the book are above criticism, it poses, for the Orientalist, two main questions. Is Islamic Law, as the opening sentence asserts, "the epitome of the true Islamic spirit, the most decisive expression of Islamic thought, the essential kernel of Islām?" Secondly, is it possible to restate the contents of the Shari'a in current juristic terms without some degree of deformation? The author himself seems to answer the first question in the negative: "das Recht existiert nur als Bestandteil der ganz anders orientierten religiösen Pflichtenlehre" (p. 123), and with it he indicates also the answer to the second, about which, to do him justice, he expresses some uneasiness. Only by a forcible abstraction of Law from its ethical foundations (and this implies also its social environment) can it be so treated. As Professor Schacht has himself indicated elsewhere (in *OLZ.*, October, 1935), the scholastic formulation of the Shari'a attracted Bergsträsser more than the problems of its application and meaning in the Islamic community;

and it is only this concentration upon the outer forms rather than on the spirit which can account for the astounding statement on p. 115 that the object of the qāḍī in the hearing of a case "is not to find the truth . . . but only to observe given rules". Such an assertion makes one wonder whether Bergsträsser ever asked himself the most fundamental question of all: what is the meaning of "justice" to the Muslim? And it is noteworthy that the word *inṣāf*, which most characteristically sums it up, is never mentioned in this book.

H. A. R. G.

REVUE DES ÉTUDES ISLAMIQUES. Tome IX (Année 1935). 4 cahiers, pp. 431. Paris: Geuthner. Subscription price 100 francs.

Of the fifteen articles in this volume, the longest and most important is a systematic survey of the details relating to religious, social, and administrative affairs in Tunisia in the early Islamic centuries to be gleaned from a fourth-century biographical work, *Riyāḍ an-Nufūs* (105-177, 273-305). The author, H. R. Idris, shows what a rich harvest awaits the student who has the patience to winnow a section of these often uninviting materials, and sets an excellent example of how to do it. A curious appendix to his survey is furnished by T. Lewicki, on the survival of ram-worship in Tunisia down to the third century A.H. (195-200). Another historical article, by A. N. Poliak, though interesting and original, is less convincing (231-248). In seeking to demonstrate the "colonial character" of the Mamlūk state in relation to the Golden Horde, the argument for the "vassal" status of the former is pushed too far, especially when the main features of its organization are ascribed to Mongol influence. Incidentally, "créoles" seems a little crude as a rendering of *awlād an-nās*. The series of *Abstracta Islamica* is continued by two hands: P. Kraus deals critically with philosophical studies (A 217-238), but H. Charles gives little more than a list of works published in other fields (A 239-293).

The other articles deal with present-day problems. J. Beyries contributes two valuable studies of the religious schools and the new Ghudf fraternity in Mauritania (39-73); P. Marty, under the unpromising title of "L'année liturgique musulmane à Tunis" (1-38) gives a mass of interesting notes on the festivals and amusements of the population; and J. Schombart de Lauwe briefly surveys the native trades unions in Algeria and Tunisia (187-194), all languishing

at present but "capable of being rapidly transformed into dangerous political associations". The laicization of justice and Muslim reactions to it in Albania are briefly sketched by G.-H. Bousquet (399-410), and Professor Massé contributes a note on the unveiling of Persian women, mainly in Teheran (411-18). Aziz Bey Hanki cites recent judgments in Egypt determining the right of non-Muslims of foreign residence to inherit from resident relatives (179-186). Analyses are given of two recent publications which caused some controversy at the time of their issue: the decree condemning the monograph of 'Alī 'Abd ar-Rāziq, translated in the two previous volumes, and the feminist work of the Tunisian Ṭāhir al-Ḥaddād (75-86, 201-230). The vexed question of Latin alphabets is raised by P. Rondot in discussing the alphabet adopted by the Kurds in Russian territory (87-96), and by a scheme for the transliteration of the Arabic alphabet by Nafiz Danishman (97-103), which is perhaps too complicated but has some advantages over any hitherto suggested.

Finally, Professor Zeki Validi surveys the work of a number of Oriental scholars who received a European training, and makes a plea, to which most Orientalists would gladly assent, for closer collaboration between Oriental and European students of the East (249-271). But whether scholars in the Arabic countries would wholly agree with his presuppositions is doubtful; and it is perhaps significant that he misquotes Dr. Ṭāhā Ḥusain when he represents him as saying that the student must choose between the old Oriental and modern European methods; what the latter actually says is: "Both methods are indispensable if we wish to make a thorough study of Arabic literature."

H. A. R. GIBB.

BEITRÄGE ZUR ISLAMISCHEN ATOMENLEHRE. By Dr. SALOMON PINES.
pp. 147. Berlin, 1936. RM. 4.

The Muslim theory that there is no order of nature, that God creates the effect with the cause, is well known. In this book Dr. Pines studies the beginnings of this theory in the theologians of the second and third centuries of Islam. His work is an advance on that of the late Max Horten, if this can be said without ingratitude to the dead. He does not assume that the theologians knew the most recondite problems of Greek philosophy. Perhaps he is still too intellectual. The doctrine of Abu 'l-Hudhail that there is nothing doing in heaven, is an attempt

to describe a place of rest and peace, he might have used the words of Theodore Abū Qurra "when the resurrection takes place and all things become unchangeable": it is not an application of the principle that what has a beginning must also have an end. The author calls attention to the influence of the Koran on terminology and to the variety of thought during the formative period, a time of intense religious activity. One complaint. Why Mu'ammār? The *Kuāb al-Ansāb* has Ma'mar.

At that time everything in the world was either substance or accident. By A.H. 200 the atomic structure of substance was accepted by most as also the impermanence of some accidents. A little later it is clear that time was conceived as a succession of units. Probably before 200 al-Najjār taught that capacity, which is not the same as power, existed only for a moment. It is odd that the later theologians do not draw nearer to orthodoxy on this question as they do in others. The author does not notice two subjects of discussion, whether an accident can be renewed and whether one unit of power can do two units of work. The second part of the book deals with Muḥammad b. Zakariyya al-Rāzi, the arch-heretic. Time and space have now become subjects of discussion. In his doctrines, in opposition to the ruling Aristotelianism, appear ideas which were believed to be Platonic. The third part deals with Indian philosophy and it is made probable that the Muslim atomic theory came from India. Dr. Pines has written a thorough and sane book; if his conclusions are uncertain, that is not his fault but the fault of his material. We hope that he will continue to publish the results of his studies.

A. S. T.

DIE PROPHETIE: O ISTOCIE PROROCTWA. By A. HESCHEL. pp. 194. Krakow, 1936.

This book is published by the Oriental Section of the Polish Academy and is written in German with a summary in Polish.

What is a prophet? This is the question which the author sets out to answer by studying the pre-exilic prophets, omitting all that is not directly connected with the fundamental theme. His answer is that a man becomes a prophet when he has to announce that God is not indifferent to what men do but feels keenly their treatment of Him. Amos proclaimed the sorrowful disgust of God at the wickedness

of men. Hosea taught that this disgust is caused by God's love for His people, a love which has not lost hope. Isaiah is more concerned with the manifestations of God's feelings and lays stress on His disappointment with men's obstinacy in evil doing. Jeremiah lays stress on the outraged love of God which makes Him resolve to punish sin; His anger is not His real nature but the reply to sin. The secret of religion, then, is the suffering of God. In the second part of the book this theme is followed through theologians and philosophers; curiously enough, the author does not refer to the New Testament where it supports him, where it is the direct heir of the Old Testament prophets, though he does refer to it and to Christian theologians when he does not agree with them. Unfortunately, the book is written in the worst German style, pretentious and in places incomprehensible. When the author argues from first principles that prophecy is not ecstatic, his method is scholastic not scientific.

A. S. T.

TRAITÉS RELIGIEUX, PHILOSOPHIQUES ET MORAUX, EXTRAITS DES
ŒUVRES D'ISAAC DE NINIVE. Edited by R. P. PAUL SBATH.
pp. 128. Cairo: Al-Sharḥ, 1934.

Isaac made a selection of golden thoughts from the works of Chrysostom; years later he himself suffered the same fate. However good it may be, morality in tabloid form is cloying. The sayings of Isaac were translated into Arabic and the editor has corrected the language to bring it into line with the grammars but as he gives the original in the notes, we can still see how a Christian wrote Arabic in the ninth century. There are a few mistakes; thus the catholicus Yuḥanna was the son of Narsi not of Barsi. The pamphlet is interesting for certain resemblances to Muslim thought. That the acts of men do not arouse either anger or pleasure in God is close to the Muslim belief that men can neither help nor hurt Him. That intention makes a good act is sound Muslim doctrine. The discussion on man's share of worldly goods (*riḥ*) is like that on the possibility of things tabu being part of God's provision for man. One would like to know who were the Christians who taught that God's will was not eternal, a good Mu'tazili doctrine. The book has interests beside those of devotion.

A. S. TRITTON.

AN EARLY MYSTIC OF BAGHDAD. A study of the life and teaching of Hārith b. Asad al-Muḥāsibī. By MARGARET SMITH. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, pp. xi + 311. London: The Sheldon Press, 1935. 15s.

It is astonishing that no monograph has hitherto been written on Muḥāsibī: still more astonishing that none of his very considerable bulk of writings should have been edited, with the exception of Dr. Ritter's text of the *Bad' man anāba* (for of the editions of two tracts mentioned by Miss Smith on p. 57 of the present book I find no trace elsewhere). Of the importance of Muḥāsibī and his profound influence on the systematic development of Ṣūfī doctrine there can be no doubt: yet Massignon was the first to call serious attention to the fact, and Miss Smith is the first to investigate the matter in detail.

Miss Smith's book is full of materials otherwise unpublished, and perhaps its chief drawback is that it attempts to deal with too many things at once. One could have wished, for example, for a separate detailed analysis of the *Ri'āyah*: even more desirable would have been an edition of that work preceding the present study, that one might have had materials for reference. Miss Smith says, however, that such an edition is under way, and one hopes that it will see the light before long. It is abundantly clear that the *Ri'āyah* is the most important single work of Ṣūfī authorship before Ghazālī's *Iḥyā'*. To Miss Smith belongs the credit of having proved beyond all doubt the direct and often verbal indebtedness of Ghazālī to Muḥāsibī. This is the most valuable fact which emerges from the present book, and her article on the same subject in the *JRAS.* for January, 1936.

To criticize a work so discursive and based to such a great extent on manuscript materials is impossible within the scope of a review. It may, however, be permitted to remark on a few transparent defects. Ghazālī's "Deliverer from Error" always appears as *Munkidh* (instead of *Munqidh*), a slip to which Miss Smith appears to be wedded, for it reappears in her article referred to above. Jīlānī is credited (p. 257) with a *Ghurriyat* (i.e. *Ghunyah*), and the index repeats the ascription! Greater care is absolutely indispensable in scientific works. I have been able to collate the translation (pp. 18-20) of the exordium of the *Naṣā'ih*, and have detected in it no fewer than six instances of faulty rendering.

Such defects as these should not, however, be allowed to obscure the fact that here Miss Smith has written a book which is of its kind one of the most interesting and valuable contributions to the study of Ṣūfism in our language.

A. J. ARBERRY.

THE DOCTRINE OF THE SŪFĪS. Translated from the Arabic of Abū Bakr al-Kalābādhī. By A. J. ARBERRY. pp. xviii + 173. Cambridge University Press, 1935. 10s. 6d.

This is a translation of the *Kitāb al-Ta'arruf li madhhab ahl al-taṣawwuf*, of which the translator published an edition last year. The writer, Kalābādhī, died towards the end of the tenth century A.D., and the work is known to students of Ṣūfism as one of the oldest treatises on the subject. Although it is not so full and valuable an exposition of Ṣūfism as the *Qūt al-Qulūb* of Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī, Kalābādhī's contemporary, or so clear and systematic as the *Risāla* of al-Qushayrī,¹ and the *Kashf ul-Mahjūb* of the Persian Hujwiri, it is of considerable interest because of its early date and the sayings and anecdotes of the Ṣūfīs which it has preserved to us.

After a number of disconnected chapters dealing with the views held by Ṣūfīs on a variety of subjects—including gnosis (معرفة) as distinguished from knowledge (علم), of which a Ṣūfī said, "God has made knowledge free to all believers, but gnosis He has reserved for His saints"—Kalābādhī proceeds to a more systematic consideration of the Ṣūfī way of life and its goal. He deals very briefly with such stations as repentance, asceticism or renunciation (a better translation for زهد than "abstinence" which the Ṣūfīs commonly express by ورع), patience, poverty, humility, piety (تقوى), sincerity, or "single-mindedness"—which comes nearer to the full significance of اخلاص, gratitude, trust, satisfaction, and certainty (يقين), which is the attainment of knowledge of spiritual things, and the setting aside of the veils that hide it from the seeker.

In his account of Concentration (الجمع), Kalābādhī uses the very words and phrases of al-Muḥāsibī, who, a century and a half before, had taught the need for the unification of all the powers in concentration upon the One, so that the seeker's concern might be simplified and unified and become one single concern (عما واحداً).

Kalābādhī writes at greater length upon فنا, the death to self, and بقاء the life in God (for which "persistence" seems a very inadequate term). Of the mystic who has entered into the life lived in, and through God, the author says that "what he does, he does unto

¹ Dr. Wilson Hume, of Lahore, is now working on a translation of this treatise.

God, not seeking any joy for himself, either in this world or the next—he has passed away from his own attributes and subsists in those of God". The sign that the mystic has died unto self, is that he has ceased to desire this world or the next, his desire is unto God alone, and so he attains to the vision of God Alone in His Unicity. Now he has become altogether receptive, open to the Divine gifts, and, as Junayd taught, he becomes that which God meant him to be, and he returns to the state in which he was at the first, before he came into bodily existence (pp. 123, 124). This is a state which the great Ṣūfis held to be permanent, and henceforth the mystic lives the unitive life in God.

We should judge that Kalābādhī was not himself a mystic, and for this reason his exposition of mystical doctrine, in its cautious orthodoxy and its brevity, falls short of the account of writers who were themselves mystics; who had, therefore, a fuller comprehension of the subject and could supplement the teaching of others by what was derived from their own experience.

The translator has aimed, admittedly, at a literal translation of the text, and this, no doubt, accounts for some sacrifice of literary form, but there are signs of over-hasty production or lack of revision in the inclusion of such sentences as "He commands us to be obedient much" (p. 91), "They faint of hunger" (p. 6), "He has never ceased thus" (p. 16), and the translation includes phrases which are unnecessarily clumsy and obscure. "Disassociation from the soul" (p. 90) would be better rendered as "relinquishment of the self" (i.e. self-surrender), since *نفس* is nearly always used by the Ṣūfis in the sense of the self, the lower nature. By no effort could a man "disassociate" himself from his soul. The examples of Ṣūfi poems included by Kalābādhī have been translated into English verse and certain of these are very attractive.

The book has been well produced by the Cambridge Press and has an adequate index.

MARGARET SMITH.

THREE TREATISES ON MYSTICISM. By SHIHĀBUDDĪN SUHRAWARDĪ MAQTŪL. Edited and translated by OTTO SPIES and S. K. KHATAK. Bonner Orientalistische Studien. Stuttgart, 1935.

This edition and translation of three hitherto unpublished Persian treatises by Shihāb al-Dīn Suhrawardī al-Maqtūl, which includes a Persian commentary on the last of the three, and also a Persian

biography of Suhrawardī by Shahrazūrī, will be welcomed by students of Islamic mysticism.

The author of these treatises, Suhrawardī al-Maqtūl was put to death by the order of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn (Saladin) in A.D. 1191, when he was but thirty-six years of age. He was an able thinker, who called himself "The Seeker of the Invisible World" (*al-Murīd bi'l-Malakūt*), and became deeply absorbed in the study of Ṣūfism. In his most characteristic work, the *Hikmat al-Ishrāq*, he claims as his forerunners the Greek philosophers, Agathodaemon, Hermes, Empedocles, Pythagoras, Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle, and also the Persian sages Jamasp and Buzurgmihr. Suhrawardī himself was a pantheist, who developed an interesting doctrine of illumination, holding that God was the Light of Lights (*Nūr al-anwār*) which brought all things into existence, by pouring out its rays into their being. The human soul, partaking thus of the Divine, seeks to return whence it came forth, and when, by the purification of self-discipline, it has removed the veils between itself and the Primal Light, it attains to the Beatific Vision and to union with the Divine.

The three mystic-philosophical treatises included in this volume are the *Lughat-i-Mūrān* (The Language of the Ants), the *Ṣafīr-i-Simurgh* (The Note of the Simurgh), and the *Risālat al-Ṭayr* (Treatise of the Bird), the latter being a Persian translation from the Arabic treatise of that name, by Ibn Sīnā (Avicenna).

The mystic Simurgh, which gives its name to the second of these treatises, and was also the subject of 'Aṭṭār's *Manṭiq al-Ṭayr*, is indeed a symbol of the One and All, and of it Suhrawardī writes, "Know you, that all colours are in him, but he is colourless, and his nest is in the East, and the West is also not devoid of him. All are occupied with him and he is free from all. All are filled with him and he is empty of all" (p. 29). This treatise is, in fact, concerned with *ma'rifa*, the gnosis which is the intuitive knowledge of the One and All. Like Qushayrī and al-Ghazālī, Suhrawardī writes of the Divine revelation as coming at first as brief flashes of light, and then as remaining,¹ which is the state of Tranquillity (*sakīna*). From tranquillity the mystic passes into that state of annihilation of all personal attributes

¹ Cf. Qushayrī, "It begins with flashes of light, then rays, then the light shining forth in its full splendour." *Risāla*, p. 53 (ed. Cairo, 1867) and Ghazālī, "If the mystic is free from all distraction, the Light of God will shine upon his heart and it will be at the first like a blinding flash of lightning. Its sojourn is but brief, but it will return, for it is the prelude to a constant communion with God." *Iḥyā'*, iii, 167, 17 (ed. Cairo, A.H. 1272).

which is called *fanā dar fanā*. Unification (*tawhīd*) he divides into five grades, of which the highest is the stage of those who lose themselves in God, and beyond that there is no further stage, for it is the entrance into Eternal Life (p. 38).

This, too, though the editors do not note it, is the teaching of Ibn Sīnā given in his *Fī maqāmāt al-ʿArifīn* (Stages of the Contemplative Life), and Suhrawardī seems to have derived much of this second treatise also from Ibn Sīnā.

In his teaching on man's love of God, Suhrawardī points out that man's highest happiness consists in the attainment of perfection, whether it be in regard to the natural or the moral faculties, e.g. the eye delights in perfect sight and the ear in perfect hearing. So the highest happiness of the soul consists in the attainment of its perfection, which is the intuitive knowledge of Truth and the comprehension of ultimate realities, for "the human soul is the noblest of the Seekers and Truth is the greatest of the "known".

The translation, on every page, bears witness to the fact that English is not the mother-tongue of the translator, and, while it gives an adequate interpretation of the meaning of the treatises as a whole, the translation of individual words and phrases leaves much to be desired, and it is necessary, at times, to refer to the Persian text, in order to be sure of the author's meaning. p. 19, l. 5 from foot (translation) should be "They threatened to make it look at the sun", rather than "They terrified it of looking at the sun", p. 41, l. 7 from top, should read "it is not fitting that man should take God for his friend", and, on the same page, l. 9 from foot would be better translated "Passion (*uṣḥq*) is to be defined as love which has been carried to an extreme", and the last line of that page as "Yearning (*shawq*) is defective because 'non-acquirement' is an essential part of it", i.e. it has not yet found what it seeks.

Among misprints to be noted are *existant* (p. 31), *dovotee* (p. 33), and *beleive* (p. 51). The book is well printed, but the complete lack of an index is a serious defect.

MARGARET SMITH.

TĀRĪKH-I PĀNSAD SĀLA-YI KHŪZISTĀN. By SAYYID AḤMAD KASRAVĪ. pp. 287. Tehrān 1313/1934. London Agents: Luzac and Co. 6s. 6d.

S. A. Kasravī is known to the readers principally by the three volumes of his very interesting essays on the "forgotten" dynasties

of North-Western Persia. His new work on the rulers of the south-western corner of Irān merits our full attention both by the skill with which the subject is treated and by the profusion of new materials.

The book begins with the advent of the dynasty of Sayyid Muḥammad b. Falāh known under the name of Musha'sha'. This founder of an extremist shī'a sect was born in Wāsiṭ but, after several unsuccessful risings of his followers in the region of Mesopotamian marshes, he occupied Ḥawīza on the lower course of the Karkha and here his descendants ruled first independently (A.D. 1458-1508), then as *wālis* of "Arabistān", on behalf of the Ṣafavids (A.D. 1508-1722), and finally as obscure local rulers eclipsed by the rising star of the Ka'b (Cha'b) chiefs.

It is a matter of regret that the Persian historian disregarded the existence of two very thorough articles on the Musha'sha' by Professor W. Caskel, in *Islamica*, iv, 1, 1929, and vi, 4, 1934, who examined all the sources accessible in Europe and, among them, even such rarer works as the *qaṣīdas* of the panegyrist Ibn Ma'tūq (d. 1007/1676).

S. A. Kasrawī necessarily uses much the same material but he adds to it many new sources. Above all, he discovered in Zanjān a copy of the original *Kalām al-Mahdī* written by S. Muḥammad b. Falāh in imitation of the Qor'ān and containing very important data on his religious and political theories. Several of the *sūras* of this *Kalām* are quoted in the Appendix of the book, though in the text S. A. Kasrawī's presentation of these doctrines is a little obscured by his own orthodoxy. On p. 26 he suggests that heretics similar to S. Muḥammad "ought to be fearlessly exterminated like dogs". For the author's personal ideas the passage on p. 53 is interesting, in which he distinctly disapproves of the Ṣafavid religion. Speaking of Ismā'il II, who was notorious for his Sunnī leanings¹ he says: "unlike the other Ṣafavids, Ismā'il was not trammelled by religious innovations (*bid'at*), and seems to have striven to remove the bad practices (*zisht-kārīhā*) introduced by his grandfather and father; this was the reason why he acquired the reputation of a sunnī (*sunnī garī*)."

Another book used by the author for the first time is the history of the Musha'sha' written by one of themselves, Sayyid 'Alī b. S. 'Abdullāh b. S. 'Alī-khān, which brings the events down to the times of Nādir-shāh (pp. 7, 97).

The author quotes several other rare works like the *Takmilat*

¹ See now Hinz's special article on this king in *MSOS.*, 1933, pp. 19-100.

al-akhbār by 'Ali b. 'Abd al-Mu'min, a contemporary of Shāh Tahmāsp (p. 48), and a number of tribe chronicles, official documents, memoirs, etc. Unfortunately the author nowhere describes these interesting sources systematically and much time is needed to ascertain the identity of a source quoted. So with regard to the Ka'b (Cha'b) tribe the author quotes a *Daftarcha-yi tārikh-i Ka'b* beginning with A.H. 1106 (pp. 119, 148), which he also calls *Tārikh-i Ka'b* (pp. 119, 126, 149). Nothing very clear is said about the *Maqālāt* of Shaykh Faṭḥ-allāh Ka'b (pp. 142, 146, 148), identical, as it appears, with Ka'bī's *Zād al-musāfir* (pp. 69-71). The author uses an epitome of the books called *Riyāḍ al-'ulamā* and *Tuhfat al-Azhār* (p. 8) without saying a word about their authors. This absence of method is irritating in a serious historical work.

The title of the *Musha'sha'* is still not very clear in spite of W. Caskel's special note, *Islamica*, 1929, pp. 91-2. In Dozy's *Supplément* i, 764, شعشع is explained as "rayonner" and شععة as "radiation, irradiation . . . en parlant de tuiles d'or et d'argent; aussi en parlant du vin qui, lorsqu'on en boit beaucoup, rougit le visage et le fait rayonner". In the *Kalām al-Mahdī* (Kasravī, pp. 274-5) the founder of the dynasty applies the term *sha'sha'* (**sha'sha'a*) to the two principal episodes of his earlier career, namely the rising among the Ma'dān tribe (read: *المعادي instead of المجدى), and that in the locality Dūb, cf. *Majālis al-mu'minīn*. Consequently *sha'sha'a* practically means something like "upheaval" but, remembering Dozy's interpretation, we may take it for "(mystic) inebriation ['the wine going to the head'], ecstasy". The author of the *Majālis* confirms that Muḥammad b. Falāh taught his followers a *dhikr* which produced a state of *tasha'shu'* ("ecstasy?") in which they became capable of astonishing feats: walked over burning coals, etc.

One of the later wālīs of 'Arabistān is mentioned by many contemporary authorities as the traitor who facilitated the capture of Isfahān by the Afghāns, which was followed by the deposition of the Ṣafavids in A.D. 1722. S. A. Kasravī (p. 102) takes him for Muḥammad b. 'Abdullāh, but a Dutch witness has preserved for us the name of the villain: he was called 'Abdullāh (son of Farajullāh and father of the aforesaid Muḥammad?), and consequently was the man whose adventurous career is described by Kasravī on pp. 98-101, see Alexander à Sigismondo's original report translated into English by H. Dunlop in *J.R. Central Asian Society*, October, 1936, pp. 647-8.

Apart from the Musha'sha', S. A. Kasravī treats in detail the history of the Ka'b established in Khūzistān, and finally of the chiefs of the Muhaysin clan, whose last representative was the well known Shaykh Khaz'al. The story of the latter's attempt to oppose in 1924-5 the present Shāh of Irān (at that time generalissimo of Persian troops) is told by the author as an eye-witness. Shaykh Khaz'al was deported to Tehrān and died in exile on 25th May, 1936.

On the whole S. A. Kasravī's book is a very welcome addition to the modern historical literature on Persia.

V. MINORSKY.

IL-FIDWA TAL-BDIEWA. DRAMM B'HAMES TAQSIMIET U DEHRA.

By A. CREMONA. pp. 171. Sm. 8vo. Malta: Empire Press, 1936.

In the *Bulletin* for 1935 (pp. 173 seq.) we were told of the vicissitudes of the theatre in Egypt and of the opposition on religious grounds of some of the stricter Muslims. Malta has been rather more fortunate in this respect, for it has had a theatre of its own since 1732, when Grandmaster Manoel de Vilhena opened the fine "Manoel Theatre", which still exists, though now mostly used for the "pictures". But that theatre was intended for drama and opera produced in foreign languages for the benefit of friends of the knights and those who had assimilated their culture. The idea was a good one but needless to say the masses were not touched by it. But the theatre is too good a medium of education as well as of recreation to be neglected by those who had progress at heart. After the departure of the Knights, the native influence again began to assert itself, for the playfully satirical side of the Maltese character is not easily suppressed. About 1830 we hear that G. P. Badger, afterwards so well known for his *Lexicon* but then a mere lad, son of a soldier of the garrison, was organizing dramatic entertainments in the vernacular for boys of his own age. Efforts on these lines continued, but never got into print. The earliest native comedies known to me are two by Carm. Camilleri printed in 1860 and 1877. Since then other pieces have been published, notably by M. A. Borg.

The present work is something rather more ambitious than anything I have seen before. It is a rural tragedy in five acts, with a cast of fourteen actors and eight actresses, besides supernumeraries. It is in eleven-syllable blank verse, with occasional rhymes. Its setting is in the early fifteenth century, in the Aragonese period.

The title of the play (The Redemption of the Peasants) shows the subject. The King had pawned the Island of Malta to his Sicilian Viceroy, who in turn had pledged it to Monroy. The Maltese thereupon determined to "redeem" their country by repaying the amount of the original loan and so becoming direct lieges of the King.

C. L. D.

UGO FOSCOLO. L-OQBRA. DAHLA, QLIB U TIFSIR, BI ŻJIEDA TA' HAJJA QIL-QOSOR TA' UGO FOSCOLO. By DUN KARM. pp. 65. Sm. 4°. Malta: Government Press, 1936. 1s.

In 1927 Italy kept the centenary of Foscolo's death and the thought then came to "Dun Karm" (Mgr. Psaila) of translating into Maltese the best known and most difficult of that poet's works "I Sepolcri". Two years later there fell, quite unnoticed, the centenary of the death of Mich. Ant. Vassalli, the first to bring out a Maltese grammar and lexicon. A certain likeness between the lives and aspirations of the two men, both of whom spent long years in exile for political reasons, and both of whom, the Italian and the Maltese, were devoted to their native lands, set Dun Karm to work, and the present elegantly printed book is the result.

Foscolo's work, by contrast rather than by likeness, reminds one of Geo. Eliot's "O may I join the choir invisible". With Gray's "Elegy" the connection is very remote. Dun Karm's translation is rather a *tour de force* and clearly involved much labour. The translation is in blank verse like the original, and carries eleven syllables to the line. The copious and informative footnotes explain difficulties in the text and justify the translation. In the title, Qqbra is the plural of qabar (tomb) and the following words stand for "introduction, translation, and commentary, with an added life in brief of U.F.". In the text, the Muses become Xebbiet lehiema (lit. inspiring girls). Foscolo's rather unhappy life until the end came at Turnham Green is well told.

C. L. D.

WARD TA' QARI MALTI. By P. P. SAYDON and JOS. AQUILINA. pp. xvi, 223. 8vo. Malta: Empire Press, 1936.

This is an anthology. The matter is mainly from the little magazines *Il-Malti*, *Lehen il-Malti*, a long-defunct periodical *Is-Sebh* (*The Dawn*), and from the Maltese equivalent of "Old Moore's Almanack". There

are also some extracts from books. In X'rajt u xi smajt (what I saw and heard) Mgr. P. Galea tells of a visit to Coney Island in 1926, where he saw the Witches' Cave (il-ghar tas-sharijiet), the ponies (ponijiet, i.e. the English word with the Semitic plural), boys: lebsin il-qalziet tal-ghawm, i.e. clad in swimming-slips, where qalziet is the usual plural of the Italian calza, which, like many foreign words, has quite changed its sense in becoming Maltese, and the wooden race-horses: zwiemel ta' l-injam ghat-tigrija, where zwiemel is the broken plural of ziemel, a horse, from primitive zâmilah, modern Spanish: acémila, a beast of burden, and l-injam (wood) is from Italian legname, with the initial treated as the article. The delights of Luna Park were left behind "about 11 p.m.", which is, in Maltese, f'xi l-ħdax ta' bil-lejl. Here ħdax is the Maltese reduction of primitive al-ḥādi 'ax(ar).

C. L. D.

DELL TA' L-IMGHODDI. By A. V. VASSALLO. pp. 39, 8vo. Malta: Empire Press, 1936.

In Malta poesy grows apace. This is a collection of twenty-two original pieces and an adaptation of one by T. Moore, all in various metres. In the title, which means "Shadow of the Bygone", dell corresponds to the classic zillu, and imghoddi is the participle of the Form II verb għadda "to pass". I once read somewhere that the Maltese peasants, even now, sometimes indulge in rhyming bouts. If that be true it might be a good thing to secure phonographic records, for there is still much to be learnt from the lips of the "bdiewi". Some of the specimens of rustic prose collected by Hans Stumme had an Urwüchsigkeit lacking in the more polished extracts, leading one to wonder whether there are not many humble poets blushing unseen in the countryside.

C. L. D.

S. GUANN BOSCO, SAJJĠED TAL-ERŪIEM. By A. M. GALEA. From the English by F. A. FORBES. pp. 176. Small 8vo. Malta: Salesian Press, Sliema, 1936.

This is a life of St. John Bosco. The thoughtfulness of the future saint for his Jewish comrades at school, which led him to pass on to them the notes of the master's lessons on the Saturdays, when they

were prevented from attending school, is a happy trait (p. 26). The complete list given at the end of the book of all Maltese Salesians, past and present, strikes one as very exiguous. The fact is that the Maltese as a whole do not take readily to missionary work. This book, like all the many others of Comm. Galea, is printed in the special type preferred by this writer, which, I believe, is used now only by him.

C. L. D.

TAGHLIM NISRANI FUQ IL-KATEKISMU TAL-KARDINAL P. GASPARRI.
By DUN KARM FARRUGIA. pp. 158, 8vo. Malta: Government Press. 1935. 4d.

The first edition of the Taghlim Nisrani, or, Christian Doctrine in Maltese, came out in 1752 in the episcopate of the French Bishop Paul Alferan de Bussan. In the British Museum there is only the second edition published in 1768 in Rome ("fisuk tal-Minerva"). A third edition, with an enlarged title, was published in 1789 in Malta, in the "Palaz tas-sultan", the Grandmaster being styled Sultan. The translator was a priest who spells his name in the second edition Wzzinu. The Nihil obstat was given by a missionary named Ghebejer. As explained on the title-page, the Maltese is based on the translation made for the Maronites of Syria by order of Paul V who died in 1621. In the British Museum there is a copy of the Doctrina Christiana in Arabic and Latin for use of the Maronites, published in Paris with the Imprimatur of the Master of the Sacred Palace in 1635, and comparison puts it out of doubt that this was the work used by Wzzinu. The Maltese follows the Maronite Catechism word for word, and, where it departs from it, is only where western usage differs from the eastern. Thus it omits to demand abstinence from wine in Lent, says nothing under baptism of circumcision, and omits the doxology after the Paternoster (though it had been in use in Malta not long before). It agrees with the Maronite even in adding to the formula "In the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost" the words "One God" (Alla wiehed). It retains the construct case in such phrases as f'sieghet mewtna (in the hour of our death), Xirket il-Qaddissin (the Communion of Saints). But the period called the Great Fast (sawm il-kbir) it calls Randan and also calls Easter Ghid il-kbir, two terms that still remain in use.

In the course of the nineteenth century, new editions of the Catechism were called for, and changes, chiefly by way of additions,

were made. But, as the first work printed in Maltese, and one which, by the nature of its contents, circulated widely, it was respected as a "classic". For it must be remembered that for ages Maltese was a purely spoken tongue, that it had nothing to do for it what the Latin Vulgate did for the Romance Tongues, Luther's German Bible, the Authorized Version, or the Quran for German, English, or Arabic, or the various Divine Liturgies for the Greek, Syriac, Armenian, Ethiopic, Coptic, or Slavonic.

The latest Catechism is a new book, based on the Vatican Catechismus Catholicus, yet usually keeping to the old Maltese wording. It is rather a pity, that, in the eleventh article of the Creed, the old Maronite text has been departed from: *inqumu minn bejn l-imwiet . . . jilbsu ġisimhom . . . bil qawwa t'Alla* (they will rise from the dead, put on their bodies [as a dress] . . . by God's power).

Maltese, like Saxon English, is poor in abstract words. It has words for apple, date, fig, grape, mulberry, but none for fruit, and for ass, horse, dog, etc., but none for animal. Yet the Catechism has Maltese names for all the seven "Capital Sins". For technical words like grace, indulgence, purgatory, there were none available. I regret that more use was not made of "doublets". The old Catechism had "*tentati aw imġarbin*", for "tempted", and the new one has (p. 79) "*inkomplu jew intemmu*", for "perfected", but this should have been carried much further. I was distressed to find that, on p. 94, "*xbejjen*" the venerable old term for "godparents" was not used. Some of the new renderings are, however, quite good. The General Judgment is *Haqq ta' kullhadd*, the Particular Judgment: *Haqq ta' kull wieħed*.

The new Catechism, no doubt advisedly, omits a number of quaint remarks found in the old, for instance, that, because the Creed was composed by the twelve Apostles, *therefore* it has twelve articles, or that the Sacrament of Extreme Unction enables the soul to fight against the devil at the moment of its separation from the body. One oddity retained, even though it involves a departure from the text of Holy Writ, is in the third Commandment, which runs: *Thou shalt observe the Sundays and the holy days (Hares il-ħdud u l-btajjel* (days, lit. "empty" of work)).

On p. 73, breach of an abstinence-day is termed "dirtying oneself with meat", the verb being *nigġes* (II of *olden naġisa*). There is an ancient Semitic tradition behind this use of the verb. On p. 20, the second motion of the hand in the sign of the cross is said to be *fuq*

is-sider, whereas the old Catechism, quite accurately, said taht sdirna, below our breast.

For "Christian" the Maltese use the word Nisrani (i.e. Nazarene). In Maltese there still exists the term Grixti, which seems to be a nisbeh formed from the name "Christ". I suspect that the word goes back to the Middle Ages when the Christians were still a minority in a Moslem community. Grixti now means much the same as rahli, i.e. a rustic, retiring person. For its change of meaning compare the Latin word *paganus*.

The new Catechism teaches the duty of forgiving offences. From common report it seems that an exception is made against the unfaithful wife, even when repentant, and, what is worse, that a man who is disposed to overlook his wife's folly tends to be scorned by his neighbours. This is, however, an old complaint, for Megiser over three and a half centuries ago noted how the Maltese women, when they were allowed out at all, were compelled to veil themselves and to dress in hideous garments all through the jealousy of their men-folk.

C. L. D.

GABRA TA' WARD. L-EWWEL SENA (pp. 30), IT-TIENI SENA (pp. 44), IT-TIENI KTIEB (pp. 98), IT-TIELET KTIEB (pp. 125), IR-RABA' KTIEB (pp. 160). 5 vols. Large 16vo. Oxford University Press, 1935, 1936.

These are graded reading books for use in the Malta elementary schools. The matter, in prose and verse, is taken from reputable Maltese writers. Interspersed in the text are some Maltese proverbs. Kelb riegged la tqajmux, the native version of "Let sleeping dogs lie". Xemx li ma ssahhanx ahjar il bard minnha (Better cold than a sun that doesn't warm). Bil-qtajra l-qtajra tintela l-grajra (little strokes fell great oaks), lit. tiny drop and tiny drop and the little jar is filled. Il-kliem qabel tghidu iznu u qisu (before uttering a sentence weigh and measure it).

C. L. D.

A GRAMMAR OF THE MALTESE LANGUAGE WITH CHRESTOMATHY AND VOCABULARY. By EDMUND SUTCLIFFE, S.J., Oxford University Press, 1936. pp. xvi, 282. Small 8vo. 6s.

The new Grammar is a most useful book, small but tightly packed and furnishing, in highly idiomatic English, the solution of a whole array of conundrums. Quite a number of items seem to me original

contributions, at least I cannot recall having seen them before in print. If some of the suggestions made fail to bring conviction they were well worth the risk of making. In the case of all languages, Grammars and Lexicons made by foreigners are often more enlightening than those made by natives. The native is too much disposed to take things for granted; also it is hard for him to put himself outside himself, a difficulty which in the nature of things does not exist for the friendly outsider.

It was a good idea of the author to give a little up-to-date bibliography of Sicilian wordbooks, for just as a knowledge of Maltese is a *sine qua non* for understanding Old Sicilian, so also is some acquaintance with Old Sicilian and Old Spanish for the interpretation of Maltese. The connection between the language of early medieval Spain, Sicily, and Malta is a very close one, so much so that the three dialects seem to have formed a group apart. It is also all to the good that the author has not too narrowly confined himself to grammatical considerations, but, has, in the case of many words, suggested etymologies.

If I might single out anything for special praise it would be, apart from the admirable treatment of the verbs, the manner at once simple and illuminating in which the grammar deals with the accent or stress. In the many words containing the digraph *ie* (standing for primitive *ā*), like *musbieh* (lamp), *halliel* (thief) I note that he puts (the accent on the *i* whereas Falzon puts it on the *e*; the latest way of marking the stress (on the *i*) comes nearest to the pronunciation. By the way, in the matter of stress it is obvious that the laws of accents must have changed in Malta; formerly it must have been the rule that the antepenultimate took the stress, explaining how *barakah* became *barka*, *qasabah* *qasba*, and *waraqah* *werqa*. Now, it is the penultimate that takes the stress, even in such a word as *inbeda* (began, p. 122).

The alphabet calls for a few remarks. *Niggeż* (to prick, p. 3) corresponds with form 2 of the old verb *nakaza* meaning the same; interchange of G and K is fairly common, as in Hebr. *gamal*, Greek *kamelos*. Maltese *gennen* (shelter), is simply a variant of M. *kennen*. In some words like *gerfex* (bungle), *geddum* (snout) the g-sound is shared by Maltese with Maghrebinic. G. also sometimes stands for Q as in words like *gargar* (roar), *garr* (coo), *gemgem* (mutter), *gerrem* (gnaw). On p. 3 there is a mistake and the word *gelgel* (crack, split) should be spelt with the soft *ġ*, and the suggested derivation must

therefore be wrong, though it might be right for the word *gelgul* (rush of water, p. 250). I recall for the sake of those who may have forgotten that, in Maltese, *ġ* stands for the Arabic *Jim*, *x* for *Shin*, *j* for *y*, and *gh* for *Ghain* and 'Ain. Under the letter *k* it might have been pointed out that for some reason it seems to claim a following *i*, as in the verbs *kifes* (eclipse), *kines* (sweep), *kiseb* (earn), *kiser* (break), *kiteb* (write), *kixef* (uncover). The grammar perhaps rather overdoes the "euphonic *m*". *Wiċċ imb wiċċ* (p. 254) is most likely for *wiċċ magh* (or, *m'*) *wiċċ*. The grammar felicitously instances (p. 282) some Spanish words like *hombre* where a gate-crashing *b* also makes its appearance after *m*. In the word *mbagħad* the first letter is not an "emphatic" but simply an abbreviation of *min(n)*.

In speaking of the letter *Q* it might have been noted that its peculiar pronunciation in Malta has led to its being confused with the *Gh*. *Wisq* (very) should by rights have been written *wisgh*; *bis-serqa*, when it means "hastily", should have been written *bis-sergha*, from the verb, now lost in Maltese, meaning "to be quick"; *qilla* (fierceness) stands for *ghilla*, written with the *rgħain*. *Xieraq* (it is right and proper) were more correctly spelt *xieragh* (with the 'Ain), as the word comes from the verb, lost in Maltese, *xaragħa* (to make a law).

Failure to find in the British Museum (p. 187, n.) the work of Megiser that most enterprising researcher who visited Malta in 1588 was seemingly due to a German book having been looked for under the Latin translation of its subtitle. The book was first published in 1606, again in 1610, and a third edition in the following year. The last edition is in the British Museum; the title is *Propugnaculum Europae, Warhaffte . . . Beschreibung der Africanischen Insul Malta . . . widerumb getruckt . . . Anno 1611*. It is quite true that Megiser gives as the Maltese word for the number "nine", *tesa*, and, for nineteen, *tesatasch*, but, then, he also gives as the Maltese for the words hand, arm, house, and bed: *it*, *tria*, *tar*, and *sotto* (now spelt *id*, *driegħ*, *dar*, and *sodda* respectively), and writes the place-name *Dingli*, (Hal) *Tingli*, all simply witnessing to the congenital German difficulty of distinguishing *d* from *t*. Why the Maltese should use *disgha* for ten instead of the expected **tisgha* is beyond explanation. Usually the Maltese tend to use *t* for *d*, as in *ħotba*, *tafagh*, *tibek*, *tiġieġa* (instead of *ħodba*, *dafagh*, *dibek*, and *diġieġa*, meaning respectively: hump, push, grind, hen). Sicilian shared the same failing, and wrote *ticchiena* where Maltese writes *dikkiena* (bench),

which is nearer to the spelling of this old Iranian word (*dukkān*). Yet in the Maltese word *daqs* (for *taqs*), or, *ghaddas* (for *ghaṭṭas*: plunge) the change is exactly as in the word for "ten".

By the way, Megiser's little vocabulary, for all its misprints has an interest of its own. For instance the words for "two, three, thirteen" are *fne*, *fliesan*, *flietash*, which seem to show that the soft *th* sound was still heard in Malta in the sixteenth century, the sound *th* being rendered by the letter *f*. For the word "gold" he gives *veheb*, also tending to show that the initial soft *d* was still accurately articulated. Yet again, for "rich" he gives *rani*, showing that the initial *rgħain* was still heard.

The new grammar (p. 196) suggests that the adverb of time *il*, as in *ilu* (since he) *ilek* (since thou) is a reduction of *hin* (time) followed by the preposition and personal suffix. This seems a fairly likely supposition, though I cannot think of any other case where Maltese has dropped the letter *h*.

On p. 55 the use of the word *ġmiel* is well explained. *Sbaħt ġmieli* (I awoke in fine fettle) has analogues in the chaste classical language. On p. 61 and 245 the author is well justified in suggesting the Spanish *chico* as the source of the Maltese *ċkien* (to grow small), where the final *n* does not belong to the root. On p. 135 the Semitic origin of the verb *stalla* (stop, rather recalling our English word "to stall") is vindicated. The verb, of which it is the X form, no longer exists in Maltese. *Ċiera*, another word anomalously written for **xiera*, from an original *šārah* (form), is also Semitic.

The use of *lil* to denote the objective case is ably explained (p. 169). Elsewhere, the preposition *lil* usually stands for older *li*, like *lil kollhadd* (p. 258, to everyone) for *li-kull aħad*. The relative *li*, *illi* (p. 182) may stand, not only for "who, which", but also for the older particle *an*. *Nifhem illi*, in the old Catechism, corresponds to *afhamu an* (I mean that . . .). A relic even remains in Maltese of the old particle *inna* (verily), in expressions like *kif inhu*, how is he? (p. 181), *daqsieq inhu* (how huge it is!) (p. 198) reduced from *taqs ay xay inna-hu*. It is rather unfortunate that neither the existing lexicons nor the present grammar tell us anything about the prepositional verbs. Yet the matter is important as the preposition often determines the sense of the verb. Such prepositional verbs are, e.g. *naf bi* (I know of), *halla minn* (let go), *jisimghu minn* (they obey), *sella għal* (he saluted), *dahal minn* (he entered). In the case of the verb *gieb* (he brought) the preposition has been embodied in the verb

exactly as it has been in Maghrebinic. It is to be hoped that the promised new lexicon will make up for this defect in the existing apparatus.

The grammar tells us that the genitive exponent *ta'* (or, *tagh*, *tal*, etc.) is abbreviated from *matagh*, like *Hal* in place-names from *mahall* (tribe). That is true, but it is also true that the *t-marbuta* of the construct case of the many Maltese nouns ending in *a(h)* has come to play so important a part that it has acquired the meaning of "of". In the old Catechism *bi-qawwa t'Alla*, corresponds with *bi-quwwati llahi*, whilst *tigi s-saltna tieghek* (thy kingdom come) is the same as *tigi saltnatek* of the official version.

Another word, spelt *ta*, means "give". On p. 139 we are told that it stands for *ghata*. That is correct sometimes, but not always. Whenever it is a prepositional verb, as in *ta biż-żewġ* (to kick, cp. Badger's Lexicon s.v. Kick), it stands for the old verb *ata bi*. On p. 184 the author discusses phrases like *taha ghax-xorb u ghal-logħob* (he took to drink and gambling). The prevalent native opinion is that this stands for *ta ha* (lit. he gave it [his *ruh*, or, soul]) to drink, etc. But in some other phrases one wonders whether there is not here a remnant of some verb, now lost in Maltese, like *ṭaḥa*, or *ṭāḥa*.

There are several compound words. *Jiġifieri* (that is to say, p. 256) used to be written as two words: *jigi jfieri*, the latter word being seemingly form iii of the olden verb *fara* (to show), and the measure the same as in *imieri* of the form iii verb *miera*. Another composite word is *liema* (p. 173, 182) which stands for *li ma*, and *li ei ma*. The final *ma* is the neuter relative when the word is in the interrogative, but sometimes the negative, as in *liema bħalhom*. Yet another compound word is *kallajamar*, obviously for *k-Alla jamar*, whether the initial *k* stands for the olden *ka* (as), or whether it is for *jek* (if). *Jek* itself is identical with the old Quranic shortening of *yakun*. In Old Spain *yakun* was used in the sense of "if". Pedro de Alcalà wrote *ikin ente neseit* (if thou didst forget).

In most languages we find foreign words being modified in form or meaning by native influences. We have only to think of the English trade-name (sparrow-)grass for asparagus. In Maltese the word *dmir* (p. 247) (duty) is obviously the classical *ḍamir* (conscience), yet, in sense, it has been assimilated to the Italian *dovere*. In the phrase *arma, ghid* (come, tell!) (p. 270) the word *armi*, imperative of *rema* (launch out, throw) has been coloured by the Italian verb *armare*. *Kunjomok* (thy surname, p. 258) combines a variant of "cognomen"

with the olden word *kunya*. *Missier* (father) combines a Norman term *messire* with the old word *muṣawwir*, the Quranic title for God which perhaps approaches closest to our conception of "father". *Mantar* (plural *mnatar*, p. 259), a frock, corresponds both with *mantile* and with *mamtar*, plural, *mamâtir* (a raincoat, from *maṭara*, to rain). Some foreign words, though retaining their old meaning, have undergone an odd change. French *assiette*, has become *as-siett*, the first syllable becoming the article.

There are also some interesting duplicates, where the same word differently spelt has assumed different meanings. *Minn jeddu* (spontaneously, p. 256) is clearly a variant of *minn idu* (off his own bat). *Diwi* (an echo) is a variant of *daghwa* (which now in Maltese means a blasphemy). The original meaning of the verb was to call, invoke (God). *Offi għalik* means *bravo!* It is a reduction of *ghafja għalik*, on which see Dozy. Then we have *kamla* (a clothes moth, p. 257) and *qamla* (a louse, p. 268). The reason why the former is differently pronounced and written is that it is taken from the Sicilian, but the Sicilian is itself from *qamla* which means not only a louse but a cheese-mite, mealworm, or, grub of the clothes moth. In the case of several words one Semitic one has been coloured by another since lost in Maltese. *Għax irid* (lit. because he wishes) is used in the sense "wilfully". Here the existing Maltese verb seems to have been coloured by the old verb *raḍiya* (be pleased). *Errur*, might have been written *għerûr*, and the verb, *arra*: *għarr(a)*; the comparative meaning "worse" (*agħarr*) is from the same verb. *Jarralek il-ħsieb ta' rasek* (you will find out your mistake, lit. the thought in your head will mislead you). Here the Semitic word *gharra* (with the *rgħain*) has been affected by the Latin words: *errare*, error. *Obda* (to be submissive) is simply the olden word *ghabed* coloured by the Latin word *obedire*.

There are a few instances in which I disagree with the new grammar. The author seeks to explain *merhla* (a flock) by bringing it into connection with Arab. *rihl* (ewe-lamb), and implying that it is a noun of multitude. That will not do, apart from the unlikelihood of a flock made up of ewe-lambs, he has failed to notice that the old Maltese lexicons spell the word with a *ħ* and not with a *h*. *Merhla*, plur. *mriehel*, corresponds with Sicilian Arabic *marḥalah*, plur. *marâhil*. It is true that the sense, from the context, is that of fold rather than of flock, but the Maltese sense is also inherent in the root-verb. There is a famous instance in the Fourth Gospel where the Vulgate has led

astray several of the Versions into writing "one fold and one shepherd", where the Greek has "flock" and not "fold". Then again, idda (shone) is put by the author in the same case as itka (leaned, p. 137). His reasoning is: Since itka is obviously form viii of the verb waka, why should not idda be form viii of the verb *da*? The proposal is plausible, and, formally, I see no objection to it. But the fact is that, whereas the viii itka is in wide use outside of Malta there is no trace of *da* having been used anywhere in form viii. Elsewhere it is form iv (*aḍa*) which expresses the Maltese sense of idda, whilst *muḍi* stands for the corresponding Maltese adjective *middi* (bright). It has also to be borne in mind that the Maltese word idda also means "to offer a gift", in which sense it stands for form ii of the verb *ada*, a dialectic variant of the verb *hada*. Maltese makes no difference between *d* and *ḍ*. The initial *i* in Maltese is accounted for by the rule by which such measures as *AQTALAH*, *AQTILAH*, become in Maltese *IQTLA*, as in *ilhna* (voices) *isqra* (hawks), *iżmna* (times), *istla* (buckets).

On p. 61 the word *aħjar* is said to be in common use in the sense of "better", but it is denied that it is really a comparative. It is given as the vulgar comparative in Badger's *Lexicon* (s.v. better). The lengthening of the final syllable can be matched in the word *gharghar* (juniper-tree) where the final is also lengthened in Malta and Old Spain, though it should be short.

I notice that, following Falzon, *habba* is rendered as "iris of the eye". Since the comparison is to the pip of the pomegranate it ought rather to mean the pupil, which is the meaning assigned to it by Dozy. The more usual word for pupil seems, however, to be *mimmi tal-ghajn*, *mimmi* being the equivalent of the old word *mimī* (a baby).

It might have been as well to say something of the groups of secondary verbs, for instance the *MAQTALA(H)* verbs some of which Malta shares with Old Spain, where they also were usually found in quadriliteral form ii. *Tmannas* (to grow tame) is from the same root as *stines*, *tmashan* (be furious, p. 276) is from *saħan* (to warm), *tmaqdar*, *tmashar*, *tmattar* are respectively from the verbs, lost in Maltese, *qaḍura* (was unclean), *saħira* (laughed), and *aṭara*. *Mekkaħ* (which should have been written *mekhaħ*, to dirty) is from *kahħ* (merd). *Tmerzaq* and *immenzel* seem of similar formation though the verbs have acquired quite new meanings, and the same is true of the purely Maltese verb *meḥlaq*.

Then there is a group of denominative verbs, *QATLAṬ(A)*, made up

of nouns ending in the *t-marbuta*, which, in these verbs is hardened into a *ta*. Such verbs are common in Maghrebinic and Egyptian. *Harbat* (to ruin) is from *herba* (a ruin), *qalfat* (to calk), *sarbat* (to put in a row) seem to come from nouns meaning "tow" and a "file of beasts"). *Ċarrat* (to tear) is a secondary form of *ċarra*, meaning the same, on which see *Marçais*, *Tanger*. Finally there is the barbarous but highly interesting measure *QATLAR*, of verbs formed on the Spanish model by adding a final *ar* to a noun. In Spanish we have many verbs like *aceitar* (to oil, from *zeit*), *azotar* (to whip, from *sawt*), *acequiar* (to drain) from *sâqiya*. Corresponding to these, in Maltese, we have *bażwar* (to rupture, from *bażwa*), *izzakkar* (to belly out, from *żaqq*).

It would have been as well to explain that foreign names of officers, adjectives, etc., often take the *nisbeh* form with suffixed *i* giving them an oddly plural look, thus, *interessanti* is a singular adjective, whilst *Kuntistabbli* (p. 258) means a single policeman.

Some of the extracts in the *Chrestomathy* contain phonetically written words which should have been explained in the vocabulary, for instance, under *tqieq* (flour) a reference should have been made to pp 1 and 53 where the word is accurately spelt with a *d*. On p. 253, *żgiegħa* (glass) has been misspelt. On p. 17 the printer's imp got into the text during the machining and badly bedevilled it. It is a pity that the sections are not marked on each page, because the cross-references to sections are very numerous and involve a lot of page-turning and plenty proximate occasions for blasphemy.

The arrangement of the book is quite above reproach, and the text, necessarily intricate, is most carefully done. One can understand the author's enthusiasm for Maltese. It is the only dialect of its family which has now for quite a long time been the object of intensive study. There is also an especial reason why it should appeal to an Englishman, for the Semitic and Latin play in it a part so like that played by the Teutonic and the Gallic in English itself. Just as it is to the Saxon that English owes its strength, and just as English hearts warm to a speech or song in the measure that the Saxon element predominates in it, so the Maltese in respect to the Semitic. The native words (Saxon: *ox*, or Semitic: *baqar*) mostly have homely pictures linked up with them, whereas the foreign word often conveys nothing but a bald idea.

C. L. DESSOULAVY.

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE IBO LANGUAGE. By IDA C. WARD.
pp. xiii, 215. Cambridge: Heffer, 1936. 6s.

Dr. I. C. Ward's new book throws a flood of light on the Ibo language. But its significance is greater than that. Together with her recent book on Efik it is a systematic attempt to explore the unfamiliar territory of tone and to elaborate a technique for the study of this little understood linguistic element. As such it cannot fail to be of interest to linguists generally. And to the student of Ibo it will come as an unmitigated boon. Students of other tone languages will also find it of value since its methods can be applied to any language.

The fact that Ibo is tonal has for long been as well known as the implications of the fact have been little understood. This new analysis shows in the first place not only that certain words are distinguished semantically by their tone forms—for instance *oke* [-] "male" and *oke* [_ -] "rat"—but that each word in isolation has its own tone form. There are at least five tone classes of disyllabic nouns, two of monosyllabic verbs, and four of disyllabic verbs, and so on.

But as with any linguistic element what the tones do is more important than what they are and the central theme of the book is the way in which tones enter inseparably into the whole functioning of the language. Two nouns for instance such as *isi* "head" and *oke* "rat" which in isolation have the tones *isi* [- -] and *oke* [- -] change these tones in combination and become *isi oke* [- - - -] "the head of the rat". But it is perhaps in verb formations that the important part played by tone emerges most clearly. There is one verb form which may be either a habitual tense, a present participle, a relative or a negative according to its tones. In other respects it remains unchanged. The difference between the indicative and subjunctive moods of the verb is one of tone. A relative clause is indicated both by its own tone pattern and by its tonal relationship to the antecedent. Such cases could be multiplied and they serve to show what richness and flexibility of construction and what possibility of expression become apparent in such a language as Ibo when the tone element is appreciated. Small wonder that so-called primitive languages have sometimes been popularly considered "limited" when one realizes that half their means of expression have probably been ignored.

A study of the book will reveal the amount of patient analysis involved in the work. The method employed was to take down a large number of texts from native speakers in accurate phonetic notation

both for sounds and tones and then to analyse the way in which the tones worked in their various contexts. By comparing a large number of usages it was possible gradually to formulate the main rules of tone behaviour. The process, part of which the reviewer had the good fortune to witness, was more enthralling than any detective novel. A point of particular interest is the statement that, so far as the author's investigations went, tone seemed to vary less than other linguistic elements from one dialect to another. It is greatly to be hoped that she may pursue her researches further into this field.

A number of interesting questions emerge from the book. For example, do the tone-classes of nouns have any other, non-tonal basis of classification as in Bantu or Fulani? Is it, for instance, just chance that *isi* [-] "head" has high tones whereas *ala* [- -] "ground" has low ones?

The whole question of the function of tone in Ibo needs further consideration. And one may perhaps hope that if the author of this book extends her investigation to yet other West African languages she may throw light on the general function and behaviour of tone in language, if such there be.

A reading of the chapter headings of this book reveals the welcome fact that certain forms of the verb are simply labelled the *na*-form or the *ra*-form instead of being pressed into ready-made grammatical categories. The use of categories implies an excursion into semantics which can only be justified by ample evidence. And the Ibo verb needs much more study than it has at present received before its forms can be classified. In many ways it tends to emphasize aspect rather than tense and the exact significance of the various forms needs a great deal of careful contextual investigation, as the author has realized. Her book had to be planned for practical as well as scientific purposes and a definitive handling of many situations had therefore to be postponed.

The system of tone notation used in this book is of practical interest to all field workers whether linguistic or anthropological. Of the various systems adopted up to date it seems the most efficient and least unsightly. And the whole method of the book shows, if any showing is necessary, how vital is the recording of texts in an adequate script both for sounds and for tone. How far tone notation should be used in the printing of books is a different matter. In such a thing as the translation of the Bible for instance, passages that are particularly obscure because of alternative tonal possibilities might have a short

elucidating tone pattern in brackets in place of the present inadequate low or high tone symbol. But the question is not altogether simple and needs careful consideration. No one would presumably suggest that books in the vernacular should adopt full tone notation. The native reader does not need any such cumbersome device. But the present reviewer would without hesitation recommend that any book or texts published for the use of students of the language should adopt tone notation in full. Personal experience has shown that toneless texts are more or less useless except to an advanced student of the language. The present book with its texts with full notation is invaluable.

The publishers of the book are to be congratulated on their excellent production.

MARGARET M. GREEN.

BANTU LINGUISTIC TERMINOLOGY. By CLEMENT M. DOKE. pp. 237.
London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1935. 6s.

The Introduction.—In his introductory section on Bantu Linguistic Terminology, Professor Doke has raised a question of great importance concerning principles which underlie the correct composition of a word. The need for some measure of uniformity in writing a Bantu language is recognized by everyone interested in linguistics, and on p. 5 the author expresses the hope "that interest and seriousness will be stimulated and some degree of uniformity aimed at as a result". The hope referring to interest will be abundantly fulfilled, for his book will bring about much discussion, and in the course of discussion much interesting matter concerning Bantu linguistics will emerge. The result will undoubtedly be to aim at "some degree of uniformity", but it remains to be seen whether the conclusions arrived at will be acceptable to all.

In dealing with the composition of a Bantu word, Professor Doke will find few to disagree with him that Bantu writing should be conjunctive rather than disjunctive; but whether conjunctive writing should be carried further for the sake of uniformity is a question needing detailed examination. For instance, Professor Doke points out that *-a* in Swahili, whether appearing as *na* or with the concordial prefix, is at present written *conjunctively* when associated with a pronoun but *disjunctively* when followed by a noun. But is not this as it should be? *-a* and *na* are written disjunctively when followed by polysyllabic words such as nouns, and conjunctively if the particle which follows is monosyllabic—generally pronominal in character.

e.g. Pronominal : *Alikwenda nacho.* *Watu wake.*
 Nominal : *Alikwenda na kikapu.* *Watu wa Hamisi.*

If the emphasis is on the absolute pronoun, the full form is retained and the *na* is then written disjunctively : *Na yeye pia*, for this is in accordance with what Professor Doke himself says on p. 17 : " Stress is the word-builder in Bantu."

Turning to the next heading in the Introduction we read on p. 24 : " Taking the word as the basis of Bantu grammatical classification, each complete word constitutes some ' part of speech ' according to its syntactical force. . . . There will thus be found six fundamental parts of speech." This statement is too highly controversial and complex to be dealt with in a short review. It must suffice to say that Professor Doke has yet to convince some of his readers why " *a* " must be reckoned as a formative rather than as a word to indicate prepositional relationship.

The subdivisions of the fundamental Parts of Speech are in the main helpful. It is wise to let " Adjective " give place to the wider term " Qualificative " and become a subdivision under it, for many words in Bantu " qualify " substantives, but cannot be called adjectives., e.g. *Rifiki yangu sana* (My great friend). Possessives, however, should also appear as a subdivision of pronouns as well as a subdivision of qualificatives ; similarly demonstratives should appear in both categories.

e.g. *Lete vyuo vyangu* (Bring my books). *Lete vyangu* (Bring mine).

Chuo hich (This book). *Hicho sikitaki* (I don't want this one).

It is to be regretted that the neutral nature of many stems has not received more attention when dealing with the question of classification of the parts of speech, although there is a reference to it on p. 26.

The case for replacing " Adverbs " by " Descriptives " is not particularly convincing. The point in its favour is that it would then include ideophones, for ideophones do describe verbs. But the majority of adverbs, other than adverbs of manner, *modify* the statement rather than describe, e.g. *Alifanya kwa ujinga*. (He did it through ignorance). " *Kwa ujinga* " does not describe the action.

In respect to the next heading " The Rendering of Linguistic Terminology in Bantu " it has long been felt that there is a crying need for the introduction of a terminology in place of the conglomeration of terms at present in use. The author sums up the whole situation when he says, p. 4 : " Some Bantu grammar written in a European language is taken and terms translated or transliterated (according

to individual preference) therefrom without any real inquiry into the basic meaning or function of the terms." And on p. 2: "We must be prepared to blaze a new trail, use new terminology where necessary." And again on p. 32: "A great advantage will result, if at least the main parts of speech have similar terms in various Bantu languages."

The Dictionary.—Our thanks are due to the compiler for this great contribution to Bantu linguistics. It supplies a long felt want both to the ordinary student and to the research worker, and will be of immense value for many years to come. It is impossible to mention more than a few among the very many terms and explanations which are particularly helpful. Chief among them are: absolute, adjunct, apposition, concord, concurrent, conditional, definite, derivative, emphatic, enclitic, ideophone, implication, mood, participial, potential, progressive, qualificative, subjunctive, syntax.

A right understanding of these and other terms is of primary importance to a beginner, for they should do away with the confusion which often arises in his mind as study progresses, due to the multiplicity of terms used by various writers to explain one and the same thing.

Lack of space forbids a discussion of any of the controversial points, but some of the explanations given in the dictionary will need modification. Professor Doke is an eminent scholar and one great enough to be ready to give way to "surer descriptions" (p. 36) in the future as he has done in the past. For, as he says, p. 36: "Only the very best is good enough for the languages and literature of the Bantu."

E. O. A.

KAMUSI YA KISWAHILI YAANI KITABU CHA MANENO YA KISWAHILI KIMETUNGWA. Na F. JOHNSON. Swahili-Swahili Dictionary. pp. xvii + 261. London: The Sheldon Press, 1935. 2s. 6d.

The compiler is to be congratulated on bringing out this dictionary which should do much to facilitate the study of Swahili, both from an academic and colloquial standpoint.

To the European it provides an insight into the wider meaning of words, and to the African whose mother tongue is not Swahili it supplies a very urgent need.

The book should have a ready sale and prove the truth of an old African saw "*Chema hujiuza*" (A good thing sells itself)—especially at the modest sum of half a crown!

E. O. ASHTON.

TEN AFRICANS. Edited by MARGERY PERHAM. pp. 356. London :
Faber and Faber, 1936. 15s.

That *Ten Africans* has been reviewed in a prominent position in newspapers like *The Times*, the *Observer*, the *Daily Telegraph*, as well as in journals dealing specifically with Africa, is indicative of the wide interest which African affairs are attracting to-day and is no less a tribute to the reputation of the editor, Miss Margery Perham. The book consists of ten stories each the sketch of the life of an African. The subjects of the stories are as widely separated geographically as Nigeria and the Transkei, and in education range from men removed from brutal savagery by one short generation only to the finished product of an English school and an Oxford women's college. Each tells his own story : four of the ten write their history in English and the others have told it in their own languages, and a number of well-known workers in the African field have recorded and translated these. Miss Perham has collected and chosen these representative contributions and has written a short introduction to them. Her collaborators have let the African talk and their talk rings true : there has been no alteration of matter or style : from internal evidence, it is easy to see that the original texts have been faithfully adhered to, that sometimes the very idiom of the language has remained.

The writers for the most part are of that generation which has seen the change from the old to the new regime and which has felt the impact of Europe upon Africa and they frankly express their opinions upon these changes. It is only fair to say that they are ready to acknowledge the good as well as to deplore what they consider the evils of European domination in Africa.

It is very much to be hoped that the favourable reviews which have appeared will attract not only the specialist reader but that section of the general public who would not be likely to read the works of the social anthropologist and the administrator but who form their judgments of African matters upon popular and often somewhat slight books of travel. These stories give a living picture of the life of Africa to-day and yesterday and should do much to break down facile and often false generalizations about Africa which are responsible for the popular attitude to these "backward" peoples. The book should also arouse a sympathetic understanding for the difficulties of those who have the administration of our colonies and dependencies in their hands and especially for the District Officer

who has to deal with the problems on the spot. One of the story-tellers realizes that the D.O. may be "worried by having so much to do".

Africa has little recorded history and still less written by the African himself. Here is a book which will prove a valuable contribution to the social history of an important period in the development of the continent. As such, not only should the European benefit by the reading of this book, but it should be made available to the African himself. It is to be hoped that the six stories recorded in the native languages may see light in their original form. But all the stories could very well be translated into a number of the important languages of Africa and thus form a welcome addition to the growing, but still small, body of vernacular reading matter.

I. C. WARD.

NOTES AND QUERIES

OM MAṆI PADME HŪM

With the possible exception of the Muslim Bismillah, no formula of Oriental religion is so common as the phrase *om maṇi padme hūm*, which appears countless millions of times in Tibet, engraved or painted on rocks, stones, prayer-wheels, and tablets and written or printed on paper. But whilst these words are wearisomely familiar, there is no general agreement as to their meaning. It is commonly taken for granted that *maṇi padme* stand for the Sanskrit words *maṇiḥ padme*, "the jewel in the lotus," and this is possible. But the sense of such a combination is not clear. It might designate the Buddha or a Bodhisattva seated upon a lotus-throne, or a Buddha born in a lotus.¹ But if such be the meaning it is very hard to imagine how so indefinite an allusion could have won the enormous popularity which it enjoys in Tibet. A better explanation is indicated in her translation of the story of Dri-med-kun-ldan (*Ti-me-kun-dan*, in the *Wisdom of the East Series*) by Mrs. M. H. Morrison, who writes (p. 13): "The syllables Mani-padme represent in all probability the name of the sakti of Chan-re-si."² She gives no authority for this opinion; but a Tibetan charm which I examined many years ago seems to supply the necessary proof, and I therefore print the text of it, with all its blunders.

Nama samantabhadhāni,³ sarvabhavasantarani⁴ hūm phaṭ pataya svāhā, om, om bhu,⁵ om padme, om padme hri,⁶ om padmabhadze, om padmalokite, om padmadzvala⁷ hūm ghrig, om amoghamanipadme, om padmalotsana⁸ huru hūm, om padmoṣṇīśābhimale⁹ hūm phaṭ, om āḥ hūm.

¹ For the orthodox explanation see page 1 of *Dri-med-kun-ldan's Namthar in English*, translated by K. Sumdhon Paul, in the *Journal of the Department of Letters of Calcutta University*, vol. 25.

² *Chan-re-si* is the phonetic spelling of *Spyan-ras-gzigs*, i.e. Avalokiteśvara.

³ Probably to be corrected to *Namaḥ samantabhadrāṇi*, on the analogy of *bhāvāṇi*, *rudrāṇi*, etc.

⁴ Read *-santarāṇi*.

⁵ Read *bhū*.

⁶ Read *hri*.

⁷ Read *padmadzvale*.

⁸ Read *padmalotsane*.

⁹ Read *padmoṣṇīśāvimale*.

Here the Śakti or female Power of Avalokiteśvara is invoked for the destruction of malign forces in a series of epithets of which most contain the word *padma*, "lotus." The first epithet suffices to show the connection with Avalokiteśvara,¹ to whom there is a further reference in the epithet *amoghamanipadme*, for Mañipadma is also one of his phases.² The final and decisive proof of the connection is afforded by the fact that the formula *om mañi padme hūṃ* or *ṣaḍakṣarī* is commonly considered to be attached to the cult of Avalokiteśvara, and its spirit, the Ṣaḍakṣarī Mahāvidyā, is represented as sitting beside him when he is worshipped as Ṣaḍakṣarī-Lokeśvara.³ Thus the formula, originally addressed to Avalokiteśvara's female Power, has been applied generally to his cult, with which it has gradually spread over the whole religious life of Tibet.

The epithet *mañipadmā*, "jewel-lotus," may be explained from this connection. Ṣaḍakṣarī-Lokeśvara and Mañipadma are usually figured with four arms, two of them holding a lotus and rosary and the other two in the *añjali* position, with a jewel in them; sometimes the former holds in his hands a jewel, book, and lotus,⁴ and sometimes the spirit Ṣaḍakṣarī also holds a jewel. Ṣaḍakṣarī-Lokeśvara is commonly attended by a familiar named Mañidhara, "jewel-bearer." Thus the lotus and jewel are characteristic emblems in this cult. Now one of the epithets in our charm is *amoghamanipadme*, "having infallible jewel and lotus," a regular *bahuvrīhi* compound; and it is quite probable that from this or similar compounds the irregular *mañipadmā* was detached as an epithet of the Śakti, who was now addressed with it in the abridged formula *om mañipadme hūṃ*, while it was also in the masculine form applied to the god.

B.

A NOTE ON KASSITE PHONOLOGY⁵

There seems to be no reason to doubt the usual⁶ explanation of the elements *burna-*, *-buraš*, and *-bugaš*, which are found in

¹ On Samantabhadra Lokeśvara see *Sādhnamālā*, ed. B. Bhattacharyya, p. 183.

² *Sādhnamālā*, p. 180.

³ *Sādhnamālā*, p. 33.

⁴ *Sādhnamālā*, p. 35.

⁵ I have to thank Mr. G. R. Driver (Oxford) for advice on various points of Babylonian philology.

⁶ See a recent discussion of Kassite by N. D. Mironov, *Acta Orientalia*, xi, 142 ff., where references to further literature will be found.

Kassite proper names, as Indo-European. No adequate explanation of the *u* in the stems of these three elements has, however, hitherto been given.¹

The relevant data² are as follows:—

(1) *burna*- "protégé": *bur-na-bur-ya-aš* = *ki-din-bél-mâtāti* "protégé of the Lord of the Lands" (King-List, No. 28)—Goth. OIcel. OHG. OS. *barn*, OE. *bearn* "child"; Albanian *bure* "man", OIr. *barn* "judge"; Lith. *bėrnas* "youth, boy", Lett. *bērns* "child".³

(2) *-Buryaš* = Hadad-Rimmon (storm-god): *u-lam-bur-ya-aš* = *li-dan-bél-mâtāti* "child of the Lord of the Lands" (i.e. Hadad-Rimmon) (King-List, No. 25); *Burna-buryaš* (above); further, in the list of gods on the British Museum tablet K. 2100⁴ Rimmon is equated to "Buryaš of the Kassites"⁵—Gk. *Bopéas*, OBulg. *burja* "tempest".⁶

(3) *-Bugāš* god-name: in *Nazi-bugāš* (Pinches, p. 108, No. 21) clearly meaning "[my] protection [is] Bugāš" (cf. Vocabulary 38, *na-zi* = *šil-lu*^m "protection")—Skt. *bhagaḥ* "apportioner, Lord, name of Savitar and of another Āditya" Av. *baγa-*, Sogdian *βay*, Middle Parthian *bay*, Middle Persian *bay* "apportioner, god", OBulg. *bogъ* "God", Phrygian *Bayaïos* *Zeûs Φρύγιος*.⁷

On the prevailing theory that the Indo-European element in Kassite is Indian or Indo-Iranian, the *u* in *burna*-, *-Buryaš* and *-Bugāš* cannot be explained. Ind. or Ind.-Ir. *ā* could only appear as *ā* in Kassite, and there is no reason to assume that it would be transliterated otherwise than with *ā* in cuneiform.

I wish to suggest that this Kassite *u* represents not *ā*, but *ō*; in fact that Kassite *burna*-, *-bur*-, *-bugāš* represent forms **bhōrno*-,

¹ J. Scheftelowitz, *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung*, xxxviii, 261, suggests that the *u* is due to the influence of the preceding labial, but this view has not found general acceptance.

² The Kassite material is presented in a convenient form by T. G. Pinches, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1917, 101–114 (cf. particularly the "King-List", pp. 106–7, and the "Vocabulary", pp. 102–5); see also F. Delitzsch, *Die Sprache der Kassier*.

³ A. Walde and J. Pokorny, *Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der indogermanischen Sprachen*, ii, 155 ff.

⁴ C. Bezold, *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, ix, 377.

⁵ The form *ubryaš*, which is apparently equivalent to *buryaš* (cf. Vocabulary 6 *ub-ri-ia-aš* = *ilu Addu*, *Rammānu* "Hadad, Rimmon"), is obscure. For such a "metathesis"—whatever its explanation—we may perhaps compare *Ug-ba-ru* (? = normal *Gu-ba-ru*); see S. Smith, *Babylonian historical texts relating to the capture and downfall of Babylon*, pp. 121–2.

⁶ See J. Charpentier, *Indogermanische Forschungen*, xxix, 378–9. The exact relation of the Kassite and Greek suffixes is not clear.

⁷ Walde-Pokorny, op. cit., ii, 128.

*b(h)ōr,¹ *bhōgos. ō is lacking in cuneiform and it would therefore have been transliterated with ū. As parallels it will suffice to cite here cuneiform transcriptions of Greek such as *An-ti-gu-nu-us-su* Ἀντίγονος, *Pi-la-a-gu-ra(-a)* Φιλάγορας—see K. L. Tallqvist, "Assyrian Personal Names" (*Acta Societatis Scientiarum Fennicae*, xliii, 1), pp. 23b, 181a; *An-ti-'i-u-ku-su* Ἀντίοχος; see, further, M. Rutten, *Babyloniaca*, xv, 67.

If this view of the Kassite *u* be accepted we can hardly regard the Kassite forms as originating in any form of Indo-Iranian in the ordinary sense of the word. For one of the chief characteristics of Indo-Iranian is the change of IndE. *ō* to Ind.-Ir. *ā*. We must therefore assume that these Kassite forms originated in (a) Indo-Iranian of so early a date that the change of IndE. *ō* to Ind.-Ir. *ā* had not yet taken place,² (b) in Primitive Indo-European itself or (c) in some other form of Indo-European which preserves IndE. *ō*.

ALAN S. C. ROSS.

¹ On *b* or *bh* see Charpentier, loc. cit.

² We have no evidence to determine the date at which this Ind.-Ir. change took place. The parallel change of IndE. *ē, ē* > Ind.-Ir. *ā, ā* certainly took place after the Ind.-Ir. palatalization of the gutturals before front vowels (J. Wackernagel, *Allindische Grammatik*, § 119 ff.), but, even if we assume that this latter change was contemporary with the change under discussion, this can afford us no more than a relative date. It should also be noted here that, despite the position maintained by H. Jacobsohn (who follows Andreas) in his *Arier und Ugrofinnen*, the lexicographical correspondences between Primitive Finno-Ugrian and Indo-European, often regarded as due to "Pre-Aryan" loans in Primitive Finno-Ugrian cannot afford us any assistance in determining the date of the change of IndE. *ō* to Ind.-Ir. *ā*. See B. Collinder, *Indo-uralisches Sprachgut* and A. S. C. Ross, *BSOS.*, viii, 1, pp. 227-234, 1935.

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

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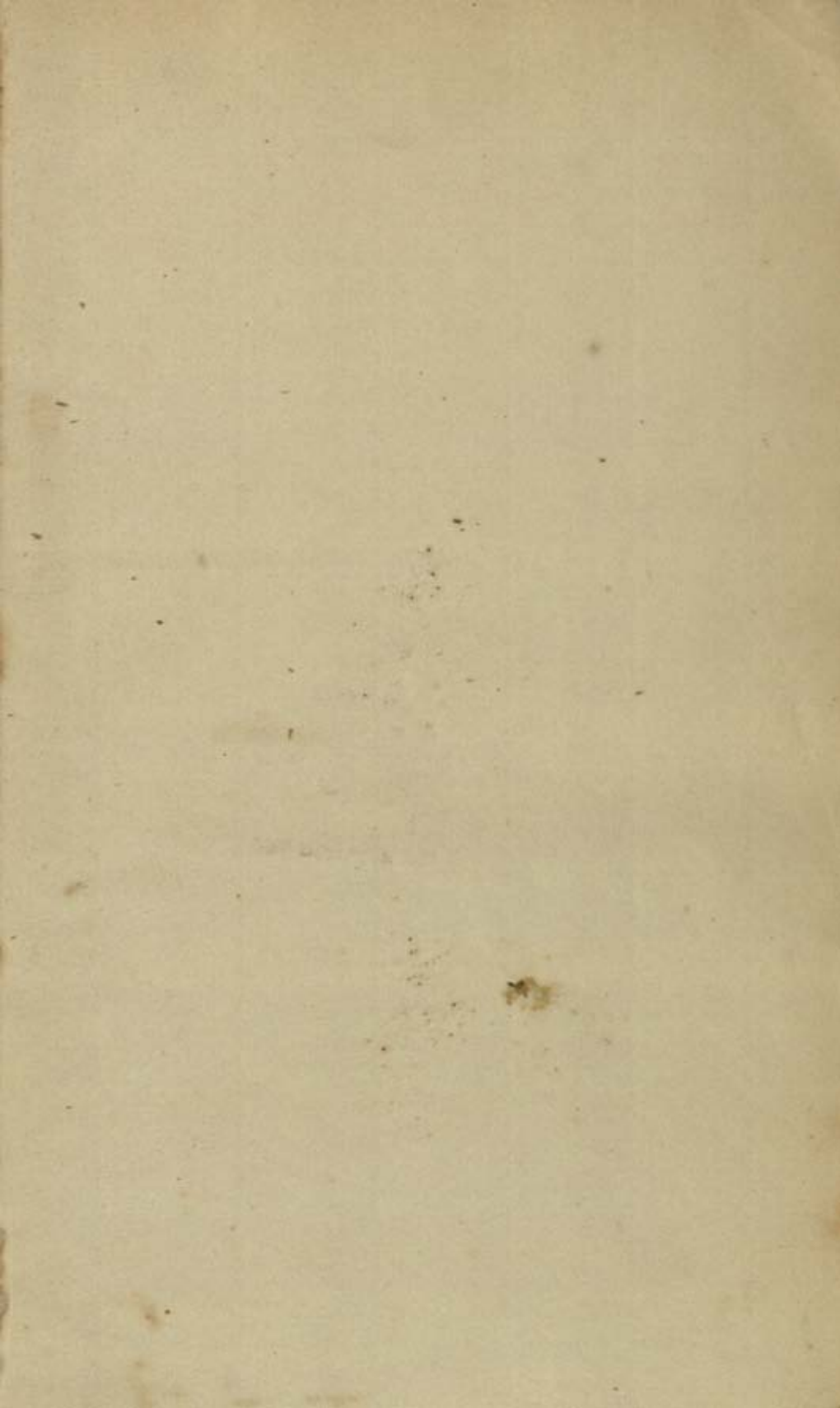
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